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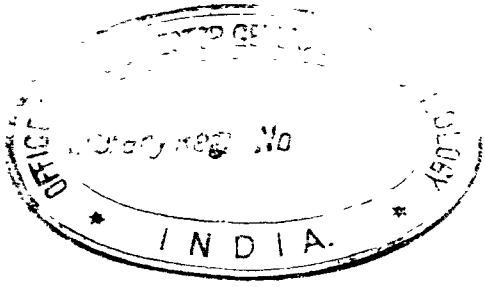
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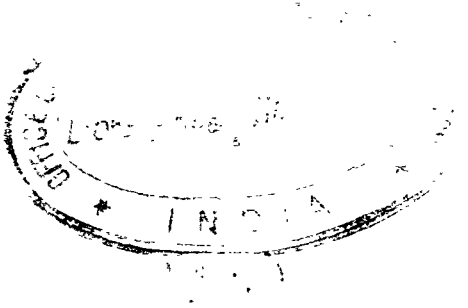


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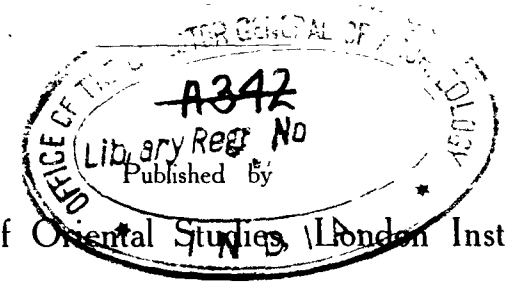
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By FREDERICK JOHNSON, Newala, Tanganyika Territory

(*Concluded from Vol. II, Pt. III, p. 466.*)

FIFTEEN MAKONDE FOLK-TALES [1]

1. MTANO WAKE IHATO NA MWANA MDYOKO

Panipawa wanu waniwhena kunyitu kulumbata, waniwhena kukodya ihato ilele. Pawakomwele wala wanu palele ihato, aniwakamula kuwamila. Wawele kukaya wanilolela nanga pawaheleke ndulu. Uliamba waniuka kuwila wanu wanji mpaka ukula, kukodya kuwila ihato ilele, ikawakamula wanu wala kuwamila wohewohe, pakaya pao wanihila na kuwamila ihato. Bahi, ihiyalile mkongwe umo, mkongwe yula awele na chitumbo. Bahi mkongwe yula aniweleka mwana mnume. Mwana yula na mkuhuma m'chitumbo aniudya kuchi "Mjomba awele kwachi?" Kuuka anyokwe kuchi "Akapali, aniliwa". Aniudya kuwila kuchi "aliwidye kwachi?" Kuchi "Kunyitu". Bahi mwana yula aniwahaulila anyokwe kuchi "Nembele munu awhene kunyitu akawalala changa aide nacho". Anyokwe waniwhena kunembela munu, wakamwona waninyaulila kuchi "Whena ukalembela changa wide nacho". Munu yula aniwhena panyitu anilembela changa anichoona aniwalala mpaka

[1] The translation follows at the end of the text.

kukaya kuwhena nacho. Kunamupa mwana yula. Mwana atedono " Wino wawula mpatila wake nguwike kumutwe ". Waniwawula wakamika kumutwe. Pawamikile kumutwe mwana atongwedono " Wino ndembela chipula chikulungwa mning'e ". Wanilembela kumupa. Atwete mpatila wa changa kuwala kumutwe na chipula makono, aniwahaulila anyokwe kuchi " Ngupapata, tuwhene ngulangule indila iwapite wanu ". Waniuka anyokwe na wanji wanu kunangula indila. Waniwhena munyitu maduwa matatu, liduwa lya mcheche wawhena kadiki uwino wawene muyo mele nyongo mkulungwa, ihato ilele. Wanu kuchi watile, aniwalimbidya kuchi " Mnatukute " Wanu wala wanikala pahi. Apite mwene mwana yula kulongolela. Aniwhena kuimila ihato nainang'o kula iniimila. Mwana yula kutwala chipula chake kuvakula makono. Wino apilikene ihato kuchi " Wepo mwana, we lapa kachi, mwawene kwachi chinu panyitu kudiuka mwa liyanga ngungungungu ? " Kuka mwana nawing'e kuchi " Wepo ihato, lapa, kachi mwawene kwachi mwana namkuwelekwa dihuli mutwe mbee ? ". Kuka ihato kuchi " Wepo mwana'we lapa ! kachi mwawene kwachi chinu panyitu kudiuka mwa liyanga ngungungungu ? ". Kuka mwana kuchi " Wepo ihato lapa ! kachi mwawene kwachi mwana namkuwelekwa dihuli mutwe mbee ? " Bahi wanitahukana akauka mwana kumkamula ihato yula kutwala chipula chake akanjinja ihato. Ihato upala inihwa. Akatumbula munda, bahi, wohe wanu wachimila wala wakahuma wohewohe pia wakahuma. Kuleka wauya mpaka kukaya wanu wohe wakalinowela pakuholoka alongawao. Wakatwala bola munu mtumwa kumupa mwana yula kuleka wakadenga luwungo.

2. Mtano wake Unembo nawe Usungula

Unembo alimite welu mkulungwa namene, kupanda vikota; vikota mkukonda namene mwelu mwake. Iduwa limo ahcleke usungula, mwene akapawidya, awele kukaya. Bahi, usungula apite mwelu mwake unembo mkuwa mkutang'una vikota. Aheleke mwene unembo kukodya awele mkutang'una, animudya kuchi " Welu utang'una wako, vikota nani ? " Aukile usungula kuchi " Wangu, nimwene nanilima namwaka ". Kuka unembo kuchi " Welu wangu ". Kuka usungula kuchi " Welu wangu ". Wanitahukana kuchi " Vinoyi wepo unembo kalembele wanu wachikwona ulima, nawi nangu achingwona ngulima ni Mnungu ". Bahi, unembo aniwhena kunawakumbula anyama wohewohe na usungula aniwhena kunamchema lingwele, kukwedya muha na ucheche kutaya pahi mnandi.

(Mwelu mo mwawele mnandi mkulungwa wimidile ching'ati welu.) Bahi, lingwele alikwedidye muha, kumahamba kula kunaliwika na ucheche atudile pahi pake mnandi. Uwino aheleke unembo na anyama wake mpaka upala ukiite unembo kuchi "Achi! mwepo anyama! welu wuno wake nani?" Kuka anyama kuchi "Wako wepo unembo!" Uki unembo kuchi "Unapilikana nano usungula?" Kuka usungula kuchi "Nanga! hoti nimudye Mnungu. Achi Mnungu! haula chikotopele. Welu wuno wake nani?" Bahi, liukile lingwele muha mula kuchi "Welu wake mwene usungula, mnamkumbe kunumbila udyoko. Welu wake mwene usungula, yambukila wanu wangu pahi poo". Uwino kupilikana ucheche pahipa "W a a a" kuchi "Napilikana welu wake mwene usungula, napilikana". Kupilikana pahi "W a a a". Bahi, waukile anyama kuchi "Welu wake usungula, pilikana Mnungu chuhaula". Wakauka kunekela welu usungula, watwaa, kwamba! achilima mwene unembo kumkumba chihi nyake. Kuleka wayawana nawe lingwele, wakadenga makande awo umula mwelu, wavalya vilyo vyake unembo na nyake lingwele.

3. Mtano wake Unjanga

Atendile munu, munu yuawele unjanga, unjanga awele na mwanawe mkongwe, akatopele namene. Bahi, wakaida alume wohe kumtongodya. Mwene unjanga akachidono "Alembela kulomba mwanangu awhene kumawelu akachikule dimule dimotweke na mpapa; kona akahulula, mwanangu anaike nawe". Bahi, ahaleke unguluwe kuchi "Nangu nanembela mwanalo ngwikanawe". Unjanga atedono pa kumnyan'gula "Whena kumawelu kuchikule dimule dimotweke na mpapa, kona ukahulula ida uikanawe". Unguluwe aniwhena mpaka kumawelu akainjila panyitu na imbedo yake kucheketa milandi. Pamilidile kucheketa akauya mpaka kumawelu milandi yake kuwika pala. Atwete ihenji kuhimba lipondo kutwala mnandi kuimidya kuhwihwilila. Wino alinge kuchikula dimula, upopo uheleke mpapa ukamotolela pahi dimule, kulinga kuchi kula cha, akalekelela. Akauya mpaka kukaya kunyaulila unjanga kuchi "Mnilinga cha, nanga panguhulwile". Unjanga atedono winu "Bahi whena kwenu, mwanangu ukampata". Unguluwe akawhena kwawe.

Bahi, waheleke wohe anyama wa manyitu kunalinga nanga pawahuwile. Upopo aheleke usungula kuchi "Nangu ninalembela mwanalo ngwikanawe". Nawinange anyaulile uchimo kuchi "Whena kumawelu kachikule dimule, kona akahulula mwanangu

unikenawe ". Usungula aniwhena mpaka kumawelu, ayapwike panyitu kucheketa mididi yake akapota dimboi. Pamalidile akateya dinambo dya nambili. Pamalidile kuteya upopo aheleke nambili kutanyika, akamkamula. Uwino amwene mnam'we waholoka kukaya, bahi, akamtwala nambili akamupa kuchi " Nyakule nambili kamupe mukwe ateleke, akamalila kuteleka. inyama atang'une, mnyudi ataye mnuwani angungulile. Bahi, mnamu'we atedono "Kwenu mnatenda?" Usungula atongwedono " Elo, tunatenda ". Bahi, aniyakula nambili mpaka kukaya unawapa atata'ke kuchi dono " Nambili iyu amele nkawa'ko kumawelu, kuchi, 'kamupe mukwe ateleke, inyama atang'une, mnyudi ataye mnuwani angungulile ". Unjanga atongwedono " Ba ! kwao wanatenda ? Bahi nangu nininda mwene alinge, tulole ". Pahekele usungula kumawelu, namkukomola pakaya aniudya " Mnyudi wangu mnitaya mnuwani ? " Unjanga atongwedono " Twamninda mwene mtaye, tulole ". Usungula atedono " Nangu ndembela mnyudi woo mtaye mnuwani uwino ". Unjanga apite panyitu kucheketa mnandi kupasula siii, kutwala kwimidya pahi, kulinga kutaya mnyudi, kumwadilika pahi, kulinga cha, kulinga cha nanga. " Akh ! amanha ! usungula ! mwanitenda iduwa limo kwenu ? Kutwala medi kutaya mnuwani ? " Usungula atedono pa kunyangula " Emanganya unjanga ! mwanitenda iduwa limo kwenu, kuchikula dimule dimotweke na mpapa ? kachi mwachikwile dimule dimotweke na mpapa iduwa limo, na nelo muchimtaye mnyudi mnuwani. Kona kachi mkanakutaya mnyudi mnuwani na dimule wakanamba kuchikula iduwa limo ndulu ! " Bahi unjanga akasidwa akamtwala mwanawe akamupa usungula kwikanawe.

4. Mtano wake Usungula nawe Usuwi

Atendile munu, na yula munu awele unembo. Unembo apite panyitu kumkodya usungula apaswile mtamba chipito, wauluka kuwila kula, kuwaluka kula kuwila kuno. Unembo pamkododye watenda uwila, mtima uninowela. Bahi anyaulile usungula kuchidono " Nangu ndembela mtela aliwalile wako, kuleka uchakapala, nani nalembela nguchopakala muchi wako ". Usungula atedono " Mtela ukakomadidya, ulale nikulenge inyama yoheyohe nguwuse leka nano ngulembela mtela nikupake unachakapala kona nangu ". Unembo akaitikila kuchi " Elo ! nalembela ". Usungula anitwala mahamba kuladya pahi, aheleke unembo kulala. Usungula kutwala chipula chake kunnenga unembo inyama yoheyohe kunneka unembo mawangwa weka. Walaga na liduwa. Usungula kutwala inyama yake unembo

kunatenda mnyudi wa kulila imanda yake. Unembo anilaga amtumile unandala kupapata mtela kwake usungula. Pakamwele atedono " Nangu aningutuma mjomba kuchi papata mtela, nelo anipepekela na kuhwa ". Usungula atongwele dono " Hambi, linda chakulya hoti, nelo nalembela kuida nao ". Unandala anilinda chakulya. Bahi, usungula ateleke imanda, mnyudi wake wa unembo, unandala awene kunowa inyama ya inembo, atongwedono " Nane, nalembela inyama ". Usungula atedono " Tuwhene kulichinga tukawalale ". Unandala aniitikila kuchi " Tuwhene ". Waniwhena mpaka kulichinga usungula ahanite indila tangu muha lichinga mpaka pahi. Bahi, anyaulile unandala kuchidono " Wako ikala apa, ukapilikana witukuta lelehe analole dau. Kona akalola, inyama inatukuta ". Unandala aniitikila kuchi " Elo ". Usungula mwene anidinguka lichinga mpaka muha akatwala liyanga kumotoha kupita ulihingilita mpaka kwawele unandala, likamponda mutwe unandala akahwa upala. Akatwala, akanyakula kukaya. Pakamwele kukaya akamwaula inyama yake akulya. Wohe anyama wa munyitu wakaida wohe wakahwa. Mpaka uwino aheleke usuwi kupapata mtela kuchi " Hambi kupepekela na kuhwa". Anyaulile kuchi "Linda imanda". Akaitikila. Aniteleka inyama ya mbutuka, palile, usuwi awene kunowa atongwedono " Nane nalembela inyama ". Usungula atongwedono " Tuwhene kulichinga ukatwale ". Usuwi aniitikila. Waniwhena mpaka kulichinga, usuwi aniekite pa indila pala, anyaulile dono " Ukapilikana watukuta, unalole, kona akalola anatila ". Usuwi atele " Elo ". Usungula aniwhena mpaka muha lichinga atwete liyanga kumotaha. Palipilikene usuwi anilauka kulola aliwene liwele liyanga, akanyema kulala panyenje, liyanga likapita kumotekela kula, nawing'e akauka kunalala upala kulilambilila kuhwa. Paheleke usungula aninowela kuchi " Hambi nipata munjilo kwa mwanangu ". Kwamba ! nyake walilambilila chihi. Aninyakula aniwhena kadiki, uwino usuwi amtonyite lukombe paliwala. Usungula pawene kupweteka anyahite pahi kuleka watukuta, nawe usuwi animinganga mpaka wakomwele pawele liu. Usungula animwadilanya liu kuleka ulituma. Usuwi palitutwime liu, nanga pamwene usungula indila ya whenelele palihidile anilondola lyayo, mkodidye usungula adengile chiumba aikele. Aukite usuwi kuchi " Wako ukawele anikulembela nangu ? " Aukite usungula kuchi " Nikawele nangu, mwetu tuukile madudi kukaya tuhachila chihako cha disuwi. Tuwelele disuwi nyano na mcheche, ibiyalile yimo kutimila kumi. Kuchi wa likumi ukawele wako ? " Usungula anichema kuchi " Machihako ! Usuwi wa likumi ayooo ". Kupilikana

nyitu " Elooo ". Bahi, papilikene usuwi uwila katukuta mwanda kwawe kunneka usungula wapona na unembo kula kwanawele kuhwa.

5. MTANO WAKE NAKADIMU NA ANAMAHAKU NA MNEMBA WA LIWELU

Papawidya mwana wa liwelu mnemba, awele na anamahaku. Anamahaku wala mkunimbidya mwana ayu kungana kula. Lina'ngo iduwa mkunakomola pake Nakadimu kuhepa mapenjele apele panango pake. Ayula mwana wa liwelu yula mkimba, awadiwile mwene Nakadimu. Bahi Nakadimu kumudya mwana yula kuchi " Msukuluwangu uholoka kwachi ? " Mwana mkuimba kuchi " Tuhuma kwihame kuhepa upengeleee, tuhuma kwihame kuhepa upengeleee ". " Msukuluwangu kumba ngoma ' Kulembwe-lembwe-lembwende, kulembwe-lembwe-lembwende, kachi ndinde, kachi mblunda ' ". Nakadimu pachindenda m kachi " Lembwende m kachi lembwende ". Na wala wana wala mkusulupukanga kutukutanga mwanda wa kwao. Uliamba mkukumbulana anamahaku likuwa namene kuwhena kuwila nawi mnemba wao wa liwelu yula kunakwela kuwila umula mmnandi mula, mkukomola kuwila Nakadimu kuwudya " Msukuluwangu nyoloka kwachi ". Kuimba kuwila kuchi " Tuhuma kwihame kuhepa upengeleee, tuhuma kwihame kuhepa upengelee ". " Msukuluwangu kumbwa ngoma ' kulembwe-lembwe-lembwende kulembwe-lembwe-lembwende, kulembwe-lembwe-lembwende kachi ndinde kachi mblunda, kulembwe-lembwe-lembwende kulembwe-lembwe-lembwende ' ". Nakadimu pachiting'enedya mnandi wachi " Kachi lembwende kachi lembwende ". Wana wakadoba pakuchi ating'enedya chihi mnandi kuleka awakamule wanawataya mng'ande mwake. Bahi, Nakadimu pawatadile mng'ande kuwhena kuna-wakumbula awake kutema ding'uni Anakadimu wohe. Na nyuma muno wana wala wakatoloka. Pawatoweke mng'ande mula mwawele ding'uo akatwala yula mwana wa liwelu yula kuwayalula awake wohewohe. Na ulinda akawamowa kutaya m'chilongo mng'ande mula mwake Nakadimu. Waukile pakaya wakahimana na Anakadimu wohewohe, wawele kuholoka wayakwile ding'uni dyao mkuwaudya kuchi " Asukuluwangu nyoloka kwachi ? " Wana kuimba chikung'u uchimo. Na wala wana wala wakapata indila kupundana nao wakapita. Pawapite pakaya Nakadimu achimula ing'ande yake nanga kukodya wanu, wakamtwala mwene Nakadimu wakamwalala wakamtang'una wohewohe Anakadimu, pakuchi anilambila. Na yula mwana wa liwelu yula akawapata akongwe wawili akaikala nao, kumnipa pakuwa aniwapa indila ya kupona.

6. Mtano wake Mchehe nawe Usungula

Mchehe na usungula wapite kulumbata wawelele ing'anga. Bahi, iduwa ulitenda piu, aukite usungula kuchi " Wepo mchehe katwale moto ula ". Wamba iduwa. Bahi, mchehe aniwhena kupapata iduwa watenda moto mpaka iduwa pii. Usungula muno nyuma, ing'anga akatang'una weka kumwima mchehe. Uliamba mchehe akauya mpaka kwanawele usungula kuchi " Moto nikauwene ndulu ". Kuka usungula kuchi " Wepo mchehe! ukalola moto, ulekile opopo ". Mchehe aniudya kuchi " Ing'anga iwi kwachi ? " Usungula atedono " Aniholoka mkoko mkulungwa kunguyoha, nangu nikatila kuneka watwala ing'anga watang'una ". Mchehe aniitikila kuchi " Elo ". Waniuya mpaka kukaya, usungula kwawe na mcheche kwawe. Mchehe alindimwike kulilambilila kuwuwula mutwe kuchi " Nangu, mutwe unapweteka ". Bahi, aheleke usungula kuchi " Ndembela kunalola mchehe mutwe ". Pakomwele kwake mchehe, amkodidye alele ing'ande. Usungula amholoka mpaka panango anihodika " Hodi ing'ande " Papilikene mchehe nang'e " Hodini " kumwitikila. Aninjila ing'ande aukile mchehe kuchi " Wepo usungula pakaya pano pakawele wanu wakuteleka chakula. Wino wepo whena ku'matimbe kalye ding'ou ". Usungula kuchi " Elo ". Aniwhena mpaka ku-'matimbe usungula anikwela muha. Muno nyuma mchehe anitwala machili kulipaka mu'mili kumpapata usungula, amkodidye awele muha awele mkulya ding'ou. Animudya " Ding'ou diwulya wako dyake nani ? " Usungula akanamba kunyangula, mchehe anitwala mnandi kumpanya. Bahi, usungula akatila. Bahi, mchehe anilihinga medi kunalala uwino, usungula aniholoka kuchi " Ku'matimbe kula kwakomwele inyama apekele machili anangupanya, bahi, nangu nitila, heki, inyama wene namkumbukila, namkameka ". Wanilala. Uliamba kanji kaya kanawele pepi. pawele ing'ole ya akongwe, aukile mchehe kuchi " Usungula, tuwhene kung'ole ". Waniwhena, usungula akamwile ndunda kwomba na mchehe akamwile likungwa. Atandilike usungula kwomba kuchi " Pakulya ing'anga weka, pakulya ing'anga weka ". Aukite mchehe kwomba likungwa kuchi " Uwachimpanya ku'matimbe uwamtenda namachili ". Bahi, aukite usungula kuchi " Mkambi wako wuchi dachi pakwomba ? " Kuka mchehe nawinang'e kuchi " Mkambi wako wuchi dachi pakwomba ? " Wakalindimukana kupanyana, wanu waniwakamulanga kukudya. Mchehe kuchi " Ayu alile ing'anga weka kungwima nangu ". Na usungula kuchi " Ayu anangupanya nangu ku'matimbe ". Bahi, waukile wanu kuchi " Wino. bahi, pakuchi mnahimana wa ulamba

weka ". Wakahapukana kuleka wawhena kwao, usungula kwawe na mchehe kwawe.

7. Mtano wake Mchehe nawe Usungula

Usungula nawi mchehe wapite kulambata mu'nyitu, waniwhena wakodidye pa'kandike inyama. Bahi, mchehe pa'komwele, alindimwike kusululanga majujuli, mchemite usungula kuchi " Nangu wino kulambata nikawhena, nguhiyala ngulokota diyong'o pahi hipa ". Usungula atedono pakunyang'ula " Lukou lwako wako mchehe, nangu ukangukodya ngulele pa'ndila unangutang'una ". Mchehe anitahuka kuchi " Wako unalambila ". Wanitahukana mpaka kukaya. Wanilala. Uliamba usungula atwete chitumba cha uchi kulimiminila mu'mili kuneka wasululanga. Aniwhena mpaka pa'ndila pake mchehe ya kumawelu akalala m'ndila mula. Uliamba uwino mchehe awele mkuholoka alongene na adyawe pakomwele pa'ndila pala amkodidye usungula alele, namkukomola namkumwona usungula anunite, awahaulile adyawe kuchi "Inyama yangu, nilokota". Waukile adyawe kuchi " Kulambila ! akawele usungula ayu ? " Kuka mwene kuchi " Nanga ! mwenu adyangu mkamaite inyama ? Kwa dachi usungula, tenda inyama, hoti nguyedye ngulole ". Bahi, anitepa kutwala lulimi lwake kulamba mu'mili mwake usungula, kuchi " Looo kunowa ! wachi chi usungula anunite uwila, uniona chinowa inyama yene ? " Waukile adyawe kuchi " Tuwhene wako ! usungula ayu ". Bahi, akauka kadiki, uwino kuchi " Wepo adyangu ! tuleka inyama apa ! Usungula wa kwachi akachinuna uwila ? Hoti, nikayedya kuwila ". Anilamba, anilamba uwino atedono " Kunowa ! ndembela kuyakula kumawelu nikakupule ". Adyawe watedono " Kona akulembela yakula ". Aninyayula mpaka paliwala kuno majujuli wasululanga, anichilamba uchi mu'mili mwake usungula. " Achi ! kunowa jamaa ! inyama ayi inipunda kununa." Aniwhena mpaka kumawelu anitema ding'uni kutwala moto kukambania pu'yakile moto animtwala usungula kuchi amike pamoto. Usungula animuka, kuchi " Wako mchehe ! uke wachidono, nangu wako nikakutang'una ! mwadachi hambi wanangutang'una ? " Ukite mchehe kuchi " Mayika kununga kula Akh ! unitulisa halamu ". Bahi, kutahuka kwake mchehe kukahila iduwa ulila.

8. Mtano wake Uhimba

Munu yumo alangite ding'awanga, bola iduwa wawhena kulambata, akawalala dinyama wawika m'niponda, akawalala wawika m'nipondo.

Mwene aniuka kuwhena muyo. Muno nyuma aheleke uhimba kuikala pawele dinyama pala kunnindilila mwene dinyama. Paheleke mwene munu yula amkodidye uhimba aikele pamwene alembela kukutukuta, bahi, aukite uhimba animdima kuchi "Unatukute! uya!" Yula munu aniuya. Pauyite atongwedono uhimba "Tumbula dinyama dyako, manoha uning'e nangu, umwene utwala nyama uwhena nayo". Yula munu aniitikila, anitumbula dinyama dyohedyohe kutwala manoha kumupa uhimba, mwene kutwala nyama weka kuwhena nayo kwawe. Aniwhena kukaya nanga kuhaula, kumudya adyawe nanga kuhaula. Uliamba akawhena kuwila chikung'a malinga cha lido, kumkodya kuwila uhimba aikele, akatumbula, manoha kumupa. Wakamwele kukaya adyawe waniwiha kuchi "Nundu tuwa chalumo, nikanole umupa manoha". Uliamba pachiuka adyawe watedono "Nelo tuwa chalumo". Ayula aniwalimbidya kuchi "Ulembela kuwhena kwachi?" Uyu kongwe nanga kuhùlulika, nawe kongwe awele na chitumbo. Waniwhena kuwalala dinyama dimbili, waniwhena kadiki wamkodidye uhimba aikala. Uhimba namkuona adyawe wawele na chitumbo, atongwedono "Nelo, dinyama yakula umwene, heki, nangu ngulembela uwatumbule adyalo, chiwele mkati munda uning'e". Yula munu anikangana kuchi "Ama! wuchi dachi?" Kuchi "Ngutedono, inyama twala umwene, nangu ngulembela chiwele munda mwa adyalo" (wamba, libongo). Ayula munu awahaulile adyawe kuchi "Unalola adyangu! mwenu napunda nikananimbidya kuchi naide, nanga kupilikana. Pilikana nano, chahaula wino uhimba". Adyawe ate wapilikana uwila, kuwa mkukuta. Aukite uhimba kuchi "Tumbula upehi "uning'e". Wanitahukana. Uwino usungula pwe. Usungula aniudya kuchi "Muchi dachi chitahukana?" Aukite yula munu kuchi "Ayu uhimba achidono watumbula adyako utwale chiwele mkati munda, uning'e, nangu panikahulula kutumbula. Kona akalembela awatumbule mwene". Aukite usungula kuchi "Achi! mchinyaula manganya uhimba?" Uhimba kuchi "Elo". Bahi, aukite usungula kuchi "Watumbula adyako wepo, umupe, nawe uhimba utumbule linoha lyako uning'e nangu ngutang'une". Uhimba akapilikana chatongwele usungula animudya kuchi "Wuchi dachi usungula?" Usungula atedono "Nguchidono, ayu awatumbule adyawe libongo, akupe wako uhimba, utang'une; na wako uhimba utumbule linoha lyako uning'e nangu usungula ngutang'une". Bahi, uhimba papilikene uwila watongola usungula, akatukuta mwanda kuneka munu nawe usungula akamwinganga uhimba, nanga kumwona kuwila. Kuleka munu wawhena kwawe na adyawe.

9. Mtano wake Ung'ambe nawe Unyima

Ung'ambe apengene chinemba na unyima. Bahi, iduwa limo ung'ambe aniwhena kunachonga kwake unyima, unyima ateleke uwali kuteulila nikalala na mnyudi kutaya m'sahani. Bahi, anyaulile ung'ambe kuchi "Whena ing'ande kale uwali". Ung'ambe aniwhena ng'ande akodidye uwali wateulile nikalala. Kulinga kumeya nanga kuwhikanila. Anikwela mpaka kumotakela mkati nikalala kunameya uwali, mkukwela kuwila kumotekela pawelu kulihidya mnyudi. Anitenda uwila wakwela wamotokela mkati nikalala wameya uwali wakwela wamotokela pawelu wanalihidya mnyudi. Anilaga uwila mpaka uwali akamalila, anikalawa medi. Pamalidile akalaila kuchi "Nangu wino mwanda kwetu, kwaheli". Pakomwele kwawe anilala maduwa matatu, iduwa lya mcheche unyima aniuka kuwhena kwake ung'ambe kunachonga. Pakomwele ung'ambe ahinjite inguku kuteleka uwali kumtelekela unyima. Bahi, pakaya pake ung'ambe pawele muto pepi pakaya. Bahi, atwete moto kutaya wahi kuleka pahi pawele lichili mpaka kumuto. Bahi, ung'ambe aniteula uwali. Pamalidile anyaulile unyima kuchi "Whena kakalawe medi kumuto, uyide ulye uwali". Bahi, unyima aniwhena kukalawa kulinga kuwhena, uwino makono yanihakalanga, pakomwele kuwele uwali makono yahekelenge kuwila. Akauya kuwila mpaka kumuto kunakalawa, kukomola kukaya makono nyekelenge kuwila. Bahi, unyima akadoba kuchi "Nangu wino bahi, uwali nikatamwa". Kuka ung'ambe kuchi "Wako kwenu wanguteulile uwali nikalala nani wangumaite kuchi nakawele na changa, watendile namadi lupuso, nani pangutendile namadi kutaya moto m'indila ya kumuto". Bahi, chikahwa chinembo chao pakuchi wachitendana lupuso.

10. Mtano wake Baruti nawe Unguku nanume

Pawele munu mkongwe. Mkongwe yula akachiweleka nanga. Panahimbile wondolo mkutaya chilongo, mkuhunikila lipapa, kwikala miedi mitatu. Panihunukula chilongo mwedi wa tatu kumkodya mmele mwali mkati m'chilongo mula. Bahi, yula mwali yula kutwa nanga kutwa, madengo yake kutunga chuma. Panaheleke mnume kumposa, yula mnume yula amamae waninyaulile kuchi "Mwanangu pumposa apa, kuteleka akakameka ndulu, madengo yake kutunga chuma. Ukalembela wepo, ikanawe upano ninolohidye nimwene mwanangu". Ayula mnume kuchi "Nanga! ayu akamale kuteleka, nangu kwetu nguwele na alumbuwangu na wipwangu wanipawa, wanateleka kuning'a, ayu nangu bola ngwikanawe tu bahi". Ayula mnume mmahi aninyakula mpaka kwawe, pikanawe mwedi umo, pikanawe mwedi umo chakulya anihulula kuteleka

wipwawe na alumbu wake uwamupa walya. mwene watunga chuma. Bahi, yula mnume kuwhena mchihako, anyokwe yula mnume watwete mpunga kumupa yala mkongwe akachitwa yula kutwa. Pachitwa pala wachi " Chooo, chooo, kwetu nikachitwa. Choo, choo, kwetu nikachitwa ". Bahi, yula mkongwe mkutitimila pahi na mtuli na muhi na vihelo vyohe vikatitimila pahi. Yula mnume mchihako awele mkulota mchihakao kuya kukomola pakaya pala kuwudya kuchi " Adyangu wawele kwachi ? " Kuchi wanu " Adyalo watitimile pahi ". Ayula mnume kukagana munahaulila chihakao cha adyawe. Kuteleka wala wohe kuchema wanu wakuwhena kunahaulila chihakao wohewohe wala nanga pawakameke kunahaula ndulu. Mkoneka inguku kuchi " Linga chulembela kunahaula tulole ". Unguku mkukongowela " Kokolikoo ! namanjanjali, namanjanjali, mwanda niwhena namanjanjali, nahaula kupela, namanjanjali, nahaula kupela namanjanjali, kupedile Abaruti, namanjanjali, mtwawe akapali, mtwawe akapali, namanjanjali apite mchihako, apite mchihako, namanjanjali, kokolikoo, kokolikoo, namanjanjali waweyayu namanjanjali ".

Mkukomola pakaya pa'nyokwe pala kuhaula kuchi " Baruti akapali ". Anyokwe waniudya kuchi " Endile kwachi ? " kuchi " Atitimile pahi ". Anyokwe watedono " Ndeko, tukalole pa'titimile ". Mkulongana nawempaka pakaya pala, kulangula kuchi " Apa patitimile ". Bahi anyokwe kutipula ingopedi kutaya Baruti yula mkubuhuka na vinu vyohevyohe vyanawele navyo, kuleka wamtwala mwene likolo wawhena nawe kwawe, ulombi mkuhapukana.

11. Mtano wake Luhengo na Alumbuwake

Luhengo awele na alumbuwake wawili, bahi, iduwa limo waukite alumbuwake kuchi " Nelo tuwhene ku chinemba ". Bahi aukite Luhengo kuchi " Nani nalembela kulongana ". Bahi alumbuwake wala wanimbidya kuchi " Tukatamwa kulongana na wako Luhengo ". Aninamatila kuchi " Nani naida ". Bahi, alumbuwake wala wanitukuta kuneka weka pakaya, nawinange panyuma anilondola dinyayo. Wakomola pakaya alumbuwake, na Luhengo wakomola. Kulauka meho kulola indila wamwene Luhengo waida. Bahi wanineka kaikala. Liulo waniteleka uwali kuwateleka wali wala kulya. Bahi, chilo waniwalangula ing'ande yake Nakadimu kulala. Luhengo wamtandikile pahi mkeka kulalila, alumbuwake wala waniona luono, Luhengo awele meho. Bahi, imwike Nakadimu pa'chinanda kutwala chipula chake kunola kuchi wahinje akongwe wala. Bahi Luhengo anitakatuka pa'mkeka pala kuchi kuluma. Bahi, Nakadimu papilikene aniuka mpaka pawelu kuhuma ing'ande mula. Bahi, Luhengo

akawimila alumbuwake kuchi " Tuwhene kwetu ". Bahi wakawhena kwao kuneka Nakadimu wachelewa kunawatang'una wanu liyongo lyake Luhengo. Na alumbuwake kuleka wanembela Luhengo kunohi kuwawhena, nanga kuneka pakuchi awapohidye kwake Nakadimu.

12. Mtano wake Mwana mchiwa

Munu awele na mwanawe mnemba. Atatake na anyokwe wakahwa kuneka mwana weka. Bahi, mwana yula wabanika namene, anemba awawe akawhena kungana kumpanya, chakulya akapata, kuponela chihi chindula. Bahi, iduwa limo waheleke awake kuchi " Tuwhene pa'nyitu tukahachile matawala ". Aniitikila. Waniwhena pa'nyitu waniteya dinjau dyao kuhachila, akalipuka mtawala, kuwalala mwana mchiwa. Kulipuka yunji, kuwalala uyoyu. Wakauya anemba awawe wamkopoka kuneka mwene wakuta. Uliamba wakawhena kuwila kuwalala ayula, wamkopoka kuwila. Iduwa linji aukite mwana mchiwa kuchi " Nelo tuwhene tukahachile mnyitu mula ", wamba kuwele lidembe iya atatake na anyokwe. Anemba awawe waniitikila kuchi " Tuwhene ". Waniwhena mpaka wanikomola pa lidembe pala, aniwahaulila awake kuchi " Ikalanga pahi, tindiwala pahi, ndembela koka tuwalale matawala, kona mkachona chinu uchihuma mnatukute koka ". Anemba awawe waniitikila kuchi " Elo ". Mwene aniimba :—

" Chahumaa, chahumaa, atata." " Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya."
" Wachindenda mipa chabwana." " Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya."
" Kuwalala mtawala wangu." " Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya."
" Kutwala kumbokonyola." " Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya."
" Kuchi wepo ukawele na watata." " Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya."
" Atatako apite kunambawe." " Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya."
" Chahumaa, chahumaa, tata." " Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyayaoo."

Bahi, uwino aheleke nyongo pa'lidembe pala kulala pahi kulidinganga, anemba mwawe kuchi watile. Kuchi " Nanga mnatile ". Wakaikala upala wawele mkudong'a ding'ohi makono. Nyongo ula uhumile pa'lidembe pa atatake. Akauka kunaimba pa'lidembe pa anyokwe, ukahuma nyongo napana'ngo ukalidinganga pala. Akaimba kuwila :—

" Chamilaa, chamilaa, tata." " Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya."
" Wachindenda mipa chabwana." " Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya."
" Kuwalala mtwala wangu." " Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya."
" Kutwala kumbokonyola." " Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya."
" Kuchi wepo ukawele na watata." " Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya."
" Atatako apite kunambawe." " Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya."
" Chamilaa, chamilaa, tata." " Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyayaoo."

Wikauka mihongo kuwamila anemba wohewohe pia. Akaimba kuwila, mihongo ikawhena pahi kulihimbila. Mwana aniuya mpaka kukaya. Wene wana wapite kunyitu kumudya "Awako wawele kwachi?" Na'nge mwana mchiwa kukana kuchi "Kwali, nangu wangulekile ukula kumnyitu". Wanilolela mpaka iduwa pii, kulolela mpaka ngwee uliamba. Wakalilawa kuwhena kunalaudya ihanga. Ihanga atedono "Mwana mchiwa yoo aniwapiha awake". Kuwhena kunamudya kuitikila kuchi "Wino bola awele na mwanawe ahumie mtumwa aning'e". Wakahumia bola munu mtumwa kumming'a kuleka wawhena kumadembe wanaimba. Kuwila waholoka anemba wala wawhena nao kukaya kwa yuwawo. Mwene kuleka wapata watumwa wadenga luwungo wikala na wanu wake wawa mnyunga. Kubanika kwake kukahila kuwa mkulungwa mwene kaya.

13. Mtano wake Usungula nawe Mchehe

Usungula apengene chinemba nawe mchehe. Bahi, mchehe apite pa'luhole kunakamula imbedo yake uhimba. Bahi uhimba mkuteleka wala wohe namene, kuchi "Ndembela wanu wamaite kwomba ing'ole yangu". Kuka uhimba kuchi "Nangu ngulembela wako mchehe na usungula mwimbe ing'ole yangu". Aukite mchehe kwimba kuchidono "Twanipita mnuhole kunakomola pakaya kunakamula imbedo yoo m m". Kuka usungula kuchidono "Umwene utenda kwimba, kwimba ukwone kwachi, utewedya mmili wako woo m m". Bahi uhimba akamkemeka kuchi ayu ni achikamula dimbedo dyake, akamkamula mchehe akamhunga.

14. Mtano wake Ung'uku nawe Usungula

Ung'uku nanume apengene chinemba nawe usungula. Bahi, aukile ung'uku kuchi "Wepo usungula pulembela kuida kwetu mtondo, omba ihuti koka nikumale kuchi uwele mkuholoka". Bahi, usungula aniuka kuwhena, panawandikile kukaya, usungula anitwala ihuti kwomba. Bahi, ung'uku papilikene ihuti kutwala mutwe wake kupiha m'kwapa, kulala pa chituta pala. Bahi, aniwalaila adyawe kuchi "Kona akaholoka usungula kachi mutwe upite kulonga ing'anya, mnangule chihi wala woo akumbile". Usungula paheleke kumkodya ung'uku alele pala, kuwudya kuchi "Chamani?" Kuchi adyawe "Mutwe wake upite kulonga ing'anya, anilaila chihi kuchi 'kona akaholoka usungula atwale wala akumbile kachi mutwe upite kulonga ing'anya'". Usungula akawhena ing'ande kunambila wala. Pamalidile aniwalaila adyawe kuchi "Kona akaholoka nyaulile paliamba aide, kona akaholoka nawinang'e ombe ihuti nane

ngumale kuchi awele akuholoka ". Bahi, usungula pachihwika kundila kula, ung'uku muno nyuma mkukongowela kuchi " kokolikoo ". Bahi, usungula akaitikila kuchi " Kweli nyanjawangu apite kulonga ing'anya wino aniuya ". Bahi ung'uku nanume kuliamba aniwhena, pachiwandikila pakaya nawinang'e akaomba yake ihuti. Usungula papilikene ihuti akawatuma anemba kuchi " Twala imbedo mnguchekete mutwe ukalonge ing'anya, nimwene nguladye pa chituta ". Bahi anemba wanitwala imbedo kucheketa mutwe, pamchekete mutwe, usungula anihwa na mutwe unihwa, nanga pawapite kulonga ing'anya ndulu. Pakomwele ung'uku aniudya kuchi " Usungula palele pala atenda chamani ? " Kuka wanu kuchi " Akuyedidye wako madudi, ate mutwe wako-wako wapite kulonga ing'anya, bahi, nawinang'e nalo payedidye. Bahi anihwa na mutwe unihwa ". Ung'uku akakana kuchi " Mutwe wangu-wangu ukapite kulonga ing'anya ndulu, napihite m'kwapa wala nanga panachekete ndulu, awu ujinga wake mwene ".

15. Mtano wake Usungula nawe Ung'ambe

Usungula nawe ung'ambe wanilambilana kuchi " Tuwhene tukapakule uchi chipeda chake uhimba ". Kuka ung'ambe kuchi " Wepo usungula mcheme ung'onde hoti uwhene ukapakule nawe ". Pawapite kula usungula na ung'onde wakwedile muha m'chipeda mula, uwino aheleke mwene uhimba kuchi " Wepo uliani upakula uchi wangu ? " Kuka usungula kuchi " Yangula wepo ung'onde kachi ' mipa ung'onde ' ". Pa'yangwile'pa ung'onde yula mkumotaka kuwila pahi mkanya mwake uhimba. Uhimba akamtang'una ung'onde. Liamba lyake usungula kuwhena kuwila kwake ung'ambe, ung'ambe kuchi " Nelo longana nawe umbutuka, akapakule nawe ". Mkulongana nawe umbutuka mpaka umula muha m'chipeda mula. Uhimba kuholoka kuwila kuwudya kuchi " Wepo uliani upakula uchi wangu ? " Kuka usungula kuchi " Yangula wepo umbutuka kachi ' mipa umbutuka ' ". Umbutuka kuyangula kuchi " Mipa umbutuka ". Uhimba kuchi " Sulupuka nikulole ". Pasulupwike umbutuka kuliyela mkanya mwake uhimba, akamtang'una kumtenda inyama pakumnila uchi wake. Liamba lyake usungula akawhena kuwila kwake ung'ambe, ung'ambe kuchi " Nelo mcheme umbawala uwe nawe ". Usungula kumchema umbawala mpaka kunakwela muha mula. Bahi, mwene uhimba aheleke kuchi " Wepo uliani ? " Kuka usungula kuchi " Kachi, ' Mipa umbawala ' ". Umbawala kuchi " Mipa umbawala ". Kuka uhimba kuchi " Sulupuka nikulole ". Umbawala namkusulupuka kuliyela mkanya mwake uhimba akamtang'una. Bahi, usungula ahimike lutambo kwawe kung'ande kuyida kunainikila pahi na chipeda. Bahi, kona akasupuka

muha watanyika mnidodo, kuwhena kunamotokela kwawe kung'ande. Bahi, liduwa alyo akawhena kunamchema ung'ambe kuchi "Nelo tuwhene". Wakauka ung'ambe nawe usungula wakawhena kunakwela umula m'chipeda. Uwino aheleke mwene uhimba kuchi "Apakule uchi m'chipeda changu nani?" Kuka usungula kuchi "Kachi 'mipa ung'ambe'". Kuka ung'ambe kuchi "Nanga, kachi 'Mipa usungula'". Bahi wanitahukana mpaka kuka usungula kuchi "Wino ning'e lutambo lyangu nilipambilile, nguwhene". Kuka ung'ambe kuchi "Tulipambilile towohewohe, tuwhene". Mpaka wakalipambilile wohewohe usungula na ung'ambe wakawhena kwao. Uhimba anilolela pahi nanga pawawene kuwila, akauka mwanda kwawe.

Translation

1. *The Tale of the Python and the Small Child*

(Once) There were people (*panipawa*, the Kiswahili *palikuwa*) who went to the forest to hunt. They went and came across a python lying (the phrase in Kiswahili would be *kukuta chatu amelala*: *ilele*, perfect of *-lala*). (Note that the ordinary past and perfect tense may have a relative meaning: "which lay," or "which had lain down".)

When the people arrived at the place where the python lay, it caught them and swallowed them. They who were in the village (*wawele*, the past tense of verb "to be" used in relative sense = "they who were") expected, they did not come at all (*nanga pawaheleke ndulu*; the "nanga" makes the verb following a negative; the *pa* here is the possible tense, and so with the negative it becomes "they were prevented", or "it was not possible for them to come"; *ndulu* gives the idea of completeness = Kiswahili *kamwe*). In the morning other people went again to that place and again came across the python lying, and it caught those people and swallowed them all. At their village they (the people) became finished by the swallowing of them (by the) python. Finally (*bahi*) there remained one woman, that woman was pregnant. Then that woman bore a male child. The child coming out of the womb asked, saying "Where is my uncle?" (*Awele kwachi? Awele* is the past tense of the verb "to be", but appears to be used in a present sense.) The mother replied: (for *Kuuka* and *Kuchi* see notes on pp. 461, 464)[1] "He is not here, he has been eaten." He asked again, saying "Where was he eaten?" (She) said "In the forest".

[1] Page references are to *Bulletin*, Vol. II, Part III.

Then that child said to the mother (Note the objective prefix *wa-*, here the plural is used for respect), saying " I want a man to go to the forest and kill a ' changa ' (Swahili, *Komba*) and bring it " (*aide nacho* = " that he may come with it "). The mother went to look for (*kulembela* is frequently used with the meaning of to look for or seek) a man and found him, and said to him (Note the change: the form really is *wanimhaulila*, but *m* before *h* becomes *ny*, and thus *waninyaulila*, see p. 419) " Go and look for a ' changa ' and bring it ". That man went to the forest and looked for a " changa "; he found (one) and killed (it), to the village went with it, and went and gave it to the child. (*Kunamupa*: *na* with the sense of motion; see notes on the infinitive, p. 463.) The child said " Now take off its skin, that I may put it on my head ". They took (it) off and put (it) on his head. When they had put (it) on his head the child said " Now I want a large knife that you may give me ". They looked for (one) and gave him. He took (*twete* is past form of *twala*) the skin of the " changa " and wore (it) on (his) head and the knife (in his) hands) (and) he told his mother saying " Follow me, let us go, show me the road which the people followed ". (*Iwapite*: relative *i*, " which," referring to the road.) They arose, his mother and other people, to show him the road. They went into the forest three days, the fourth day going a little, now they saw in front a large snake, the python lying.

The people were startled (or made as if to run: *kuchi watile*— the *kuchi* here appears to have a meaning of " seemed " or " made as if "); he forbade them, saying " Don't run ". Those people sat down. That child himself passed before to go in front. He went and stood, the python and he also stood there. That child took his knife and carried (it in his) hand. Now he heard the python saying " You! child! Swear and say where have you seen a thing in the forest change and become a stone lying flat? " (*ngungungungu*: descriptive of a thing lying flat on the ground.) And he, the child, said " You! python! Swear and say where have you seen a child being born with white hair on his head? " Then the python said " You! child! Swear and say where have you seen a thing of the forest change and become a stone lying flat? " That child said " You! python! Swear and say where have you seen a child being born with white hair on his head? " Then they argued, and the child arose and caught that python and took his knife and killed the python. There the python died and he cut open his stomach inside, then all the people who were swallowed came forth, all of them came forth. Then they returned to

the town (*kuleka*, see note on p. 464) all the people were pleased when their relatives came. And they took, every man, a slave and gave to that child, afterwards they built a village.

namkuwelekwa appears to mean " just born ".

dihuli mutwe mbee, white hair on his head; the child was wearing the skin of the " changa " (lemur), which is rather light-coloured.

2. *The Tale of the Elephant and the Hare*

An elephant cultivated (*alimite*, past tense of the verb *kulima*) a very large garden and planted *vikota*. The *vikota* flourished exceedingly in his garden. One day a hare came, the owner was not there, he was in the village. Then the hare went into the garden of the elephant and was eating the *vikota*. The elephant himself came and met him eating, he asked him saying " The garden you are eating, whose are the *vikota* ? " Then the hare said (for use of *aukile*, see p. 461, notes on *kuuka*) " Mine, I myself cultivated (it) this year ". The elephant said " (It's) my garden ". The hare said " (It's) my garden ", and they argued (and the hare) said " Now you ! elephant, look for the people who saw you cultivating, and as for me, he who saw me cultivating is God ". (*Wachikwona ulima*, see notes on Relatives and Participles, pp. 430 and 432 ; *nawinangu*, " I " or " me ", used like " as for me ".)

So the elephant went to gather all the animals (*kunawakumbula na*, see p. 463), and the hare went and called an ape, and caused him to climb above, and white ants he placed below, a tree. In the garden there was a large tree, which stood in the middle of the garden. (*Widimile*, past tense used in relative sense.) So the ape climbed up (*Alikwedidye* means, literally, " he caused himself to climb up," *-li-* is the reflexive particle used with the causative form of the verb *kukwela*) ; in the branches there he placed himself, and the white ants they rested at the foot of the tree. Now the elephant and his animals came to that place, and the elephant said " I say ! you animals ! whose is this garden ? " The animals said " Yours, elephant ". (*Wako wepo* really means " your own ", i.e. implies that there is no doubt about it.)

The elephant said " Now, do you hear, hare ? " The hare said " No ! wait that I may ask God. I say, God ! speak truly ! whose is this garden ? " (Note, generally, *linda hoti* " wait a little ", *achi* " I say ".)

Then the ape (*liukile*, from verb *kuuka*) above there said " The owner of the garden is the hare. Do not cheat him and take advantage

of his smallness. The owner of the garden is the hare. Reply, my people down below there ". Now was heard (infinitive, used in narrative sense) the white ants below there : " *Waaa*." " I hear, the owner of the garden is the hare, I hear." Heard below " *Waaa* ". (Here the ape appeals to the white ants, and evidently pretends to hear and translate the *Waaa* of the white ants as being the reply.)

So the animals arose, saying " The garden is the hare's, hear what God says ". And they arose and left the hare taking the garden. But he who cultivated was the elephant himself, his companion cheated him in this way. Afterwards he divided with the ape, and they built their houses in the garden, eating the food of the elephant with his companion the ape.

Vikota, a kind of millet which has sweet stalks (Zulu *imfe* ?). The grain does not appear to be used except for beer-making.

3. *The Tale of the " Unjanga "*

There was a man, that man was an *Unjanga*, and the *Unjanga* had a daughter who was very beautiful. All the men came to ask (for her) in marriage (*kutongodya* from *kutongola* " to speak ", not to be confused with the Kiswahili *kutongoza*, which generally means " to seduce "). The *unjanga* himself said (*achidono*, see pp. 463–4) " He who seeks to marry my daughter, let him go to the garden, raise up the millet which has fallen down with the wind " (*Alembela* here has the relative sense = " he who seeks " ; *dimotweke* used in relative sense = " which has fallen "). If he is not able, my child he may not live with ".

Then a pig came, saying " I want your child to live with her ". Then the *unjanga* said, when he replied " Go to the garden and raise up the millet which has fallen with the wind ; if you are able, come and live with her ". The pig went to the garden and went to the forest with his axe to cut poles (trees). When he had finished to cut he returned to the garden and placed the poles there. He took a pointed stick to dig a hole and took a pole and stood it up and filled in the hole. Now he tried to raise up the millet, then came the wind and knocked down the millet, (he) tried and the same thing happened (*kuchi kula cha*, idiomatic, appears to mean " the same as before "), and he was beaten. He returned to the village and told the *unjanga*, saying " I have tried that, I was beaten " (*nanga panguhulwile* : *nanga* is negative, *pa-* the possible tense : " I was not able to be able " = " it is impossible "). The *unjanga* said " Very well, now go your way ; you do not get my child ". The pig went home.

Then came many animals from the forest to try; it was impossible for them. Now came the hare, saying "I want your child that I may live with her". And he (*unjanga*) told him the same thing (*uchimo* = "oneness", and so "the same thing"), saying "Go to the garden and raise up the millet, if you are not able you will not live with my child".

The hare went up to the garden and turned aside into the forest to cut his bark (a particular kind used for making rope), and he twisted rope. When he had finished he set a trap for partridges. When he had finished to set the trap, then came a partridge and was trapped and he caught it. Now he saw his brother-in-law coming from the village; so he took the partridge and gave him, saying "Take the partridge and give to the father-in-law that he may cook: when he has finished to cook he may eat the flesh, the gravy let him put in a split stick and put aside for me". So his brother-in-law said "At your place do they do this?" The hare said "Yes, we do". So he took the partridge to the village and gave it to his father, saying "This partridge your son-in-law gave me in the garden saying give this to the father-in-law that he may cook, the flesh he may eat, the gravy let him put in a split stick and put aside for me". The *unjanga* said "Tush! do they do this at his place? I will wait that he may try himself that we may look". When the hare came from the garden and arriving at the village, he asked "My gravy have you put it in a split stick?" The *unjanga* said "We are waiting that you may put it in yourself that we may look". The hare said "I want this gravy that you may put it in the split stick now". The *unjanga* went to the forest to cut a stick and split it nicely (*siii* = nicely, or in a proper way) and took it and set it upright in the ground, and he tried to put in the gravy, and it was spilled down; he tried again, tried again, no! (*nanga* here means "he failed"). "Ah, I say, hare! have you done this one day at your place—to take water (liquid) and put it in a split stick?" The hare said, when he replied, "Oh, Mr. Unjanga, have you done this one day at your place, to raise up millet which has fallen by the wind? If (*kachi*) you have raised up millet which has fallen down with the wind one day, then to-day you must put gravy in a split stick. If you have not yet put gravy in a split stick, then millet you have not yet raised up one day at all". So the *unjanga* was beaten, and took his child and gave to the hare to live with her.

NOTE.—Compare with this the Chinyanja tale, "The Chief of the Kuka and his Son-in-law," in Captain Rattray's *Some Folk-lore, Stories, and Songs in Chinyanja*.

4. *A Story of the Hare and the Leopard*

There was a person, and that person was an elephant. The elephant went into the forest and met a hare, who had cut a path through some *mtamba* and was jumping to settle there and jumping from there to settle here (*apaswile*, past tense used in relative sense of the verb *kupasula*; *Mtamba*, a rope-like creeper which grows all over the Makonde country, hanging from trees like festoons; it is sometimes very thick and when cut gives a fairly generous supply of water).

When the elephant saw him doing this, his heart was pleased. Then he told the hare, saying " I want medicine which you treat yourself with, to become small, and I want that I may become small like you ". The hare said " The medicine is not difficult; lie down that I may slice off all your flesh and take it off, and I shall seek medicine that I may anoint you; you shall become small like me ". The elephant replied, saying " All right, I consent ". The hare took leaves and laid them down, the elephant came and lay down. The hare took his knife and sliced all the flesh off the elephant and left the elephant only bones. He was tortured by the sun. The hare took the flesh of the elephant to make gravy to eat with his boiled rice.

The elephant was in pain and sent the *unandala* to follow (fetch) the medicine at the hare's. When he arrived he said " I, my uncle has sent me saying 'Go after the medicine' to-day, he is near to death ". The hare said " Now, wait for food first, to-day I want to bring it ". The *unandala* waited for food. The hare cooked the rice, the gravy (was) of the elephant. The *unandala* found it pleasant, the flesh of the elephant, and said " And I, I want flesh ". The hare said " Let us go to the hill and kill ". The *unandala* replied " Let us go ". They went up to the hill, the hare had prepared a road from the top of the hill to the bottom. Then he said to the *unandala* " You stay here, if you hear them running don't dare to look, if you look the animal will run away ". The *unandala* replied " All right ". The hare himself went round the hill to the top, and he took a stone and knocked it down to pass rolling to where the *unandala* was, and it crushed the head of the *unandala* and he died there. And he took and carried to the village. When he came to the village he took off the flesh and ate it. Many of the animals from the forest came, and many died, till now came the leopard to follow medicine, (the elephant) saying " Now, I am nearly dead ". The hare said to him " Wait for food ", and he agreed. He cooked the flesh of an *mbutuka*; when he had eaten, the

leopard found it pleasant and said " And I, I want flesh ". The hare said " Let us go to the hill that you may take it ". The leopard agreed. They went up to the hill, the leopard stayed in the road there, and he (the hare) said to him " If you hear them running don't look, if you look they will be startled ". The leopard said " All right ". The hare went to the top of the hill and took a stone and knocked it down. When the leopard heard it he turned round to look and saw it was a stone, and he drew aside and lay at the side, and the stone passed and fell down to there, and he got up and lay there and pretended to be dead. When the hare came he was pleased, and said " Now I have got a *munjilo* for my child ". Behold ! his companion was pretending thus. And he carried him and went a little, now the leopard stuck his claw in his shoulder. The hare, when he felt the pain he threw him down and ran away, and the leopard chased him till they arrived where there were some ashes. The hare scattered the ashes and caused a dust. The leopard, because of the dust of the ashes, did not see the road in which the hare went. When it was finished he followed his footprints, and he met the hare who had built a *chiumbi* and sat there. The leopard came forward and said " Are not you he that I am looking for ? " The hare came forward and said " Not I. We came from our village a few days ago hunting with nets for leopards. We have killed nine leopards, there remains only one to make ten. Surely you are the tenth ? " The hare called, saying " Hunters ! Here is the tenth leopard " (*ayooo* used in the chase to call the hunters = " here he is ", thus explaining the echo, *Elooo*). The forest was heard (replying) " *Elooo* ". So when the leopard heard this he ran away home and left the hare safe, and the elephant, there where he was, died.

Munjilo = Swahili *kanzu*.
Chiumbi = A screen used in hunting.

5. *The Tale of the Jin and the Girls and the Sick Boy*

There was once a boy and he was sick and he had sisters (*anamahaku*, really girls before they have been initiated, but here means sisters). These sisters forbade the child playing there. One day they went to the place of a jin to gather *mapenjele* (a sort of fruit) which were at his place. That sick boy sang, and the jin prevented them. Then the jin asked that child saying " My child, where have you come from ? " This child sang, saying " We come from the *kwihame* (a place where a village once stood, often used as a camping-ground for travellers) to gather *upengeleee*, we come from the *kwihame* to gather *upengeleee* ".

"My child beat the drum. '*Kulembwe-lembwe-lembwende* (imitation of the drum), *Kulembwe-lembwe-lembwende, kachi ndinde, kachi mblunda*'." The jin doing this said "*Lembwende*, say *lembwende*". And those children descended and ran away and went home. (Apparently the jin dances to the drum and the children get a chance to escape. Note, *mkusulupukanga*, the plural formed by adding *-nga* to the end of the verb; *sulupuka* = "descend," also *kutukutanga*. See p. 463.)

Next day there gathered a very large crowd of girls to go again, and their sick boy, to climb up the tree again. And again the jin came and asked "My child, where have you come from?" And again he sang "We come from the *kwihame* to gather *upengeleee*, we come from the *kwihame* to gather *upengeleee*". "My child, beat the drum '*kulembwe-lembwe-lembwande, kulembwe-lembwe-lembwende, kulembwe-lembwe-lembwende, kachi ndinde, kachi mblunda kulembwe-lembwe-lembwende, kulembwe-lembwe-lembwende*'." The jin, as he was going round the tree, said "Say *lembwende*, say *lembwende*". And the children were tired because he went round the tree in this manner, and he caught them and placed them in his house. Then the jin, when he had put them in the house, he went to gather his companions to cut firewood, all the jins. Meanwhile those children ran away. When they ran away, in the house there were some clothes and that sick child he clothed all his companions, and he cut their hair (shaved off) and put it in a vessel inside the house of the jin. In the village they met with all the jins, they were coming carrying their firewood and they asked, saying "My children where have you come from?" The children sang the same as before. And those children got a way to pass, and they passed. When they passed, the jin opened his house but did not find the children (people) and they took him, himself (jin) and killed him and ate him, all of the jins, because he deceived. And that sick child he got two women to live with him, he was given them because he gave them a road to escape.

6. *A Story of the Hyena and the Hare*

The hyena and the hare went to hunt, and they killed a guinea-fowl. The sun was sinking, so the hare said "You! hyena go and bring that fire" (that is, the sun) (*kutenda pu*, descriptive of the sun setting). So the hyena went to follow the sun, thinking it was fire, till the sun disappeared. Meanwhile the hare ate the guinea-fowl himself and withheld from the hyena (*muno nyuma* = meanwhile, lit.

" there behind "). Next morning the hyena returned to where the hare was, saying " I have not seen the fire at all ". The hare said " You ! hyena you did not look for the fire, you left it here ". The hyena asked saying " Where is the guinea-fowl ? " The hare said " A large wild animal came and frightened me, and I ran away and left it (the animal) taking and eating the guinea-fowl ". The hyena said " All right ". They returned to the village, the hare to his, and the hyena to his. The hyena began to pretend a sick headache, saying " My head is hurting ". So the hare came saying " I want to go and see the hyena's head ". When he arrived at the place of the hyena he found him lying in the house. The hare went up to his place and knocked (*hodika*, a verb made from *hodi*).

" *Hodi*, house." When the hyena heard, he replied to him " Come in ". He went into the house, and the hyena said " You ! hare ! there is nobody in the place here to cook food, now you go to the garden and eat some bananas ". The hare said " All right ". He went to the garden and climbed up. Meanwhile the hyena took soot and covered his body and followed the hare. He found him above eating bananas, and he asked him " Those bananas which you are eating, whose are they ? " Before the hare replied, the hyena took a stick and beat him. So the hare ran away. Then the hyena bathed himself in water and went and laid down. Now the hare came and said " In the garden there, there came an animal covered with soot and beat me so I ran away, but I remember him, I know him ". So they rested. Next day, in another village which was near, there was a women's dance, and the hyena said " Hare ! let us go to the dance ". They went, the hare took a *ndunda* to beat, and the hyena took a *likungwa* (*ndunda* and *likungwa* are different sorts of drums). The hare started to beat, saying " I was able to eat the guinea-fowl myself, I was able to eat the guinea-fowl myself " (*pa*, the " able " tense). Then the hyena beat the *likungwa* and said " Who was beating him in the garden disguised with soot ? " Then the hare came forward and said " I say ! what did you say when you played ? " Then the hyena, and he said " I say ! what did you say when you played ? " And they began to fight, and people caught hold of them and asked. The hyena said " This person ate the guinea-fowl himself and left none for me ". And the hare said " This person beat me in the garden ". So the people came forward, saying " Now, that's enough, because tricksters have met together ". And they separated and went their way, the hare his way and the hyena his way.

7. *Another Story of the Hyena and the Hare*

The hare and the hyena went to hunt in the forest, they went and came to a place where meat was rotting. When the hyena came he began to drip saliva, and called the hare and said " Now I do not go to hunt, I remain here to pick up the maggots down here ". The hare said when he replied " Your greed, hyena: if you meet me lying in the road you will eat me ". The hyena denied, saying " You are telling lies ". And they argued till they came to the village, and they rested.

Next morning the hare took a gourd of honey and poured it over his body and left it dripping. And he went up to the road of the hyena's garden and lay in the road. In the morning, now came the hyena, he was coming out together with his wife. When they arrived there at the road they came across the hare lying; and arriving, and seeing the hare that it was fat, he told his wife saying " It's my meat, I will pick it up ". His wife said " Liar ! is it not the hare ? " Himself said " No ! you my wife ! do you not know meat ? Why should the hare make himself meat ? Wait till I taste and see ". So he bent down and took his tongue and licked the body of the hare, and said " *Looo !* this is nice (sweet), what sort of hare is fat like this ? Have you seen (or felt) how sweet the meat itself is ". His wife said " Come you ! Let us go; it's the hare ". So he returned a little, now he said " You wife ! we are leaving meat here ! where is there a hare fat like this ? Wait till I taste again ". And he licked, and he licked, and then he said " It's nice, I want to carry it to the garden that I may take off the hair ". His wife said " If you want to, carry it ". And he carried it on his shoulder, the saliva dripping from him, licking the honey from the body of the hare. " I say, fellows ! it's sweet ! this meat is exceedingly fat ". And he went to the garden and split firewood and took fire and prepared it. When the fire burned he took the hare that he may put him on the fire. The hare arose and said " You, hyena ! Did you not say 'I ! you ! I will not eat you' ? Why now are you eating me ? " The hyena said " Although it was so nice (?) ah ! you made us eat forbidden things ". So the argument (or denial) of the hyena finished that day.

8. *A Story of the Lion*

There was a man who bred dogs, every day they went to hunt and killed animals, placing them in pits, and killed and placed in pits

(*lipondo* = " hole " or " pit "), and himself went forward. Meanwhile there came a lion and sat where the animals were to wait for the owner of the animals. When the man came and saw the lion sitting there, when he saw him he wanted to run. So the lion prevented him, aad said " Don't run away, come back ". The man returned. When he returned the lion said " Cut open your animals, the liver give to me, you yourself take the meat and go with it ". The man agreed, and he cut open all the animals and took the livers and gave the lion; himself took the flesh only and went away with it. He went to the village and did not speak, his wife asked him, but he did not tell. Next morning he went again, the same thing happened as yesterday; he came across the lion sitting again, and he cut open, and gave him the livers. He came to the village, his wife was vexed and said " To-morrow we shall go together that I may see to whom you give the livers " (*tuwa chalumo*, " we shall be one "). Next morning, when he got up, his wife said " To-day we shall go together ". The man forbade her, saying " Where do you want to go ? " The woman was obdurate; now the woman was pregnant. They went and killed two animals, and they went a little and came across the lion sitting. The lion, seeing that the woman was pregnant, said " To-day the animals take yourself, but I want you to cut open your wife, that which is inside her give me ". The man was astounded and said " What ! what do you say ? " He said " I said, the animals take yourself, I want that which is inside your wife " (that is the *libongo*). The man told his wife, saying " Do you see, my wife ! I strongly forbade you, saying don't come, you would not hear. Now hear what the lion says ". His wife was frightened at this and was weeping. The lion said " Cut open quickly and give me ". And they argued. Now suddenly came the hare, and the hare asked " What is the quarrelling about ? " The man came forward and said " The lion says ' Cut open your wife and take that which is inside and give me, and I, I am not able to cut her open. If he wants, let him cut her open himself ". The hare said " I say ! did you say that, Mr. Lion ? " The lion said " Yes ". Then the hare said " Cut open your wife, you ! and you, lion, cut out your liver and give to me that I may eat it ". The lion did not understand what the hare said and he asked him saying " What do you say, hare ? " The hare said " I say, let this man cut out the unborn child from his wife and give to you lion, that you may eat it ; and you lion cut out your liver and give to me, the hare, that I may eat it ". Then the lion, when he heard this that the hare said, he ran away

and left the man and the hare chasing him. They did not see the lion again. Afterwards the man went home with his wife.

9. *A Tale of the Tortoise and the Monkey*

A tortoise made friendship with a monkey, so one day the tortoise went to gossip at the place of the monkey. The monkey cooked food and dished it in a *kalala*, and the gravy he put in a plate. Then he told the tortoise saying " Go to the house and eat food ". The tortoise went to the house and found food dished in as *nikalala* [Maples gives the meaning of this word as " sifting basket ". Such or similar baskets are used for serving porridge]. He tried to take some, but could not reach it. He climbed up till he fell inside the *nikalala* ; he took a handful of food and climbed up again till he fell to the outside and dipped it in the gravy. He did this again, climbed up till he fell inside the *nikalala*, took some food, climbed and fell outside and dipped it in the gravy. He was discomforted thus till he finished the food, and he washed his hands with water. When this was finished he took his leave and said " Now I am going home, good-bye ". When he reached home he slept for three days ; the fourth day the monkey arose to go to the place of the tortoise to gossip. When he arrived the tortoise killed a fowl and cooked food to set it before (lit. to cook for) the monkey. Now at the place of the tortoise there was a river near, so he took fire and put it to the grass and left it there on the ground at the bank of the river. Then the tortoise dished up the food. When he had finished he told the monkey saying " Go and wash your hands with water at the river, and come and eat food ". Then the monkey went to wash, he tried to go, now his hands were dirty ; when he arrived where the food was his hands were dirty again. He returned again to the river to wash his hands, when he arrived at the village his hands were dirty again. So the monkey became tired, and said " Now that's enough for me, I don't want food ". Then the tortoise said " You at your place dished up food in a *nikalala* and you knew that I had no size, you made a joke on purpose. And I, I was able to place on purpose fire in the road to the river ". So their friendship died because they played each other a practical joke.

10. *The Tale of Banti and the Cock*

There was once a woman, and that woman did not bear any child. She dug some clay and put it in a vessel and covered it with a potsherd. It remained for three months. When she uncovered the vessel the third month she found a girl had grown in the vessel. Now that girl

did not pound grain at all, her work was to string beads. There came a man to want her in marriage, and her mother told that man saying " My child you want to marry her, she absolutely does not know how to cook, her work is to string beads. If you want to marry her, live with her here that I may look after my child myself ". The man said " No ! (it is true that) she does not know how to cook, (but) at our place I have my sister, and my nieces are there, they cook to give me, it's best that I live with her, that's all ". And that man took the woman to his place; he was able to live with her one month. He was able to live with her one month, the food his sister and nieces were able to cook and give them to eat, herself she did string beads. Now, the man went to hunt, and the mother of the man took some rice and gave to the woman who did not pound to pound. When she pounded she said " *Chooo ! chooo !* I did not pound at home, *chooo ! chooo !* I did not pound at home ". Then that woman sank into the earth below, and the mortar and the pestle and all the things that were there all sank into the earth beneath. That man at the hunt was dreaming of a misfortune[1] and returned. When he returned to the village he asked, " Where is my wife ? " And the people said " Your wife has sunk beneath ". That man was astonished to tell of the misfortune of his wife. And he made a lot of beer and called people to tell of the misfortune, all of them were unable to tell anything. Then a cock came in sight (and the man) said " Try what you may find to say that we may see ". Then the cock crew : " *Kokolikoo ! namanjanjali, namanjanjali*, he went a journey, *namanjanjali*, I speak of being beaten, *namanjanjali*, I speak of being beaten, *namanjanjali*, of Baruti being beaten, *namanjanjali*, her husband was not there, her husband was not there, *namanjanjali*, he went to the hunt, he went to the hunt, *namanjanjali*, *kokolikoo kokolikoo, namanjanjali, wareyayu, namanjanjali* ".

And he went to her mother's place there to tell, saying " Baruti is not here ". The mother asked saying " Where has she gone ? " (And he) said " She has sunk below ". The mother said " Let us go, that we may see the place where she sank ". And they followed together to the place there, and he showed her saying " She sank here ". Then the mother made an offering and placed it, and Baruti came forth and all the things that were with her, and afterwards the mother herself took her and went with her to her place, and the marriage was dissolved.

[1] *chihakao* : " hunt " = *chihako* ; perhaps an intentional play on words.

11. *The Tale of Luhengo and his Sisters*

Luhengo had two sisters, and one day his sisters arose and said " To-day we go to see some friends ". Then Luhengo said " And I, I want to go with you ". But his sisters forbade him saying " We do not want you to come with us, Luhengo ". But he would not consent and said " I am coming ". So his sisters ran away and left him alone in the village, and he followed after in their tracks. His sisters arrived at the village, and Luhengo arrived also. They turned their eyes to look in the road and they saw Luhengo coming, so they left him and he remained. In the evening they cooked food and ate. Then at night they showed them the house of a jin to sleep in. They spread a mat on the floor for Luhengo to lie on, and his sisters slept, but Luhengo was awake. Then the jin arose from the bed to get his knife to sharpen that he may kill those girls. So Luhengo got up from the mat there and said " It hurts ". So the jin, when he heard he arose and went outside of the house. So Luhengo wakened his sisters and said " Let us go home ". So they went home, and the jin was too late (or he failed) to eat the people because of Luhengo. And afterwards his sisters wanted Luhengo everywhere they went, they did not leave him, because he saved them from the jin.

12. *The Tale of the Orphan*

There was a man had a son. His father and mother died and left the boy by himself. Now that boy was very much bullied ; if he went to play with his boy companions they beat him, and he got no food ; he was saved by eating the leaves of the cassava.

One day his companions came saying " Let us go to the forest and net *matawala* " (small animals a little larger than a rat, with long, pointed lips). And he agreed. They went to the forest and set their nets to catch, and out came a *matawala* and the orphan killed it. Another came out, and he killed it. And they returned, and those boys, his companions, robbed him and left him crying.

Next day they went, again he killed, and again they robbed him. Another day the orphan arose and said " To-day let us go and hunt in that forest ". That was where the graves of his father and mother were. And his companions agreed and said " Let us go ". And they went till they came to the grave there, and he told his companions saying " Sit down, kneel down, I want, after, that we kill *matawala* ; if you see anything coming out don't run then ". And his companions agreed, saying " All right ". He himself sang.

(The following is a song by the boy, with chorus sung by his companions.)

Come forth, come forth, father	*Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya*
They treat me like an inferior	*Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya*
I killed my *matawala*	*Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya*
They took and robbed me	*Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya*
They said you have no parents	*Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya*
Your parents have gone to *kunambawe*	*Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya*
Come forth, come forth, father.	*Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyayaoo.*

(*Ngondo liyaya* means a war with a lot of people, probably refers to hunting.

Kunambawe, the place where people go when they die.)

Now came a snake from the grave there, and lay down and coiled itself, and the boys wanted to run, and he said " Do not run ". And they sat there clapping their hands. That snake came from the grave of his father. And he arose and sang at the grave of his mother, and a snake also came from that place and coiled itself there. And he sang again :—

Swallow, swallow, father,	*Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya*
Them who treat me like an inferior	*Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya*
I killed my *matawala*	*Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya*
They took and robbed me	*Nyondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya*
They said you have no parents	*Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya*
Your parents have gone to *kunambawe*	*Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyaya*
Swallow, swallow, father	*Ngondo liyaya, ngondo liyayaoo.*

And the snakes (*mihongo*, pl. of *nyongo*) arose and swallowed up all the boys. And he sang again and the snakes went and dug themselves in below. And the child returned to the village. The parents of the boys went to the forest to ask him " Where are your companions ? " And the orphan denied and said " I do not know, they left me there at the forest ". They waited (or expected) till the sun set; they waited till the dawn (*pii* = sunset, *ngwee* = dawn). Then they arose early and went to consult the diviner. The diviner said " The orphan, he has hidden his companions ". They went and asked him, and he replied and said " Every man who has a child, let him bring forth a slave and give me ". And they brought forth every man a slave and gave him, and they went to the graves singing. Then those

boys came out again and they went to the village to their parents' houses. His trouble was over, and he became the chief of a village. He himself afterwards acquired slaves, and they built a village and he lived (there) with his people ; he was a free man.

13. *The Story of the Hare and the Hyena*

A hare made friendship with a hyena. The hyena went to an uncleared place in a field and took the axe of the lion. So the lion cooked a very large quantity of beer and said " I want people who know how to play my song (or dance) ". Then the lion said " I, I want you, hyena and hare, to sing my dance ". Then the hyena sang, saying " We went to the uncleared place in the field and we arrived at the village taking an axe—*yoo m m* ". Then the hare said " You yourself are singing, singing where you may feel, you endanger your body *woo m m* ". Then the lion knew that it was he who took his axes and he caught the hyena and imprisoned him.

14. *The Tale of the Cock and the Hare*

A cock made friends with a hare. Then the cock said " You hare ! When you want to come to my place the day after to-morrow, fire a gun that I may know that you are coming ". Then the hare arose to go, and when he drew near the village the hare took a gun and fired. So the cock when he heard the gun took his head and hid it under his wing and lay on the dust-heap there. And he ordered his wife and said " If the hare comes, say his head has gone to collect a debt and show him that beer that he may drink ". When the hare arrived he came across the cock lying there, and asked saying " What's the matter ? " His wife said " His head has gone to sue for a debt, he ordered me thus, saying, when the hare comes take the beer and give him to drink and say that his head has gone to sue for a debt ". The hare went into the house and drank the beer. When he had finished he ordered his wife, saying " When he returns tell him to come the day after to-morrow, and if he comes tell him to fire a gun that I may know that he is coming ". When the hare arrived in the road there, the cock behind crew saying " *kokolikoo* ". Then the hare replied and said " Truly my companion went to sue for a debt, now he has returned ".

Now the cock next day went, when he arrived near the village and he also fired his gun. When the hare heard the gun he sent his boys and said " Take an axe and cut off my head that it may go and sue for a debt, and for myself, lay me on the dust-heap ". Then the boys took an axe and cut off his head, when they had cut off his head the

hare died and the head died (also): it did not go to collect a debt at all. When the cock arrived he asked saying " The hare lying there, what is he doing ? " The people replied " He imitated you (what you did) a few days ago; he said that your head went to sue for a debt, and he to-day was able to imitate. So he died and his head died (also) ". The cock denied and said " My head did not go to sue for a debt at all, I hid it under my wing; I was not able to cut it off at all. This is his own foolishness ".

15. *The Story of the Hare and the Tortoise*

The hare and the tortoise cheated each other saying " Let us go and take out the honey from the hive of the lion ". The tortoise said " You hare, call the *ung'onde* first that you may go and get it with him ". When they went, the hare and the *ung'onde* climbed up to the hive above. Now came the lion himself and said " Who are you, taking my honey ? " The hare said " You reply, *ung'onde*, and say ' It's I, the *ung'onde* ' ". When the *ung'onde* replied he fell down again into the mouth of the lion. The lion ate the *ung'onde*.

Next day the hare went again to the tortoise and the tortoise said " To-day go with the *umbutuka* (a kind of antelope) and get it with him ". And he went with the *umbutuka* up to the hive, and the lion came again and asked saying " Who are you, taking my honey ? " The hare said " You reply, *umbutuka*, and say ' It's I, the *umbutuka* ' " The *umbutuka* replied " It's I, the *umbutuka* ". The lion said " Come down that I may see you ". When he went down the *umbutuka* threw himself into the mouth of the lion, and he ate him like meat for eating his honey.

Next day the hare went again to the tortoise, and the tortoise said " To-day call the *umbawala* (bush-buck ?) and go with him ". The hare called the *umbawala* and climbed up above. Then the lion himself came and said " Who are you ? " The hare said " Say ' It's I, the *umbawala* ' ". The *umbawala* replied " It's I, the *umbawala* ". The lion said " Come down that I may see you ". The *umbawala*, going down, threw himself into the mouth of the lion and he ate him.

Then the hare prepared a trap at his house and came and fastened it below the hive, so when he comes down from above he shall catch his legs and go and fall at his house. Then that day he went and called the tortoise and said " To-day let us go ". And they arose, the tortoise and the hare and they went and climbed up to the hive. Now came the lion and said " Who is that taking honey from my hive ? " The

hare said "Say 'It's I, the tortoise' ". The tortoise said "No! say 'It's I, the hare' ". And they argued until the hare said "Now, give me my trap that I may fasten myself and go ". The tortoise said "Let us both fasten ourselves and go ". Then they both fastened themselves, the hare and the tortoise, and they went their way. The lion waited down below, but did not see them again, and he went home.

[Note.—This story (with a different ending) is found in Steere's *Swahili Tales* (p. 369), under the title "The Hare and the Lion ", and a Giryama variant is given by W. E. Taylor (*Giryama Vocabulary and Collections*, p. 123). In these only one animal is cheated by the Hare: the "Snouted Rat" (*buku, fugu*). Mr. Johnson's manuscript gives no explanation of *(u)ng'onde*; but *mbutuka* and *mbawala* appear to be different kinds of antelope. For *u-* prefixed to animals' names, see *Bulletin* III, 3, p. 464.].

THE KALYĀṆASAUGANDHIKAM OF NĪLAKAṆṬHA

Edited by L. D. Barnett

THIS little Sanskrit play belongs to the ancient repertory of Travancore.[1] Having recently obtained from Pandit V. Venkaṭarāma Śarmā of Chenganur a Nāgarī transcript of one MS., which may be called *A*, and a collation of another MS., which I designate as *B*, I now publish the text in transliteration, with such corrections and emendations as seem to be necessary, but without attempting to enforce uniformity of spelling. I have added numbers to the verses.

A and *B* represent two different recensions: the former gives a *textus simplicior*, the latter a *textus ornatior*. My purpose is to present the text of *A*, relegating the readings of *B* to the footnotes and appendix, except when they supply certain emendations; and this is the more prudent course, as *B* appears to be very corrupt. Judging from the available materials, I incline to believe that the *textus simplicior* is the older, and that the *textus ornatior* is a later expansion of it. The additional episode that appears at the end of *B* is from a dramatic point of view bad, and strongly suggests interpolation.

In the critical notes I have used the sign *A*° to denote the readings of *A* for which the corresponding readings of *B* have not been noticed by the Pandit in his collation. In these cases it may generally be inferred that the readings of *A* and *B* agree on the more important points.

In transcribing the Prakrit passages I have made no endeavour to establish uniformity of dialect and harmony with the rules of the grammarians. As I have elsewhere pointed out, the school of Prakrit followed by the poets and scribes of Travancore is an ancient one, differing in important respects from those followed by the grammarians whose manuals are elsewhere taken as standards. Unquestionably the Prakrit passages printed by me in this play are full of discrepancies

[1] It should be distinguished from the Vaḷiya Tamburān's Malayalam-Sanskrit work of the same name (published in the Trivandrum collection of 1858 and again in the Tellicherry edition of M. Rāmuṇṇi Vāriyar in 1895), as well as from Viśvanātha's *Sāugandhikāharaṇa* (in *Kāvyamālā*, No. 74). Their common source is, of course, Mahābhārata, Vana-p°, cxlvi–clvi.

and confusions; but in the main they are based upon this Southern School, and until its principles can be finally established by an exhaustive study of old MSS. it is premature to attempt correction.

The plot of the play hinges upon the desire of Drāupadī, the common wife of the Pāṇḍava brethren, to obtain the Sāugandhika flowers growing in a mysterious lake belonging to the god Kubēra on Mount Gandhamādana. After a brief prelude, the play opens with the appearance of an old Brahman hermit who is painfully struggling along, accompanied by his wife, in a benevolent but vain effort to stop Bhīma, who has set out to fetch the flowers for Drāupadī. Then enters Bhīma, who climbs the mountain and worsts the Rākṣasa Krōdhavaśa, who has been appointed by Kubēra guardian of the lake. The voice of the spirit of the lake is then heard announcing that Bhīma has permission to pluck the flowers, and he leaves the stage. Next to appear is the Vidyādhara Kalyāṇaka, an emissary of Indra, with his mistress Guṇamañjarī, and they, seeing Bhīma approaching the plantain-grove of the ape-god Hanumān, conceal themselves to watch the course of events. Bhīma then returns, enters the grove, and to show his defiance of its master tears down its *mānaśṛṅga*. Hanumān now comes on the scene to punish Bhīma. They are both sons of the Wind-god, and Hanumān knows it; but Bhīma is ignorant of Hanumān's parentage, and hurls insults at him. In order to try him, Hanumān defiantly blocks his way, and they begin to fight with their fists. The combat is speedily interrupted by the Vidyādhara, who announces that he has been despatched by Indra in order to reveal to Bhīma and Hanumān their mutual relation and to unite them in brotherly love. Now all ends happily, Hanumān taking the opportunity to recall his old association with Rāma, declaring Rāma to have been an incarnation of Viṣṇu, giving a summary of the Rāmâyaṇa, and promising his help to the Pāṇḍavas against the Kāuravas.

The *textus ornatior* adds a further episode. The Vidyādhara conveys to the brethren a supplementary message, that they are to regard Drāupadī as Sītā. They accordingly go down the mountain to her. She receives the flowers with delight, and in a passage which is extremely corrupt explains her reason for sending Bhīma for them, which was that he might enlist Hanumān's services in the coming struggle with the Kāuravas. Hanumān gives his blessing, and all ends happily.

Of the author, Nīlakaṇṭha, nothing can be said but that he was

a Brahman, probably of the south, that he mentions Śūdraka, and that in his concluding verse he gives the reigning king the title *Ajātaśatru* (unless indeed this epithet is used merely to denote Yudhiṣṭhira). Possibly his phrase *mattavilāsajāṃ . . . prītiṃ* in v. 17 may be intended as a reference to the farce Mattavilāsa of the Pallava king Mahēndravikramavarman. The metres that appear in *A* are as follows: *śārdūlavikrīḍita*, vv. 1, 5, 9, 11, 17, 19, 26, 33, 35, 43; *vasantatilakā*, vv. 2, 10, 16, 21, 25, 29, 30, 32, 37–9, 48; *praharṣiṇī*, vv. 3, 27; *śikhariṇī*, v. 4; *mandākrāntā*, vv. 6, 14, 28; *anuṣṭubh*, vv. 7, 15, 20, 23–4, 34, 42, 44; *puṣpitâgrā*, vv. 8, 36, 40; *mālinī*, vv. 12, 22, 31, 45; *vaṃśasthā*, vv. 13, 18, 47; *vasantamālikā*, v. 41; *triṣṭubh*, v. 46. Of the additional verses in *B*, two are *anuṣṭubh*, one *śārdūlavikrīḍita*, and one *vasantatilakā*.

The relation of this play to those published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series as the works of Bhāsa is obvious. The technique is practically the same; the Prakrit used, as far as it goes, is very similar; the style of the Sanskrit shows frequent resemblances. I have elsewhere pointed out (1) that there is no evidence whatever for ascribing the Trivandrum plays to Bhāsa except the circumstance that one of them bears the same title as a work known to have been written by him, (2) that one of the Trivandrum plays, the Pratimā, mentions in Act V the Nyāyaśāstra of Mēdhātithi, which is probably the famous Manubhāṣya of the jurist Mēdhātithi, who lived about the tenth century A.D., and (3) that the Prakrit used in those plays is no evidence of high antiquity; and the conclusions to which these facts lead are confirmed by the paper of Messrs. Pisharoti in this number of the *Bulletin*, which shows that those plays, at any rate in their present form, are the products of playwrights working for the stage of Kērala some time about or after the eighth century.[1]

KALYĀṆASĀUGANDHIKAM

VYĀYŌGAḤ

(Nāndyantē tataḥ praviśati sūtradhāraḥ.)

SŪTRADHĀRAḤ.[2]

Āsīd yaḥ svanivāsaśāilatulanāt prītaḥ prasādônmukhō
Laṃkêśasya sasambhramâcalasutāsaṃślēṣasāukhyapradāt ¦

[1] I am not, however, convinced that the Trivandrum Svapnavāsavadattam is an adaptation of the original play of that name by Bhāsa. Mere coincidence of name in the case of works dealing with popular themes proves nothing: we know *three* Kumārasambhavas, besides the two Kalyāṇasāugandhikas and the Sāugandhikāharaṇa.

[2] *A* omits all the words from *Nāndyantē* to the second *Sūtradhāraḥ*.

havyaṃ yasya śarôdbhavē hutavahē jātaṃ purāṇāṇi trayaṃ
sō 'yaṃ mugdhaśaśâṃkamaṇḍitajaṭābhārō Haraḥ pātu vaḥ ||
[1].

(*Parikramya nēpathyâbhimukham avalōkya.*) Āryē itas tāvat.

(*Praviśya.*)

NAṬĪ. Ayya iamhi.[1]

SŪTRADHĀRAḤ. Ahaṃ khalv āryamiśrāir ādiṣṭaḥ—

NAṬĪ. Kahaṃ via ādēsâṇuggahō ayyamissāṇaṃ [2] ?

SŪTRADHĀRAḤ.

Ājñāguṇēna guṇavadbhir abhiṣṭutānāṃ
Kātyāyanīcaraṇapaṃkajabhaktibhājām [3] |
ṣaṭkarmiṇāṃ nivasatāu paramâgrahārē
prâptaprasūtir upasēvitavān kavir naḥ [4] || [2].

Tad asya Nīlakaṇṭhanāmnaḥ Kalyāṇasāugandhikaṃ nāma nibandhanaśarīram idam abhinayâlaṃkārâlaṃkṛtam anusandarśayêti.

NAṬĪ. Ayya [5] Suddaappahudīṇaṃ mahākavīṇaṃ [6] ṇibandhaṇāṇi mottūṇa kahaṃ ṇa ēdassa paōadassaṇē ayyamissāṇaṃ pavēsō ?

SŪTRADHĀRAḤ. Āryē āśritavātsalyavyasanī nanu sajjanasamūhaḥ. Api ca

Vidyānām aticirasaṃstavâikadōṣād [7]
bhuktānāṃ bahuguṇatām acintayitvā |
bhōgyānāṃ samupanatāu navôdayānāṃ
sarvō 'pi pramadam upâiti jīvalōkaḥ || [3].

NAṬĪ. Jujjaï.

SŪTRADHĀRAḤ. Tad iha sajjībhava. Aham api nēpathyavidhānam anutiṣṭhāmi (*parikramya karṇaṃ dattvā* [8]). Ayē kin nu khalu mayi sajjananiyōgânuṣṭhānavyagrē śabda iva śrūyatē ? aṅga paśyāmi.

NĒPATHYĒ. Bhīma na khalu na khalu gantavyam. Brāhmaṇi êhy êhi.

[1] *A*° *iyyammi.*

[2] Omitted in *B*; *ayyamissāṇam A.*

[3] *Kārtyāyanī*° *B*, as in the *Bālacarita* and *Subhadrādhanaṃjaya*, etc.

[4] Pandit Veṅkatarāma Śarmā has reported to me the reading (or emendation ?) *u asēvitavāggurur naḥ.*

[5] *A*° *aṃa*; the *anusvāra* or small circle on top is used to denote a doubling of the consonant (cf. Pischel, *Gramm. d. Pktspr.*, § 193, and *Epigr. Ind.*, xvi, p. 346, n. 2), and hence is applied even to *a*, which in southern pronunciation often has a glide *y* prefixed to it. The same spelling is used in *ayyamissāṇaṃ* further on in the same sentence.

[6] Omitted in *B.*

[7] *A*° *-dōṣāt.*

[8] *A*° *datvā.*

SŪTRADHĀRAḤ.[1] Bhavatu vijñātam.

Agâgrād aprâpyaṃ marudupahṛtaṃ divyakusumaṃ
guṇâḍhyaṃ paśyantyā dviguṇitamudā nūtanatayā |
bahūnîcchāmîti Drupadasutayā Bhīmam uditaṃ
prayāntaṃ saṃrōddhuṃ vrajati sakalatrō munivaraḥ || [4].

(*Niṣkrāntāu.*)

Sthāpanā.

(*Tataḥ praviśati sakalatras tāpasaḥ.*)

TĀPASAḤ. Bhīma na khalu na khalu gantavyam. Brāhmaṇi êhy êhi.

Pādāu me nayanē ca nirjharajalāir abhyukṣya[2] vakṣaḥ śanāiḥ
spṛṣṭvā kampitadurbalaṃ[3] bhujayugaṃ saṃvāhayâmūlataḥ |
pārśvē śvāsavikampitē dhamanibhiḥ spaṣṭâsthisaṃvēṣṭitē
mugdhē pīḍaya mandamandam asakṛd[4] dvābhyāṃ karā-
bhyām[5] imē || [5].

BRĀHMAṆĪ. Ettiammattō[6] maggō. Kā ṇāma[7] vēdaṇā ?

TĀPASAḤ. Mugdhē jarâbhibhūtānāṃ prâṇināṃ[8] prâṇadhāraṇam api mahāprayāsaḥ ; kiṃ punar aparacēṣṭitāni[9] ?

BRĀHMAṆĪ. Jaï evvaṃ satthē vi akkhamō paratthē kēṇa āāsidōsi ?

TĀPASAḤ. Āḥ adharmajñē kin na parâśrayiṇaḥ svârthād api parârthō garīyān. Paśya—

Putrāḥ Pāṇḍōr bhuvanajayinaḥ Pūruvaṃśapradīpā[10]
vṛttāiḥ sadbhir vijitamanavaḥ pañca pañcêndrakalpāḥ |
śatrucchadmakṣapitavimalaśrīyaśōmānabhōgā[11]
bhōgâvāsē vayasi munayaḥ kiṃ na kāruṇyadṛśyāḥ || [6].

BRĀHMAṆĪ. Kahaṃ uṇa ēsā Jaṇṇasēṇī evvaṃ aṇukampaṇīaṃ bhattāraṃ adisāhasē ṇiōēdi ?

TĀPASAḤ. Nanu tad ētad vartatē. Hṛdayaṃ hi nāma kaṭhinavastusamuccayaḥ strīṇām. Tathā hi

Vanaṃ prasthāpitaḥ putrō Rāmaḥ sadguṇabhūṣaṇaḥ |
prâpitō nidhanaṃ bhartā Kēkayêndratanūjayā || [7].

Êhi tāvat. Sarvathâinam atisāhasān nivartayiṣyāvaḥ (*parikramyâvalōkya*[12]). Hanta vyarthō naḥ pariśramaḥ. Gandhamādanam ārūḍhō Bhīmaḥ ; ya ēṣa

[1] *A* omits all the words from *Bhīma*, two lines before, to *Sūtradhōraḥ*.
[2] *B atyukṣya.*
[3] *B spandatadurbalaṃ.*
[4] *A*° *asakṛt.*
[5] *B bhujābhyām.*
[6] *Ettiammattō abhidō B.*
[7] *B ṇāma ēsā.*
[8] Omit. *B.*
[9] *B aparāṇi cēṣṭitāni.*
[10] *A*° *-pradīpāḥ.*
[11] *A*° *śatruchadmakṣapitavimalaśrīryaśō -vrajāiḥ.*
[12] *B parikramyórdhvam avalōkya.*

Badhirayati jaganti śaṃkhanādāiḥ
kirati mahīm agamāir gadâvarugṇāiḥ |
anucaram apagarvam ēva kurvan
pitaram ivâpahasan javēna yāti || [8].

Tad āgaccha agniśaraṇaṃ gatvā vyatitakālaṃ saprāyaścittaṃ karma samāpayāvaḥ.

(*Niṣkrāntāu* [1].)

(*Tataḥ praviśati gadayā tarubhaṅgaṃ nāṭayann* [2] *ādhmāyamānaśaṃkhō Bhīmasēnaḥ.*)

Bhīmaḥ. Ēṣa bhō
Vyāyacchan gadayā vanē mṛgakulaṃ śaṃkhasvanāis trāsayann [3]
udvēlīkṛtasindhur ambubhir uraḥkṣiptâmbuvāhasrutāiḥ |
Pāñcālyā manasaḥ priyāṇi kusumāny āhartum icchan gurōḥ
saṃgharṣād iva Gandhamādanam ahaṃ śāilêndram ārūḍhavān
|| [9].

Tad aham ēṣāṃ prabhavam anvicchāmi (*parikramyâvalōkya*). Ahō bhīrujanadurāsadō 'yam acalôddēśaḥ. Atra hi
Antarguhôdgatamahâjagarâsyadaṃṣṭrā-
vyākṛṣṭapādam urugarjitam ēṣa siṃhaḥ |
daṃṣṭrâgrakṛṣṭapṛthukumbhataṭâsthivalgad-
grīvānikhātanakham [4] ākṣipati dvipêndram || [10].

Yāvad anvicchāmi. Ahō mahān ayam nayanôtsavaḥ. Atra hi
Nṛtyanti kvacid atra kinnaravadhūgītasvanânanditāir
vīṇāvēṇumṛdaṅganādamuditāir dēvyō vṛtāḥ khēcarāiḥ |
sastrīkāiḥ karabaddharatnacaṣakāir [5] anyatra gōṣṭhīgatāir
mādyadbhir madhurôpadaṃśamadhurāir māirēyam āpīyatē ||
[11].

(*Parikramya kvacid ānandâdhṛtadṛṣṭir avalōkya.*) Ahō tu khalu ramaṇīyavastuviṣayāṇām anantatā rasântarāṇām. Iha hi
Maniphalakamanōjñasvarnaḍōlâdhirūḍhā
Tripurajayinibaddhaṃ gēyam āvartayantī |
śravaṇayugalalōlatkuṇḍalâmṛṣṭagaṇḍā
nigalayati gatiṃ mē mugdhasiddhâṅganāiṣā || [12].

Kim [6] ēbhir adhīrajanavismayanīyāiḥ padârthāiḥ [7] ? yāvat priyā-

y p.
senten*parikrāntaḥ sakalatras tāpasaḥ.*
[6] Omit *sayan.*
[7] *A*: *-dōṣakāir.*
[8] *A*: *datvā*, the stage-direction *smṛtvā* before *Kim.*
[2] *A* *nātayan.*
[4] *B* apparently *nṛpātanakham.*

niyōgam anutiṣṭhāmi (*sparśasukhaṃ rūpayan*). Iha sanṁhitēna jalâśayēna bhavitavyam. Tathā hi

Ayaṃ hi sāugandhikagandham āvahan
śanāiḥ śanāiḥ sāndratuṣāraśītalaḥ |
pariṣvajan mē janakō yathāsukhaṃ
karōti rōmâñcasamācitāṃ tanūm || [13].

Idaṃ hi tad divyasaraḥ. Yāvad upasarpāmi. Ayē māṃ dṛṣṭvā daṇḍapāṇir ayam Antakaḥ prâpta iti vadantaḥ sarōrakṣiṇō yakṣarākṣasagaṇā [1] bhītāḥ palāyantē (*punar nirūpya*). Ahō rāmaṇīyakam asya jalâśayasya. Iha hi

Hāimāḥ svacchē payasi nikarāḥ padmasāugandhikānāṃ
nālāiḥ śubhrāir maratakamayāir vāidrumāiś câbhirāmāḥ |
vaprēṣv acchasphaṭikadhavalēṣv āvṛtāś [2] chāyayâmī
samlakṣyantē [3] madhurasajuṣām āravāir ṣaṭpadānām || [14].

Tad yāvad upasarpāmi (*upasṛtya puṣpâpacayaṃ kṛtvā sagarvaṃ*).

Kusumāni harāmy ēṣa bāhúvīryam upāśritaḥ |
yadi śaktaḥ pumān kaścin nivārayatu mām iha || [15].

NĒPATHYĒ. Āḥ durātman atikaṭhinahṛdaya karuṇarasânabhijña kapaṭakṛtasakaladurbalajīvalōkagrahaṇasamudbhavasya duritasañcayasya phalam idānīm [4] anubhūyatām Alakêśvarasya [5] saraḥsārabhūtasāugandhikâpaharaṇasamuddīpitakrōdhēna Krōdhavaśēnôpanīyamānam. (*Tataḥ praviśati khadgahastaḥ sakrōdhō rākṣasaḥ.*)

RĀKṢASAH. Āḥ durātman (*iti pūrvóktam ēva paṭhati*). Iha hi

Duṣkarmasañcayakṛtâgasi [6] jīvalōkē
jīvagrahôtsavarataḥ kila garvitas tvam |
asmin kṣaṇē niśitakhadganikṛttadēham [7]
tvām Antakântakarasajñam aham kariṣyē || [16].

BHĪMAḤ. Rākṣasa kim idam pralapyatē ? kvâsāv Antakaḥ ?

RĀKṢASAH (*sâvadhanaṃ nirūpya*). Āḥ mānuṣaḥ khalv ēṣaḥ (*apariddhâyudhaḥ sthitvā punaḥ khadgam uddhṛtya*). Rē rē rākṣasâpaśada

Khaḍgēna kṣatavigrahasya piśitāiḥ klptôpadaṃśôttaram
kôṣṇam tē rasayan kapālacaṣakēnâkaṇṭham āsrâsavam |
āntrasraggunam udvahan viracayan nēpathyam asthivrajāir
nṛtyan mattavilāsajām Dhanapatēḥ prītim kariṣyāmy aham
[17].

BHĪMAḤ. Manyē mṛtavilāsajām śucam kariṣyatiti.

[1] A -gaṇāḥ. [2] A āpatā [3] So B; A saṃrakṣyantē.
[4] B idānīm arikalam. B Alakêśvarasya srāmanah.
[5] B -sañcayabhūtasi. [6] A -dehah. [7] A -rajāh.

RĀKṢASAḤ. Hahaha āhārabhūtāḥ khalu manuṣyā rākṣasānām. Haniṣyantīti [1] manyē.

BHĪMAḤ. Rākṣasa kin na manuṣyō Rāmaḥ ?

RĀKṢASAḤ. Mūḍha kiṃ kiṃ Rāmam api manuṣyaṃ manyasē ? kiṃ nâsāu Nārāyaṇō dēvaḥ ?

BHĪMAḤ. Yady ēvam [2] aham api samīraṇō dēvaḥ.

RĀKṢASAḤ. Anṛtam ētat. Kiṃ dēvō dēvasyâparādham ācarati ? Athavā

Samīraṇas tvaṃ bhava bhūmir ambaraṃ
bhavâmbu tējō 'tha samastam ēva vā |
anēna khaḍgēna śiras tu tē kṣaṇān [3]
nipātayiṣyāmi Dhanâdhipadviṣaḥ || [18].

BHĪMAḤ. Kiṃ kiṃ rē rē rākṣasakīṭaka ?

Guptā rākṣasapuṃgavaṃ hatavatā yēnâikacakrā Bakaṃ
prâptā yēna Ghaṭôtkacasya jananī hatvā Hiḍimbaṃ kṣaṇāt |
yaḥ Kṛmmīram [4] api kṣaṇān mṛditavān agrēsaraṃ rakṣasāṃ
tasya tvaṃ mama durmatē vada śiraḥ khaḍgēna kiṃ
chētsyasi || [19].

RĀKṢASAḤ. Ataḥ paraṃ khaḍgas tē kathayiṣyati. (*Ubhāu yuddhaṃ kurutaḥ. Gadayā bhagnaḥ praharaṇam apavidhya sabhayaṃ palāyamānō niṣkrāntō rākṣasaḥ.*)

NĒPATHYĒ.

Kṣētrē Pāṇḍōr ayaṃ jātō mārutād bhuvanâyuṣaḥ |
svāiraṃ haratu Bhīmō mē kusumāni priyākṛtē || [20].

BHĪMAḤ. Anugṛhītō 'smîdānīm (*iti pratinivṛttaḥ. Tataḥ praviśati priyayā saha vidyādharaḥ. Ubhāu mārutapīḍāṃ rūpayataḥ*).

VIDYĀDHARAḤ. Priyē Guṇamañjari

Tiryag vikampayati ghūrṇayatē muhur nāu
ḍōlīkarōti ca gatâgatim ādadhānaḥ |
vaprāir ayaṁ pratihataḥ pavanaḥ Sumērōḥ
śṛṃgântarē madhumadasya karōti līlām || [21].

GUṆAMAÑJARĪ (*sasambhramaṃ*). Ṇāha gaṇha maṃ gaṇha. Imiṇā duvviṇīdēṇa mārudahadaēṇa paricīyamāṇabhōṇoḷḷavvāṇāavāiriṇā java ēsō ṇa mārēi [5].

[1] *B manuṣyā rākṣasān haniṣyanti.* [2] *A*° *ēvaṃ.* [3] *A*' *kṣaṇāt.*

[4] So *A*°, which represents the local pronunciation. *Kirmīra* is usual in the North; *Kimmīra* is the Tamil form.

[5] So *A*', apparently to be corrected to *mam gaṇha ininā duvvinīdēna māru'a-hadaēṇa paricīamāṇaṃ b'ōiṇiṃ via ṇāavērinā* [i.e. *bhōginīṃ iva nāgavāiriṇā*] *jā'a ēsō ṇa maṃ mārēi.* On the wind called *pavāvaha* see Mahābhār., Śānti-p°. ccccxxviii. 48 ff.

VIDYĀDHARAḤ. Priyē ēṣa gṛhṇāmi (*grahaṇaṃ nāṭayitvā*).

Avahitahṛdayâkṣaṃ vyāyatôdgh ūrṇabāhu-
dvitayam abhipatantīṃ tvāṃ vilōlāṃ grahītum [1] |
satatagatir ayaṃ māṃ durnivārapravṛttir
vidhir iva viparītō vandhyayatnaṃ vidhattē || [22].

Kim idānīṃ karisyē ? Bhavatu dṛṣṭam. Bhōḥ prabhañjana

Bhavanmitrasya Śakrasya śāsanāt tava putrayōḥ |
Hanumadbhīmayōḥ kartuṃ kalyāṇaṃ gamyatē mayā || [23].

Ayē anukūlaḥ saṃvṛttaḥ.

GUṆAMAÑJARĪ. Ṇāha kiṇṇāmahēō ēsō duṭṭhamāruō ?

VIDYĀDHARAḤ. Saptarṣimaṇḍalagrahāṇām antaraskandhavartī caṇḍavēgaḥ parāvahō nāma.

GUṆAMAÑJARĪ (*adhō 'valōkya*). Ṇāha kim idaṃ chattamattaparimāṇaṃ ḷakhkhīadi ?

VIDYĀDHARAḤ. Idam api dūratvād [2] avibhāvitaviṣṭāram avanicakram. Yāvad avatarāvaḥ.

GUṆAMAÑJARĪ. Ṇāha pekhkha pekhkha [3] gummā [4] dīsanti.

VIDYĀDHARAḤ. Mugdhē nâitē gulmāḥ parvatāḥ khalv amī. Avatarāvaḥ (*avataraṇaṃ nāṭayataḥ*).

GUṆAMAÑJARĪ. Ammō idaṃ mahattaṃ [5] saṃvuttaṃ [6] (*avatīrya dṛṣṭvā*). Kiṇṇāmahēō ēsō pavvadō ?

VIDYĀDHARAḤ. Niṣadhō 'yam anuprâptaḥ.

GUṆAMAÑJARĪ. Ēsō kō ?

VIDYĀDHARAḤ. Hēmakūṭō 'yam āsthitaḥ |

GUṆAMAÑJARĪ. Aaṃ avarō kō ?

VIDYĀDHARAḤ. Himavān ayam āsannaḥ.

GUṆAMAÑJARĪ. Kiṃ ettha saradabbhāṇaṃ via samūhō dīsaï ?

VIDYĀDHARAḤ. Kāilāsō 'tra virājatē | [24].

Atra bhagavantam Antakântakaṃ praṇamya [7] yāsyāvaḥ. Namō [8] 'stu sakalajagadāiśvaryaślāghanīyāya

Mugdhênduśēkharapiśaṃgajaṭādharāya
snigdhêndranīlamaṇinīlagalântarāya |
dugdhôdaphēnapaṭalâmalabhasmadhūlī-
digdhāya dagdhamadanāya namaḥ Śivāya || [25].

[1] *A*° *grhītum*.
[2] *B idam atidūratvād*, which is perhaps the better reading.
[3] Written in *A*° *peṃkha*; see above, p. 36, n. 5.
[4] *B gumhāyō*.
[5] *B nāha ammō savvaṃ mahattam*.
[6] *A*° *savvuttam*.
[7] *B abhipraṇamya*.
[8] *B* adds the stage-direction *praṇamya* before *Namō*.

GUṆAMAÑJARĪ. Ṇamō Pavvaībaddhappaṇaāya.[1]

VIDYĀDHARAḤ. Vilāsini sō 'yam āsāditō Gandhamādanaḥ yatrâstē Hanumān.

GUṆAMAÑJARĪ. Ammō iha vi subaddhasiṇēhā āadā saggaḷacchī[2] dīsaï.

VIDYĀDHARAḤ. Satyam āha bhavatī. Iha hi

Prāsādāir amṛtâṃśuphēnadhavalāiḥ saṃruddhatārāgaṇāir[3]
hāimāir māuktikamālikāparigataprântāir gṛhāir bhūṣitā |
rāgânanditakhēcarāir varavadhūgītāir manōhāriṇī
svargaśrīr Alakēti nāmni niyatō bhēdō na vastusthitāu || [26].

GUṆAMAÑJARĪ (*sabhayaṃ*). Ṇāha kō nu khu ēsō sajalajalaharatṭthaṇiagambhīrō[4] saddō mā[5] pīḍēi ?

VIDYĀDHARAḤ (*sasambhramam avalōkya*). Priyē paśya paśya

Garjantaṃ ghanam upari dvipêndraśaṅkī
dantābhyām abhininadan vibhidya vēgāt |
āmūlaṃ mahati mahīruhē nikhātāu
nôtkraṣṭuṃ prabhavati tāu[6] punar dvipêndraḥ || [27].

GUṆAMAÑJARĪ. Haddhi balagavvidāṇaṃ pamādō.

VIDYĀDHARAḤ. Sakhi ēṣa Bhīmas tasya kapiśvarasya kadalīvanam upasarpati. Tad asya nikaṭavartisphāṭikaśilātalam[7] adhyāsīnāv ayōr[8] avijñātaparasparayōḥ[9] prabhāvântarhitāu[10] cēṣṭitam avagamya tadanurūpam upasarpāvaḥ. Api ca

Śuṣyaddantacchadākisalayaṃ[11] tāntatāmrâyatâkṣaṃ
svēdāiḥ kiñcil lulitatilakaṃ gaṇḍayōr baddharāgam |
vaktraṃ jālāir glapitam adayāis[12] tigmabhāsaḥ prabhāṇāṃ
vēlām ēnām iha sutanu tē viśramaṃ vāñchatîva || [28].

(*Antarhitāu tiṣṭhataḥ.*)

BHĪMAḤ. Ahō priyâbhilāṣaparipūraṇârtham atitvaritasyâpi mama nayanayugalam avaśam[13] ākarṣati nagavanôddēśaḥ.

Vātêritapracalanīladalâkulō 'yaṃ
pakvāiḥ phalāiḥ śabalitaḥ kadalīvanântaḥ |

[1] *A* °*bandha-*; see above, p. 36, n. 5.
[2] *A* *saggaïchī.* [3] *A* °*-ganāiḥ.*
[4] *B* *-sajaḷajaḷaharatthaṇida-.*
[5] So *A*°; *mā* for *maṃ* is contrary to the known rules (Pischel, *Gr. d. Pktspr.*, § 418), but until the laws of the Southern School of Prakrit are better known it seems hazardous to alter it.
[6] *A* *nikhātam . . . tō*, with a query after the *tō*; *B* *nikhātaṃ . . . tāu.*
[7] *B* *-talam idam.* [8] So *A* and *B*, a Vedic form (Skt. *anayōr*).
[9] So *B*; *A* *-purassarayōḥ.* [10] *B* *prabhāvântaritāu.*
[11] *A*° *-dantachada-.* [12] *A*° *udayāis.* [13] *B* *avasam ayam*

ābhāti vidrumalatāviṭapāiḥ prabhinna-
tvaṅgattaraṃgaparikīrṇa ivâmburāśiḥ ‖ [29].

Yāvad upasarpāmi (*upasṛtya paritō vilōkayan*). Manyē kasyacid ayaṃ mahânubhāvasya parigrahaḥ. Na kiñcin[1] mṛgapakṣibhir api pariṇataṃ phalam avalupyatē. Kin tat kṣātraṃ tējaḥ yēna paratējaḥprakarṣō mṛṣyata iti? Na câsya Suyōdhanasyêva vigrahē guruvacanântarâyaḥ. Tad asya mānaśṛṅgam utpātya yāsyāmi (*nāṭyēnôtpāṭya*). Bhōḥ

Yady asti kaścid iha śaktikṛtâbhimānaḥ
kāṃkṣēt puraṃ yadi parētapatēḥ prayātum ‖
sa prôllasadbhrukuṭibhīmalalāṭavahnēś
caṇḍakrudhaḥ patatu mē puratāḥ kṣaṇâyuḥ ‖ [30].

Nēpathyē. Āḥ durātman anātmajña parâjñāsamullaṃghanapara aparijñātaprakṛṣṭapuruṣabalaparākramaprabhāva atikrāntamaryāda krūrakarmanirata mānuṣâpaśada durvinīta kim iyantaṃ kālaṃ na śrutipatham upagatavān asmi?

Bhīmaḥ. Ayam ayaṃ bhōḥ

Dṛḍhaviracitamuṣṭir dṛṣṭibhāsāṃ vitānair[2]
viyad adhikapiśaṃgāiḥ[3] sêndracāpaṃ prakurvan ‖
bhrukuṭiyutalalāṭaspaṣṭadaṃṣṭrâmśujālair[4]
apara iva Nṛsiṃhō dṛśyatē vānarêndraḥ ‖ [31].

(*Tataḥ praviśati*[5] *Hanumān.*)

Hanumān (*sakrōdhaṃ*). Āḥ durātmann (*iti pūrvôktam ēva paṭhitvā*). Tad adhunā

Ślakṣnaprapiṣṭavapuṣaṃ bhuvi muṣṭipātair
alpaprayāsahṛtajīvitam Antakēna ‖
akṣnōr nimēṣasamakālam ahaṃ karōmi
kravyâdadantasukhacarvitakīkasam[6] tvām ‖ [32].

Bhīmaḥ. Ahō hāsyam abhidhānam. Vānaraḥ kila mām ēvaṃ kariṣyati.

Hanumān. Kiṃ kiṃ vānara ity avajñā? Hanta bhōḥ

Svāiraṃ gōṣpadavad vilaṃghya jaladhiṃ naktaṃcarāṇāṃ
gaṇān
hatvâirāvatadantakōṭilikhitāir vakṣaḥsthalāir bhīṣaṇān ‖
pluṣṭā yēna purā karāir dinakṛtō 'py[7] aspṛṣṭapūrvā bhayāl[8]
Laṃkā kin na sa vānarō vada jagaty asmin na vā
viśrutaḥ ‖ [33].

[1] *B kiñcid iha.* [2] *A*[2] *vitānāih.* [3] *B arunap*[°].
[4] *B bhrukutiyuga . . . damṣtrâmśulakṣmīh.* [5] *B praviśati sakrōdhō.*
[6] *B -carvaṇakī*[°]. [7] *B dinakrtāpy.* [8] *A*[°] *bhayāt.*

Bhīmaḥ. Sō 'pi vānaras tvam api vānaraḥ.

Hanumān. Kiṃ sō 'pi vānaras tvam api vānara iti ? tēna hy [1] amunâiva tāvad vānarēṇa saha yudhyasva.

Bhīmaḥ. Ahō ślāghyaṃ mē raṇakarma.

Kiṃ vadiṣyanti rājānaḥ śrutvā Phalgunapūrvajaḥ |
kēnâpi kapinā yuddhē Bhīmaḥ saṅgatavān iti || [34].

Hanumān (*ātmagataṃ*). Ēvam idam. Adya suprabhātā niśā. Bhrātā mē mām avijñāya gacchati. Kin nu khalu kariṣyē ? Bhavatu ; asya garvadōṣam [2] apanayāmi. (*Prakāśaṃ.*) Bhōḥ puruṣa mamâjñām ullaṃghya na śakyatē gantum (*iti purata āstē*).

Bhīmaḥ. Āḥ jaradvānara apasara.

Hanumān. Jaradvānarō 'smi nâpasaraṇakṣamaḥ.[3]

Bhīmaḥ. Tvām utkṣipyâsmin girikūṭē prakṣipya yāsyāmi.

Hanumān. Chandataḥ.[4]

Bhīmaḥ (*pucchâgraṃ spṛṣṭvā sarōmâñcaṃ, ātmagataṃ*). Kin nu khalv āryayudhiṣṭhira iva sukhasparśō 'yaṃ vānaraḥ ? athavā kim ayuktakalpanayā ? (*utkampayitum* [5] *aśaktaḥ savrīlaṃ*).

Dhiṅ nāgâyutasannibhaṃ mama balaṃ dhiṅ mārutād udbhavaṃ
dhig vā digvijayē jayaṃ kṣitibhṛtāṃ dhig Jiṣṇusôdaryatām |
prītas tvaṃ bhava bhōḥ Suyōdhana cirāt Pāñcāli tē mūrdhajān
saṃhartā ripuśōṇitâruṇakaraḥ kō nāma dhanyaḥ pumān || [35].

Hanumān (*ātmagataṃ*). Ahō balaṃ yan mayā sampīḍitabalēna kathañcid āsitam. Bhōḥ Suyōdhana mṛtyudaṃṣṭrântaraṃ praviṣṭās tē prāṇāḥ.

Bhīmaḥ (*ātmagataṃ*). Kin nu khalu kariṣyē ? Bhavatu ; dṛṣṭam. Bhavatv atra parityājyāḥ prāṇāḥ. (*Prakāśaṃ.*) Bhō vānara idānīm prāptas tē kālaḥ. Kayâpi dēvatayā stambhitaṃ tē śarīraṃ muṣṭibhir ēva pōthayāmi.

Yadi sa mama guruḥ svajātibhaktyā
svayam abhigamya na vārayiṣyatē [6] mām |
sphuṭam iha bhavitā vihaṃgamānāṃ
kapipiśitēṣu vibhāgajō vivādaḥ || [36].

Hanumān. Idam api paśyāmaḥ. (*Ubhāu muṣṭibhiḥ prahṛtya yuddhaṃ* [7] *kurutaḥ.*)

Vidyādharaḥ (*dvayōr antaraṃ praviśya nivārayan*). Hanuman

[1] *A* hi.
[2] *B garvadōṣamātram.*
[3] After this speech *B* inserts : Bhīmaḥ. Apêhi. Hanumān. Kiṃ na śṛṇōṣi jaradvānarō'smīti ? Bhīmaḥ (*anākarṇya*). Āḥ apagaccha. Ēvam idānīṃ kariṣyē.
[4] *A* cchandatah.
[5] So *B* ; *utkampitum* A.
[6] *B nivārayiṣyatē.*
[7] *B niyuddhaṃ.*

Bhīma yuvayōr bhrātrōr jyēṣṭhakaniṣṭhayōr[1] mārutyōḥ kim idaṃ ghōram asāmpratam upasthitam ?

Bhīmaḥ (*vilajya sthitvā, ātmagataṃ*). Yuktam ētat sparśasukhaṃ saṃvṛttam.

Hanumān. Kuntīmātaḥ êhi.

Bhīmaḥ (*upasṛtya*). Ārya abhivādayē.[2]

Hanumān. Êhy êhi vatsa.[3] Adya khalv idam avagatam.

Lajjānamadvadanamantharam īkṣaṇârdhaṃ
sampraśrayâhṛtakaradvayaruddhavakṣaḥ |
sâkūtadarśanakṛtâikakaṭâkṣapātam
āślēṣasaukhyam anujasya sudhêty abhēdaḥ || [37].

(*Sasambhramaṃ vidyādharam avalōkya.*) Āmōdād vismṛtaḥ samudācāraḥ. Bhadramukha ētad āsanam āsyatām.

Vidyādharaḥ. Nanu yuvām api śrāntāu.

Hanumān. Āssva kumāra āssva.[4] (*Sarvē upaviśanti.*) Atha kō 'trabhavān ?

Vidyādharaḥ. Ahaṃ Purandarasya niyōgakārī Kalyāṇakō nāma vidyādharaḥ ; iyañ ca mē sahacāriṇī[5] Guṇamañjarī nāma.

Hanumān. Kuta idānīm ?

Vidyādharaḥ. Svargād āgatō 'smi.

Bhīmaḥ. Api vṛttēna paritōṣayati pitaram Arjunaḥ ?

Vidyādharaḥ. Kim iti na paritōṣayēn mahāsattvaḥ[6] ?

Bhīmaḥ. Kathaṃ mahāsattva[7] iti ?

Vidyādharaḥ. Bhōḥ śrūyatām. Pravṛttē khalu nṛttôtsavē svavaṃśaprabhavabhūmikāyāṃ saspṛham avalōkitāyām anupaśyatō gurōr ājñākarēṇa sakhyā Citrasēnēna prēṣitām

Śṛṃgāravēṣaramaṇīyavapuhprakāśāṃ
raṃgôtthitām upagatāṃ svayam ēva śayyām |
tām Urvaśīm upacaran gurubhiḥ samānāṃ
lajjānamadvadanacandramasaṃ cakāra || [38] iti.

Bhīmaḥ.[8] Bhōḥ[9] sadṛśam idam anuṣṭhitam.

Hanumān. Atha kim āgamanaprayōjanam ?

Vidyādharaḥ. Ahaṃ khalu śēvâgatō 'yam upahvaram āhūya svāminā samādiṣṭaḥ yathā Rāmalakṣmaṇayōr iva bhrātṛtvaṃ yuvayōr avabōdhayêti.[10]

Hanumān. Hā Rāma (*iti mūrchitaḥ patati*).

[1] *A* ' *jyēṣṭhakaniṣṭhayōḥ.*
[2] *B* adds *Bhīmō 'ham asmi.*
[3] *B vatsa pariṣvajasva.*
[4] *A* and *B* in both cases *āsva*, which can be defended.
[5] *B sahacarī.*
[6] *A* and *B mahāsatvah.*
[7] *A* and *B mahāsatva.*
[8] *B Ubhāu.*
[9] Omit. *B.*
[10] Grammatical person !

UBHĀU. Samāśvasihi samāśvasihi.

HANUMĀN (*samāśvasya*).

Śākhāmṛgō 'smi tarupallavamātrasāraḥ
stutyaḥ satāṃ sadasi yasya parigrahēṇa |
tēna tvayā virahitō Raghunandanēna
bhāraṃ mahāntam iva jīvitam udvahāmi || [39].

Hā nātha

Pavanatanaya hē sakhē Hanūmann [1]
iti vigaladvacanâmṛtē mukhêndāu |
tava varada dṛśāv akurvatō [2] mē
paıam iva vañcanam ēva dīrgham āyuḥ || [40].

Hā Vāidēhi

Janakaṃ janakaṃ kilâha [3] lōkō
janakas tvaṃ janayan punar mamâsūn |
iti Jānaki yat tvayâham [4] uktaḥ
kṣarad asraṃ [5] manasîva tan mamâdya || [41].

Hā Lakṣmaṇa

Bhrātur jyēṣṭhasya taṃ snēhaṃ vibhajya mayi bhṛtyatām |
kaṭham ēkaḥ kṛtântatvaṃ [6] samagram anubhūtavān || [42].

BHĪMAḤ. Dhīrō [7] bhavān atyarthaṃ śōkavaśyō bhavitum arhati.[8] Viyōgapariṇāmō nanu saṃyōgaḥ.

HANUMĀN. Kumāra idānīṃ kṛtârthō [9] 'smi.

BHĪMAḤ. Ahō guṇavattā Rāmasya yad ayam āryasyâvaśayati hṛdayam. Yadi nâtyāyāsas [10] tasya mahâtmanaḥ caritaśravaṇakutūhali mē manaḥ.

HANUMĀN. Kumāra śrūyatām. Sa khalu dharmasaṃrakṣaṇârthaṃ mānuṣatām upagatō bhagavān Viṣṇuḥ.

Hitvā rājasukhaṃ pitur vacanatō naktañcarān kānanē
hatvā Śūrpaṇakhānikāraruṣitān anviṣya Sītāṃ hṛtām ;
kṛtvā Bālivadhârjitēna suhṛdā sētuṃ vyatîtâmbudhir [11]
Laṅkêśaṃ hatavāṃs tam anyam akarōt prâyād Ayōdhyāṃ
punaḥ || [43].

Tataḥ sahasrâdhikam ayutaṃ varṣāṇām anurañjitajīvalōkaḥ svargalōkam itō gatavān.

[1] *A° Hanumann.*
[2] *A° drśâśvakurvatō.*
[3] *B kim āha.*
[4] *A° yatvayâiham.*
[5] *A āsram.*
[6] *B krtântas tvam.*
[7] *A dhīrah.*
[8] This sentence seems to want a negative.
[9] *B prakrtisthō.*
[10] So *B*; *A nâtyāyatas*, an error perhaps due to Dravidian pronunciation (cf. Tamil *mādam* = Skt. *māsa*, etc.).
[11] *A° vyatîtâmbudhih.*

BHĪMAḤ. Ārya mahān ayam anugrahaḥ. Kathêyam amṛtasēka iva śravaṇayōḥ.[1]

VIDYĀDHARAḤ. Yathāvad anuṣṭhitaśāsanam[2] amarâdhipatēr nivēdayāmi.

HANUMĀN. Ēvaṃ gacchatu bhavān punardarśanāya. (*Niṣkrāntō vidyādharaḥ saha priyayā.*)

Adya mē saphalaṃ cakṣuḥ smāritaś câpi Rāghavaḥ |
bhūyas tvadgātrasaṃślēṣam icchaty ēṣā tanur mama || [44].

(*Iti parisrajati.*) Kumāra Dhārtarāṣṭrān adhikṛtyâiṣa[3] mē niścayaḥ.

Anaticiravimuktāir niṣṭhurāir muṣṭipātāiḥ
sphuṭitapṛthuśarīrā vāiriṇas tāvakīnāḥ |
raṇaśirasi hatānāṃ Kāuravā rākṣasānāṃ
gatibhir aviralābhiḥ śōdhayiṣyanti mārgam || [45].

BHĪMAḤ. Ēvaṃ cēd vyarthō mē bhujayugalayōr[4] bhāraḥ.

HANUMĀN. Bhavatv ēvaṃ tāvat kariṣyē.[5]

Nirghuṣṭaśuṣkâśaniśōṣitâsūn[6]
kartâsmi sannōjjvalanaprakāśān[7] |
Pārthasya satkētulalāmavāsī
prakṣīṇapakṣān yudhi Dhārtarāṣṭrān || [46].

BHĪMAḤ. Diṣṭyā sanāthāḥ Pāṇḍavāḥ.

HANUMĀN. Kumāra kin tē bhūyaḥ priyam upaharāmi ?

BHĪMAḤ.

Priyaṃ priyāyā vihitaṃ vaśīkṛtā
vijityā sarvē paripanthinaḥ pathi |
tvadaṃgasaṃgāc ca tanur viśōdhitā
kṛtârthabhūtāiḥ kim ivânyad iṣyatē || [47].

(*Bharatavākyaṃ.*)

Tathâpy ētāvad astu.

Dōṣāś ca nāśam upayāntu kṛtāv amuṣyāṃ
bhūyō bhavaṃ[8] kṣapayatān[9] mama Nīlakaṇṭhaḥ |

[1] After this sentence the text of *B* begins to expand so as to include a further episode. See Appendix.

[2] *B yāvad ādiṣtham anuṣthitam.*

[3] *A adhikrtya ēṣa.*

[4] So *A* and *B*.

[5] *B Ēvam ēva kariṣyē.*

[6] *A nigghōṣtha-, B nirgghōstha-.* The line seems to be a reminiscence of Mahābhār. Drōṇa-p., lxxvii. 4, *śuṣkâśanyas ca nispētuh sanirghātāh savidyutah*; then *nirghuṣṭa* will correspond to *sanirghāta*, though I can quote no authority for the compound verb except *nirghōṣa* (cf. *Naḷōp.*, xii. 3, *parisaṃghuṣṭa*).

[7] *A sannōjvalanaprakāśān, B sannōjvalanaprakāśam.*

[8] *A 'bhavam*, with *avagraha*; *B bhayaṃ.*

[9] *A* and *B kṣapayatāṃ.*

nirdhārtarāṣṭraniyatiṃ nikhilāṃ dharitrīṃ
pāyān nṛpaḥ savijayō 'yam[1] Ajātaśatruḥ || [48].

Iti Nīlakaṇṭhakaviviracitaḥ Kalyāṇasāugandhikaṃ nāma ryāyōgaḥ samāptaḥ.

APPENDIX

I print here the conclusion of the play in the expanded version given in *B* (see above, p. 47, n. 1). The text as given in the Pandit's collation is very corrupt, and I therefore print it exactly as it is found, with some attempts at restoration in footnotes.

BHĪMAḤ. Ārya mahān ayam anugrahaḥ. Kathêyam amṛtasēka iva śravaṇayōḥ.

VIDYĀ°. Asti sandēśaḥ.

HANU°. Sambōdhitō 'smi (*sâñjalir utthāya*). Kim ājñāpayati dēvaḥ ?

VIDYĀ°. Nanu[2] āsanasthēnâiva bhavatā śrōtavyam.

HANU°. Anugrhītō 'smi (*upaviśati*).

VIDYĀ°.

Yaḥ sañjātaṃ[3] purā Rāmō dēvō Nārāyaṇaḥ prabhuḥ |
tasya sakhyaṃ[4] priyāṃ paśya Drāupadīṃ Jānakīm iva ||

HANU°. Samyag anubōdhitō 'smi.

VIDYĀ°. Yāvad ādiṣṭham[5] anuṣṭhitam amarâdhipatēr nivēdayāmi.

UBHĀU. Yad bhavatē rōcatē. (*Niṣkrāntō vidyādharaḥ saha priyayā.*)

HANU°. Kumāra mārgam ādēśaya.

BHĪMAḤ. Ita itaḥ. (*Ubhāu parvatâvataraṇaṃ nāṭayitvā.*[6])

BHĪMAḤ. Iyam āśramanikaṭavartinī vṛkṣam adhyāsīnā kim api cintayantī Yajñasēnaduhitā.

HANU°.

Adya me saphalaṃ cakṣuḥ smāritaś câpi Rāghavaḥ |
bhūyas tvadgātrasaṃślēṣam icchaty ēṣā tanur mama ||
(*Pariṣvajati. Tataḥ praviśati Drāupadī.*)

DRĀUPADĪ. Kiṇṇu hu cirāadi ṇāhō ?

UBHĀV[7] (*upasṛtya*). Dēvi siddhas tē manōrathaḥ.

DRĀUPADĪ (*sâñjalir utthāya*). Jēdu ṇāhō. Ṇāha kō ēsō ?

BHĪMAḤ. Nanv āryō Hanumān.

[1] *B* unmetrically *nṛpaḥ sō 'yam.*
[2] Read *Nanv.*
[3] Read *sañjātaḥ.*
[4] Read *sakhē.*
[5] Read *ādiṣṭam.*
[6] Grammar !
[7] Read *Ubhāv.*

DRĀUPADĪ. Jēdu ayyō [1] vipakhkhaparipīḍiāṇaṃ itthiāṇaṃ saraṇībhūdō, ettha upavisadu.[2]

HANU°. Bhadrē,

Ajātaśatrupramukhāir bhrātṛbhir dhvastaśatrubhiḥ |
adhiṣṭhitapadāiḥ sârdhaṃ ciraṃ harṣam avâpnuhi ||

Āsva kumāra āsva.[3] (*Sarvē upaviśanti.*)

BHĪMAḤ (*puṣpāṇy upanīya*). Amūni gṛhṇīṣva.

DRĀUPADĪ (*gṛhītvā saharṣaṃ*). Ajja khu maē diṇṇā dattaṃ teḷḷekisārabhūdō Gandhamādaṇatti.[4]

HANU°. Ayēvāinamatisāhasān [5] niyuktavatī.

DRĀUPADĪ. Ṇahi ṇahi, aṇṇaṃ mē maṇōharō hō.[6]

HANU°. Katham anya iti ?

DRĀUPADĪ. Saccavaṃ [7] suṇādu ajjō.[8] Ṇivuttassa maāṇaṇṇāhāṇanēvāsurasaṃmāmasamō [9] samarâgamō bhavissadi.

HANU°. Tatas tataḥ ?

DRĀUPADĪ. Kiṃ tassa di . . . tassa gandhappamōdabahaḷattaṇadassaṇattiyyā vivāda karissaditti sōandhiavājēṇa ēva evvu kidam.[10]

HANU°. Apy ayaṃ manōrathaḥ Purandarēṇa viditaḥ ?

DRĀUPADĪ. Vididau ayya ēva ayyadassaṇaṃ uvahadīe antiē maē savvō Ṇāradamuhēṇa vividubhavaṇaṃ gaē Ajjuṇē ppaāsīdē.[11]

HANU°. Sarvam atyāṅgirasā [12] sunītam. Bhadrē kim idānīṃ mayā kartavyam ?

DRĀUPADĪ. Viraṃkhitavvō.[13]

HANU°. Kaḥ saṃśayaḥ ? Kim idānīm ? Vada.

Anaticiravimuktāir niṣṭhurāir muṣṭipātāiḥ
sphuṭitapṛthuśarīrā vāiriṇas tāvakīnāḥ |
raṇaśirasi hatānāṃ Kāuravā rākṣasānāṃ
gatibhir aviralābhiḥ śōdhayiṣyanti mārgam |

BHĪMAḤ. Ēvam cēd vyarthō mē bhujayugalayōr bhāraḥ.

[1] Spelt *aṇṇō*; cf. above, p. 36, n. 5. [2] Read *uavisadu*.

[3] *Assva* would be better spelling.

[4] Corrupt: read *teḷḷokka-* (Pischel, *Gr. d. Pktspr.*, § 196).

[5] *Ayē . . . vāinam atisāhasān* ?

[6] Apparently for *aṇṇō mē maṇōrahō āsi*.

[7] Perhaps correct (Skt. *satyakam*): cf. Pischel, *Pkt.*, § 230. But more probably *saccaṃ naṃ* or *saccayaṃ*.

[8] Read *ayyō*.

[9] Read *ṇivuttasamaāṇaṃ nāhānaṃ dēvāsurasaṃgāmasamō*.

[10] Read *-dassanam ti ayyō rirādam . . . evvaṃ eva kidaṃ*.

[11] Perhaps to be corrected to *Vidi lō ayya: evvaṃ ayyadassanaṃ uvahi lāe* (or *uvaadāe ?*) *antiē maē sarvaṃ Ṇāra la nuhēṇa viruhabharaṇaṃ* (i e *vibudhabharaṇaṃ*) *gaē Ajjuṇē pāsidaṃ*.

[12] *Atyāṅgirasaṃ* ?

[13] Perhaps *Ciraṃ ayyō rakhkhidavvō*; see above, p. 36, n. 5.

DRĀUPADĪ. Ēsō mē paṇaō ajjassa raṇabhūmīe vattamāṇassa saṇṇihidēṇa avyēṇa uggappāṇādēhi saṃghōhidavvō [1] sattusaṃ . . .

HANU[2]. Ēvam ēva karisyē.

Nirgghōṣṭhaśuṣkâśaniśōṣitâsūn
kartâsmi sannôjvalanaprakāśam [2] |
Pārthasya satkētulalāmavāsī
prakṣīṇapakṣān yudhi Dhārtarāṣṭrān ||

Tvam api

Tyaktvêdaṃ vanavāsaduḥkham acirāt sâjñātavāsaṃ priyē
nōktāsīḥkṛtamātram ētya muditā sāugandhikaṃ vā ripōḥ [3] |
Pāulōmîva Śatakratōḥ kratuśatāny āhaturamyāśagāt [4]
bhartur bhūtahatāś ca [5] jīvitatarōr bhadrē phalaṃ dāsyasi ||

DRĀUPADĪ. Aṇugahidamhi.[6]

HANU[2]. Kumāra kim aparaṃ mayā kartavyam ?

BHĪMAḤ. Ārya,

Prītā priyā tvayi vibhō nayanē kṛtârthē
dēva prasādya vikṛtâgasi gumbhyakēśaḥ [7] |
sāugandhikaṃ surabhigandhi surârcitaṃ vaḥ
kalyāṇasampadudayâdbhutakāmadhēnuḥ ||

(*Bharatavākyaṃ.*)

Tathâpy ētāvad astu.

Dōṣāś ca nāśam upayāntu kṛtāv amuṣyāṃ
bhūyō bhayaṃ kṣapayatāṃ [8] mama Nīlakaṇṭhaḥ |
nirdhārtarāṣṭraniyatiṃ nikhilāṃ dharitrīṃ
pāyān nṛpaḥ sō 'yam Ajātaśatruḥ ||

[1] Read *ayyassa . . . uggappanādēhiṃ saṃchōhēdavvō.*
[2] See notes on verse 46 above.
[3] *Sic !*
[4] Perhaps *āhartur abhyāśagā.*
[5] Perhaps *bhūtahitāya.*
[6] Read *aṇuggahidamhi.*
[7] Probably *guḥyakēśam.*
[8] Read *bhavaṃ kṣapayatān*, and see notes on verse 48 above, pp. 47–8.

STUDIES IN SEMITIC KINSHIP

By Brenda Z. Seligman

I. THE RELATIONSHIP SYSTEM

Introduction.

1. The Problem stated.
2. Relationship System of the Beni Amer.
3. The formation of the plural of the word for "father" in Hebrew.
4. The Semitic Terms of Relationship, with table.
5. Examination of the terms used in Arabic for father-in-law, with special reference to the sociological aspect of the change in the meaning of these terms.
6. Conclusion.

THE material upon which this paper is based is in the first instance taken from the Relationship systems and customs of a Sudan Arab tribe (the Kababish[1]) and of the Beni Amer, a Hamitic tribe whom I have been able to study myself in the Sudan by means of the genealogical method. Miss Moss kindly collected a list of relationship terms in Malta for me, which I have used. The rest of the material has been taken from dictionaries, and although I am fully aware of the inadequacy of material culled from dictionaries, yet in this case the method is inevitable. Full investigation into the relationship system and social organizations of the Amharic-speaking Abyssinians would be of the greatest value, and a complete examination of the Maltese terms would also be of interest. I have had much help from friends, though they are in no case responsible for my conclusions. Chief among these is Professor S. Langdon, who has given me much information. I am also indebted to Dr. Hall, Professor Zammit, Dr. Czermak, and Mr. S. H. Ray for references.

I. The Problem

The use of the classificatory system of relationship by the Beni Amer, a people speaking a Semitic language, led me to examine the terms of relationship in Semitic languages generally. This examination indicated that the Arabic and Hebrew systems are based on a classificatory system and not upon a family system.[2] Besides demon-

[1] "The Kababish: A Sudan Arab tribe": *Harvard African Studies. Varia Africana*, vol. ii, 1918.

[2] "The classificatory system groups together various relationships which we distinguish, while others which we group together are separated. The simplest way to understand its essential characters is to recognize that the classificatory

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strating this, I hope to show how deeply sociological factors may influence language. This is an idea which seems so obvious to the anthropologist that it should need no apology. It is, however, frequently overlooked by philologists, with the result that in constructing rules in grammar cause and effect are confused.

II. Relationship System of the Beni Amer

As already stated, the classificatory system is based upon the principle that kinship terms are used towards members of the clan or smaller group, not as we are accustomed to use them, towards members of the family only. Thus, in a simple classificatory system in which descent is reckoned in the male line, every brother of the father will be called " father ", and their wives " mother ", and all their children " brothers " and " sisters ". In a system in which descent is reckoned in the female line, while the sons of the father's brother may not even be considered as relations, the children of the mother's sister are treated as own brother and sister.

The Beni Amer inhabiting the plains of the Red Sea Coast in the Sudan are a Hamitic people who speak a Semitic language—Tigré. Tigré is the modern representative of Geez or Ethiopic, the liturgical language of Abyssinia, which is itself said to show closer affinities to Sabæan (with inscriptions that date back to at least the ninth century B.C.) than it does to Arabic or Hebrew. Thus, Tigré, though a living language, may be looked upon as containing elements that are older than either Arabic or Hebrew.

It is not relevant here to examine all the evidence that points to the fact, that, though the Beni Amer now reckon descent in the male line, they were formerly matrilineal; nor need I go into all the details of their relationship system, which I hope to deal with elsewhere. The terms in use in their system will be seen in the comparative table, and

system is founded on the clan or other similar social group, while our system is founded on the family. All members of the speaker's clan who are of the same generation as himself stand to him in the same relation as his own brothers and sisters: all members of his father's clan of the preceding generation stand in the same relation to himself as the father or the father's sister; all of the generation before receive the same designation as his grandfather. Similarly, all those of the mother's clan and of her generation are classed with the mother and the mother's brother; all those of a wife's clan and of her generation stand in the same relation as her actual brothers and sisters, while all of the preceding generation are classed with her parents. This application of terms of relationship to wide groups of relatives may persist after the clan-organization has disappeared, and the exact way in which the terms are applied varies greatly with the nature of the social organization, so that the system often preserves evidence of social conditions which are no longer present." —*Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, 1912, pp. 149, 150.

here I need only point out the outstanding features. The Beni Amer have no word for father's brother, but address him as *yiba*, "my father."[1] The children of the father's brother and all men whom he calls "brother", using this term in its classificatory sense, are called "brother" and "sister". But it must be noted that the Beni Amer have adopted the usual Arab marriage with the father's brother's daughter, and after this has taken place a man will no longer call his wife's brother "brother", but will use the term for brother-in-law.

It will be seen in the table that although no word for father's brother is found in Tigré, the father's sister is *amaitye*. As the father's sister's husband is called *bis amaitye* (spouse of the *amaitye*), I suspected that *amaitye* was not an original Tigré word, but introduced from Arabic. It seemed unlikely that this feminine form of *'am* should have been retained from ancient times when the word *'amm* was itself unknown. This suspicion was confirmed by comparison with the Ethiopic in which no words for either kind of uncle existed originally, brother of father and brother of mother being used for these relations. In later Ethiopic versions of the Bible *dūd* has been introduced to mean paternal uncle, *hal*, *halto*, and *amaitye* in Tigré are thus a borrowing from the Arabic.[2]

III. The Plural of "Father" in Hebrew and Arabic

In Hebrew and Arabic the plural of the word for father is formed by adding the regular ending for feminine nouns. The explanation accepted by Semitic scholars is entirely unsatisfactory from an anthropological point of view. Broken plurals, which are common in Arabic, are treated as feminines: abstract nouns are also feminine, so that the plural of father is considered to be an abstract, meaning fatherhood.[3] But fatherhood is not a primitive conception at all, and, therefore, *a priori*, it is unlikely that fatherhood should have been an earlier meaning than fathers for the noun in the plural form. Further, people using the classificatory system, though they may think and speak of their own father or of the father of so-and-so, do not think or speak about the individual fathers of various people: these, if of the same generation as their own father and his brothers;

[1] Yiba was always said in answer to the question, "What do you call 'so-so'", when the person named was informant's father, it is, therefore, probably a vocative.

[2] I am indebted to J. Leveen for this information.

[3] I am not clear whether Semitic scholars consider abstract nouns as originally and essentially feminine, or that as the abstract ending is the same as the feminine ending, the two forms have been confused.

would naturally fall into the group of fathers, i.e. the group of elders to which their own father belongs. All other men of their father's generation would be either mother's brothers or fathers-in-law, or else they would be entirely outside the social group.

The view that the plural of "father" originally indicated a group of men of the generation of the speaker's own father, and that the primitive Semitic stock used the term father in the classificatory way just as the Beni Amer do at the present day,[1] throws light on problems which might otherwise have been regarded as purely linguistic, and brings the peculiar formation of the plural of father in Hebrew and Arabic in line with Meinhof's Law of Polarity. By this law, which was first enunciated for Fulane, "... a person in the plural becomes a collection of people, which may be looked upon as a thing, and is therefore treated as belonging to that class. Reversing, we say 'Therefore, the plural of a thing will be a person'. Thus we see that the masculine and feminine genders have been developed out of the relations between persons and things. In exact correspondence with Ful we find that the Somali masculine plural takes a feminine form and the feminine plural a masculine form." [2]

If the Law of Polarity be considered to apply to Arabic, it not only explains the peculiar plural formation of the word for father, but gives a reasonable theory for the perverse behaviour of the numerals and the treatment of broken plurals.[3] I do not know whether

[1] It must be borne in mind that the classificatory system of relationship is not in itself evidence for group-marriage, and no further significance is attached to it than is indicated in the footnote on p. 51.

[2] Carl Meinhof, *An Introduction to the Study of African Languages*, translated by A. Werner, p. 149.

[3] Broken plurals are treated as feminine singular, the adjectives and verbs agreeing with a broken plural noun take the feminine singular endings. The numerals 3–10 have feminine endings when applied to masculine nouns, and the masculine endings when applied to feminine nouns. The following is an extract from a letter Professor Langdon was kind enough to write me on the subject. "It is customary in Semitic to use the numerals 3–10 before masculine plurals in the feminine. This is probably due to the fact that a group of three or more was at first regarded as a collective or an abstract idea. Three men was regarded as threeness of men, hence the numeral 3 was written with the abstract ending *atu* or *a* in Hebrew, usually in the construct *at, eth.* Naturally this syntax arose with masculine plurals first. When they wished to use these numerals before feminine plurals nothing remained for them to do but to differentiate by dropping the abstract ending of the numerals. This abstract ending *at* is identical with the feminine ending, and consequently it looks as though they employ feminine numerals before masculine plurals and masculine plurals before feminine plurals." I quote it with full acknowledgment and thanks, and feel that it is almost ungracious to point out that the word "naturally" betrays an attitude of mind philological rather than anthropological.

Professor Meinhof's theory has been accepted by Arabic scholars, but since writing the above I have looked up *Die Sprachen der Hamiten* and see that Professor Meinhof considers the very points that I have indicated as evidence of Polarity in Semitic languages. "So, for example, the Hebrew *ab* " father " takes the feminine plural and *iššā*, " woman," the masculine plural. The masculine substantive takes the feminine form of the numeral, the feminine the masculine." [1]

IV. The Semitic Terms of Relationship

The principal relationship terms are given in the table printed on p. 56; a few other terms which are of interest in the languages in which they occur, but not of importance to the whole group, have been left out purposely so as to make the table concise, and will be treated separately in the text.

A glance at the table will show the remarkable similarity between the majority of terms. That this similarity should have been preserved throughout a long period and over so wide an area is in itself important. Moreover, it immediately throws the divergencies into relief and seems to challenge a sociological explanation for them. The most striking features are :—

(i) There is no word for father's brother common to the Semitic languages.

(ii) Nor is there a word for mother's brother running through the group.

(iii) Words related to the Assyrian *emu* are common to the whole group with slight differences of meaning.

(iv) The words father, mother, brother, sister, son, and daughter are similar throughout the group.

The absence of a common word for father's brother, the actual classificatory use of *yiba* my father (i.e. for my father's brother) among the Beni Amer and the peculiar formation of the plural of the word for father in Hebrew and Arabic all point to the conclusion that the Semitic relationship systems are founded on the classificatory system.

The words for *son and daughter, brother and sister* in Arabic, Hebrew, and Tigré can all be derived from the Babylonian terms, and call for no comment except that in the Sudan the word *walad* from the root

I cannot understand why this syntax arose first with masculine nouns, and fail to see why it should be a natural development of a language when still in a comparatively primitive form.

[1] Carl Meinhof, *Sprachen der Hamiten*, Hamburg, 1912, p. 227, footnote 1.

English.	Babylonian.	Hebrew.	Arabic.	Maltese.	Tigre (Bem Amer).	Amharic.
Father	abu, pl. abê	ab אָב pl. אָבוֹת	ab أب, pl. abahat ابهات	missier, pl. missiriet	yiba	abbat
Mother	ummu	em אֵם	umm أمّ	omm	yuma	mat
Son	binu (rare) maru	ben בֵּן	ibn ابن	iben	walie	lij
Daughter	bintu (rare) martu	bath בַּת	bint بنت	bint	walatie	syet lij
Uncle						ggwœt
Father's brother	(possibly) emu rabu	dōd דּוֹד	ʿamm عمّ	ʿamm (obsolete) ziu (modern)	yiba	
Mother's brother			ḫal خال	barba	halie	
Aunt						akist
Father's sister		dōdoh דּוֹדָה	ʿamman عمه		amaitye	
Mother's sister			ḫala خاله	ʿamont (obsolete) zia (modern)	halto	
Father-in-law	emu					
Wife's father		ḥôten חֹתֵן	ḫatan ختن	ḫaten	hamue	amat
Husband's father		ḥom חָם	ḫamu حمو	ḥmu		

The transliteration of Hebrew and Arabic in these papers is taken from the scheme printed in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edited by James Hastings Vol. I.

w.l.d. (Assyrian, Hebrew, and Arabic), meaning to bear, is more frequently used than *ibn*, a son.

Father.—The Babylonian, Hebrew, and Arabic words for *father* are practically the same. The Maltese word for father is puzzling. It may be supposed that the Semitic word has disappeared, and a word of Italian origin, related to *messere*, master, has taken its place,[1] as other words of undoubted Italian origin occur in the system.

Father's Brother.—There is no word for father's brother in the Babylonian texts, nor is there any word in Hebrew. The rather doubtful translation of *emu rabu* as uncle will be considered later.

In Arabic the word for paternal uncle is *'amm*. Though this word means father's brother, it is used in a much wider sense. Among the Kababish where I made a genealogical table of the chief's family, the brother of the paternal grandfather was regarded as *'amm*, and in some cases when the relationship had to be sought several generations back, the descendants still spoke of one another as *ibn 'amm* and *bint 'amm* respectively.[2] Generally speaking, among Sudan Arabs the son of the *'amm* means a member of the speaker's tribal division. Everywhere among Arab-speaking peoples *'amm* is a polite form of address to an elder or superior in rank. In Egypt a man addresses an old man of inferior rank, to whom he wishes to speak pleasantly, as my father, not as my *'amm*. Doughty relates that a lad of the family of the Emir of Jebel Shammar told him that though he loved his father's feeble-minded brother, "he did not name him 'ammy, mine uncle."[3]

If Arabic is based on a classificatory system and the term for father originally included father's brother, it is necessary to consider whether the use of *'amm* for father's brother in Arabic may not be a comparatively late introduction. *'Amm*, meaning father's brother, is not found in Hebrew, Tigré, or Amharic. In Maltese *'amm* was used for father's brother, but has been supplanted by an Italian word *ziu*. Robertson Smith points out that *'amm* is used by an Arab writer as in Hebrew, meaning people, when referring to a tribe who refused to

[1] Dr. Zammit does not believe this to be the case; he considers that *missier* is derived from a Maltese verb *sarisir*, to become ripen. In favour of the antiquity of *messier* in Maltese, he states that "Our Father which art in Heaven" is translated *messierna*, and he asserts that *ab* does not occur at all in Maltese. In personal names, such as Bu-Hagar, one might see an abbreviation of *abu*, and this is the view of some scholars. Words such as *busuf*, a hairy beetle, *butwila*, a very tall man, are common and are analogous to a common use of *ab* in Arabic.

[2] *Varia Africana*, op. cit., p. 138.

[3] C. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, 1888, vol. ii, p. 29.

desert another branch of the same stock, and called them the "sons of its *'amm*". He adds that *'amm* in the sense of paternal uncle, which is a use peculiar to Arabic, seems to be a comparatively late development.[1]

We have seen that by the Sudan Arabs the word is used almost in a classificatory way. This is something of a paradox, for the classificatory system should not have a special term for father's brother, and the Sudanese use nearly approaches the sense mentioned by Robertson Smith, a view supported by Wellhausen, who says that probably the original meaning of *'amm* is "those united, connected, related".[2] Hugo Winckler also considers "gens" to be the earlier meaning of *'amm* in Arabia.[3]

While the word *'amm*, meaning uncle or kinsman, does not occur in Hebrew and it is common with the meaning "people", scholars are not agreed as to which is the prior meaning. A conclusion the reverse of that of the authorities mentioned above is held by Dr. Paton,[4] and apparently is also supported by the late Dr. Buchanan Grey. As *'amm* occurs in proper names in Hebrew, the difference of opinion arises from the translation of these names. It is therefore necessary to examine the evidence on which these conclusions are based, for if the authorities are right who consider that *'amm* existed in Hebrew as a kinship term and thereby infer that this meaning is older than the meaning "people", much of my argument falls to the ground. For if Hebrew lost its definite word for paternal uncle (it must be noted that Dr. Buchanan Grey gives it a wider meaning, such as agnate or kinsman), it might be inferred that Tigré, also, once possessed a word for paternal uncle and that it had been lost. It would, however, be very difficult to explain how, if once the term for this relative had passed into disuetude, it could have been replaced by the term meaning "father".

There are seventy-five names compounded with *ob* and *oḥ* in

[1] Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, London, 1903, p. 72.

[2] J. Wellhausen, *Göttinsche Nachrichten*, 1893, p. 480.

[3] Hugo Winckler, Arabish-Semitisch-Orientalisch: *Mitt. der Vorderas Gesellsch*, 190–4, p. 15.

"The two main differences in relationship which the Semitic languages know are *am* and *ham*, the former indicates in later [times] the father's brother, the latter relatives acquired through marriage. As the former also means 'das volk', it is clear that this is the original meaning of the word, the members of the 'gens' who, because of their blood relationship, belong together as brothers and do not marry within themselves."

[4] *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Art. Amm.

Hebrew, and only nineteen with *'amm*. If it can be shown that these nineteen names correspond closely with those in *ob* and *oḥ*, where there is no doubt about their translation by the relationship terms father and brother respectively, then it is argued *'amm* can also be translated by a relationship term.

Of these nineteen names, six are place names, which are not found at all in names with *ob* and *oḥ*. The nineteen names fall into five different formations, two of these formations are not found in the names *ob* and *oḥ*, and ten out of the nineteen fall into these two groups.

In the six place names Dr. Buchanan Grey considers that *'amm* cannot be translated kinsman, and may mean people. Among the thirteen personal names there are three in which Dr. Buchanan Grey does not accept the rendering kinsman, and two that he considers obscure. Thus, eleven out of nineteen cannot be considered parallel to the names compounded with a relationship term. Of the remaining eight personal names, Dr. Buchanan Grey says: "The parallels in favour of עם [*'amm*] denoting kinsman or being a divine name, balance one another, at first sight the parallels in the remaining names with names in יה [God] appear to incline the balance in favour of עם being a divine name. But the balance of probability is at best very slight, and on other grounds it seems to me most likely that in the names parallel to names in אב [father] and אח, the element עם means kinsman." [1]

It is recognized that *'amm* is one of the earliest and widest spread of Semitic designations of the deity. Though in origin it is looked upon as a title like El, Baal, Adon, and Melek, in certain cases it became the proper name of a deity. The chief god of Kataban (South Arabia) was *'Amm*.[2] Dr. Buchanan Grey rejects the translation of *'amm* in these names by the name or title of the deity, because of the improbability of so pronounced a cult of this god in Palestine as the occurrence of such names would imply, Kataban, the centre of this worship, being remote from, though not out of communication with, Palestine. In favour of the translation kinsman, he brings forward the evidence of Himyaritic names. In these, the element *'amm* can be paralleled with other relationship terms, but it should be noted that they are found in a part of the world where the god *'amm* was worshipped. While making use of the same evidence, Mr. Paton seems to draw his con-

[1] Buchanan Grey, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, p. 54.

[2] Buchanan Grey, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Art. Ammi., and *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, p. 42 et seq.

clusion largely from the social organization of the Semites. Here he follows Robertson Smith and McLennan in supposing that the Arabs passed from matrilineal to patrilineal descent by means of a period of polyandry. But Mr. Paton brings no fresh evidence in support of this hypothesis, which is not generally accepted by anthropologists.[1] Thus we see there is no positive evidence in favour of the translation of *'amm* in these names as kinsman.

Apart from this doubtful use of *'amm* as kinsman in Hebrew, the antiquity of *'amm* as a relationship term depends upon its use in Sabæan.

Although the Hebrew Lexicon [2] gives both the meanings, "people" and "paternal uncle", to *'amm* in Sabæan, all the references to the latter meaning are also to proper names. Dr. Buchanan Grey, in a letter, stated that there is a Sabæan inscription [3] in which עם is used in the plural, and must refer to individuals, and he translates the word kinsman or agnates, not paternal uncles. Further light might be thrown on the subject of the antiquity of *'amm* as a relationship term if it could be determined whether *'amm* in Maltese belonged to the early Semitic stratum of the language, or whether it is due to more recent Arabic influence. Again, although *'amm* does not occur in Amharic, *amat* means father-in-law and mother-in-law.[4] The derivation of this term is also important, it is possible that it may be derived from the Assyrian root *emu*. If, however, it was borrowed from Arabic, it must have been introduced at a time when the marriage with the paternal uncle's daughter had become customary and the word had already acquired the secondary meaning of father-in-law that it now possesses in Arabia.

A further difficulty arises in that Professor Langdon has translated *emu rabu*, literally "great father-in-law", as "uncle", but in giving this meaning he tells me that he does not imply any connexion between the uncle and the father-in-law, and suggests that "great father-in-law" might be used as a courtesy term for the uncle. No other word for uncle occurs in the Babylonian texts, and *emu rabu* is only found in the syllabaries which are comparatively late, and date from about 2200 B.C. *Emu rabu*, not found in the numerous texts but only in syllabaries, is given as the equivalent of a Sumerian word *murum*, which could not be translated by *emu* alone. Professor Langdon

[1] For further discussion of Robertson Smith's hypothesis see *Studies in Semitic Kinship*, 11, Cousin Marriage.

[2] Brown, Driver, & Briggs.

[3] *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticorum*, iv, 376.

[4] C. H. Armbruster, *Initia Amharica*, Cambridge, 1910.

states that *emu* alone without the addition of *rabu* means father-in-law, and this word is common and is found in the earlier texts.

It was necessary to make this statement, as it is on Professor Langdon's authority that the meaning "uncle" has been attached to *emu rabu*. He very kindly went into the evidence for this translation for me, and came to the conclusion that the word is late and uncommon, only occurring in the syllabaries, that it means something different to *emu*, and it was because there was no word for "uncle" that he had suggested this interpretation. If this suggestion be accepted, its implication must be considered in the discussion of cousin marriage.

Mother's Brother.—There is no word either in Babylonian or Hebrew meaning mother's brother. In Arabic خال *hal* from the root to "administer"; *halie* (my maternal uncle) in Tigré. The root of this word does not occur in Babylonian,[1] nor is it represented in Maltese. The plural اخوال *aḫwal* is used to mean "mother's kinsmen", but among the Kababish who so seldom marry a woman out of their own division, a man's mother's kinsmen are generally his own kinsmen, therefore his *Aulad 'amm*. However, in those few cases where a man had married a woman of another division, the son referred to his mother's relatives as his *aḫwal*. The feminine form means mother's sister and wife of the mother's brother. In Hebrew דוד is used for uncle, both the brother of the father and the brother of the mother, but this word also means a beloved one or friend.

Father-in-law.—Words with the root *h.m.*, meaning father-in-law, related to the Babylonian root *emu* are common to many Semitic languages,[2] and are also found in Tebdawi, a Hamitic language spoken by the Hadendowa, a people closely related physically to the Beni Amer.

The Babylonian root means "to surround, to guard".

Arabic	.	*ḥam(w)*.
Hebrew	.	*ḥam*.
Ethiopic	.	*ḥam*.
Aramaic	.	*ḥama*.
Tigré	.	*ḥamue* (with 1st pers. poss. pron.).

[1] I am indebted to Professor Langdon for this information.

[2] I am indebted to Dr. Alan Gardiner for the information that the Coptic word *shom*, also found once in the eighteenth dynasty, may be an equivalent of the same word. If this is so, it suggests that the word is common to both the Hamitic and Semitic groups. Its presence in Tebdawi alone would not be conclusive, as it might be a borrowed word.

Though the word *ḥam(ʿ)* means father-in-law in Arabic, and though this is the meaning given in the dictionary, and the feminine form means mother-in-law, colloquially it is only used for wife's brother. In Tigré it means father-in-law. In Egypt and the Sudan the word for father-in-law or mother-in-law would never be used as terms of address. The polite form of address to a father-in-law is "paternal uncle". When a man has made the usual Arab marriage with his paternal uncle's daughter, his father-in-law is his paternal uncle, but the same term is used when husband and wife are unrelated.

The usual term for father-in-law and all wife's relatives in general, both in Egyptian and Sudanese Arabic, is *naṡib*, but even this would be considered impolite as a term of address. It is curious that the root نسب means "to trace the pedigree of", and *nasib* is given in the dictionary as relative, kinsman. *Nisbah* is the common word in colloquial Arabic for "genealogy". Thus, it should mean related to by blood, not united by marriage, so it presumably came into use after the *bint 'amm* marriage had been established. I have been unable to trace this word in other Semitic languages.[1]

Relatives by Marriage.—Another group of words for relations by marriage occurs in Babylonian, Hebrew, Arabic, and Maltese. These words are derived from the root h.t.n.

Hebrew	חֹתֵן *ḥôtén*	wife's father.
		In the feminine, wife's mother.
	חָתָן *ḥoton*	daughter's husband.
		Bridegroom.

The verb is only represented in the hithpæl and means "to make oneself a daughter's husband" or "form an alliance with".

Arabic	خَتَنَ	*Ḫatan*—relation by marriage, wife's kinsman.
	خُتُونَ	*Ḫutun*—relationship on the wife's side.

These words occur in the literary language, but are not used in the colloquial dialects of Egypt or the Sudan.

In Arabic the verb ختن in the first form means "to

[1] Professor Langdon tells me it is not found in Babylonian, and Mr. H. Lowe has kindly looked in several Hebrew lexicons, and has been unable to find the root.

circumcise "; in the third form "to ally oneself by marriage", and in the eighth "to be circumcised".

Babylonian	. .	*Hātanu*—a son-in-law.
Aramaic	. .	*Hātna*—a son-in-law.
Maltese	. .	*Ħatim*—father-in-law.

In old Hebrew it is only the husband's father (i.e. woman speaking) who is addressed as *ḥom*,[1] whereas in the other languages words from this root mean relative by marriage irrespective of the sex of the speaker. This seems to emphasize the importance of the distinction between husband's father and wife's father, thus stressing the function of the wife's father (the חֹתֵן) as opposed to the husband's father (the חם). In Arabic where words from the root h.t.n. occur, it appears that they might have been used for relatives by marriage, but primarily designated the relationship between a man and his wife's father.

This connexion between the words circumcision and marriage has led to speculation as to the origin of circumcision as a preparation for marriage.[2] I do not propose to enter this discussion, but that two such ideas are expressed in the same root cannot be accidental, although this connexion may hold for only a small part of the area in which circumcision is found. This rite is one of the elements of the Hamito-Semitic culture complex, and is performed at varying ages.[3] Professor Langdon states that it was not practised in Babylonia, and that the word *hātanu*, a son-in-law, means "one who is protected", and the root is found in such names as "Protector of the Poor". If "to protect" is the original meaning of the root and hence the meaning of father-in-law as the protector of the son-in-law, then the word should date back to matrilineal conditions, and it must be supposed that some fresh cultural influence introduced circumcision. The wife's father now became the circumcisor, presumably in order to prevent his daughter marrying an uncircumcised man.

Another and totally different explanation is possible, i.e. that the offices of circumcisor and father-in-law only became confused after the introduction of the marriage with daughter of the father's brother. In this case we must suppose that the operation was always performed

[1] In late Hebrew and Aramaic, husband's and wife's father: Brown, Driver, & Briggs, *Hebrew Lexicon*.

[2] Articles "Circumcision", "Introductory", "Muslim and Semitic": *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. In these three articles varying views are held on the subject.

[3] C. G. Seligman, "Some Aspects of the Hamitic problem in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan": *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. xliii, 1913.

by the father's brother at whatever age was customary in the tribe; as to-day, the first shaving of the child's hair is performed by the *'amm* among the Kababish. This does away with the grounds for holding the view that the identification of the father-in-law with the circumcisor necessarily implies adult circumcision. According to Professor Langdon's statements, consanguineous marriages were not allowed in Babylonia, and circumcision is not found. It is, therefore, necessary to suppose that the invading Semites did not influence the Sumerians in these particulars. But, if we can see the remnants of matrilineal descent and exogamy in the meanings of the words *emu*, "one who guards" "father-in-law"; *hâtanu*, "one who is protected," "son-in-law," and the Sumerian translation of *emu*, *ushbar*,[1] "side-male," or "male from outside", then we may attribute the change from matrilineal to patrilineal descent to the fusion of the Semitic with the Sumerian culture.

Two entirely opposite phenomena may result from the change from matrilineal to patrilineal descent. Each is dependent on the dominance of a certain idea. When the consanguineous marriages are regarded as incestuous, and the fear of incest is the dominant idea, then marriages which previously were only forbidden with relatives on the mother's side become prohibited between persons who can trace any relationship at all. There is evidence that this has happened among many peoples in Africa, including the Nilotic tribes and the Baganda. On the other hand, when the inheritance of property has been the dominant idea, and it is backed by a sufficiently strong social organization, tribes have been able to discard their ideas of incest and adopt practical endogamy. This has also happened, and is spreading to-day, in Africa with the advance of Islam.[2] Whereas the former process with the recognition of consanguinity and the prohibition of all consanguineous marriages seems to have been the result in Babylonia, among such Semites as the Hebrews and the Arabs the opposite result is seen, i.e. the obliteration of such bars to marriage as practically to amount to endogamy.

Before leaving the subject of the father-in-law, another point must be brought forward. It is remarkable that there should be no

[1] In Sumerian there are five recognized signs for father-in-law and a sixth, *ushbar*, which is dependent on a gloss. The sign for father-in-law is equated with that for the *hâbû*, the highly worthy "mage". Bruno Meissner, "Das Ideogramm für den Schwiegervater" *Orientalistischer Litteratur Zeitung*, vol. x. 1907, p. 90.

[2] For a fuller discussion of this subject see "Cousin Marriage", Studies, etc., II.

general Semitic word for mother's brother; if, as we have supposed, *ab* was originally used in the classificatory sense, by analogy with other systems, there should be a word to distinguish the mother's brother. Instead of this, the word we find running through all the Semitic systems is some derivative of the root *ḥ.m.*, used to mean "related by marriage", the oldest known form being the Babylonian root meaning to "guard". A word meaning protector or administrator is just what would be expected for the status of mother's brother, as that is the function of the mother's brother in matrilineal society. Thus, it is possible that the words derived from the root *ḥ.m.*, to guard, may not originally have meant father-in-law, but mother's brother. This is no more than a conjecture, but when the change in the use of the word denoting father-in-law in Arabic is considered, it does not seem an impossibility. In contradistinction to the paucity of words for uncle in Semitic languages generally, there are, as we have seen, several words for father-in-law. In Arabic there are no less than three words, all derived from separate roots, to designate the father-in-law, yet as the father-in-law is a person to whom the greatest respect must be shown, all these words have dropped from current speech and he is addressed as paternal uncle by a man (a woman would not address her father-in-law directly).

V. The Arabic Terms for Father-in-law

The Arabic words for father-in-law are:—

(i) *Ḥom*, derived from the root "to guard" or "to protect", has almost dropped out of colloquial Arabic, but is used in the Sudan to mean a brother-in-law.

(ii) *Ḥatan*, derived from a root meaning to circumcise, only occurs in the classical language. (For consideration of the meaning of this term see above.)

(iii) *Nasib* derived from a root meaning to trace descent, is the colloquial word, but is only used when speaking of the father-in-law, not when addressing him.

(iv) *'Amm*, really father's brother, is now the polite form of address to the father-in-law.

From the meanings of these terms it is obvious that the concept father-in-law is not a simple one such as father, mother, or brother. The latter imply less complex relationships corresponding to their congenital origin. The relationship of father-in-law, on the other

hand, not being congenital, but acquired, often with considerable effort, corresponds to, and implies, a less simple and a more fluctuating concept due to its acquired character, as against the static nature of the former. It cannot be a coincidence that the father-in-law is addressed as paternal uncle when the customary marriage is with the daughter of the paternal uncle, although it might be suggested that as *'amm* is an honourable term of address, it would naturally be used for a person so highly respected as the father-in-law. There is, however, no reason to revere the father's brother more highly than the father, and it is more likely that the *'amm* has acquired its honorific significance since the marriage with the daughter of the *'amm* has become customary, and the *'amm* had become the father-in-law; respect being due especially to that relative who will eventually provide a bride.

In like manner *nasib* could only have come into use for father-in-law at a time when marriage with relatives was permitted.

All these words which are (or have been) used for father-in-law in Arabic had originally other meanings; and, just as at the present day, paternal uncle has come to mean father-in-law, it may be that *ḥom* was not originally father-in-law, indeed the meaning *protector* points to the possibility that the word may have once meant mother's brother. The change from mother's brother to father-in-law is a very easy one among matrilineal exogamous peoples—in fact, among many such peoples the one word serves both functions, for among them the correct marriage is the cross-cousin marriage, i.e. marriage with the mother's brother's daughter. Tempting as it would be to suppose that this had been the history of the word—first mother's brother, secondly father-in-law (at a matrilineal exogamous period), then thirdly with a change to patrilineal conditions and the practice of consanguineous marriages—" father-in-law," allowing any, or no relationship between bride and bridegroom; tempting as this would be there is not at present sufficient evidence to support this hypothesis. There is considerable evidence for previous matrilineal conditions among Semitic peoples, but I cannot find any for cross-cousin marriage. Here I must dissent from Sir James Frazer's view that the marriage of Jacob was a typical cross-cousin marriage, for though Rachel was the daughter of Jacob's mother's brother, Jacob's grandfather and Laban's grandfather were brothers.[1] Such a marriage might take place anywhere to-day among Arabs who favour marriage with the paternal uncle's daughter. If this

[1] For further discussion see " Cousin Marriage ".

suggestion that *hom* may have originally meant mother's brother be considered, the change must have taken place very early because the word is so widely distributed with the meaning "relative by marriage". For one factor stands out clearly, viz. the words derived from *h.m.* have a wide distribution and all mean some person related by marriage. Then, if there has been a change in meaning, it must have happened very early, presumably as a result of the contact of Semites with non-Semitic peoples. Before this time it may have meant mother's brother, and if cross-cousin marriage did exist at that time it would have meant father-in-law as well.

VI. Conclusions

The outstanding features of the Semitic relationship terms are that the words for father, mother, and father-in-law—*ab, um, hom*—run right through the group, and there is a paucity of words for uncles, the brothers of the father and the mother respectively.[1] Only in Arabic and Maltese [2] are both kinds of uncles distinguished. Considering the classificatory use of *ab* among the Beni Amer, and peculiar formation of the plural in Hebrew and Arabic, and the lack of any word for paternal uncle except in Arabic and Maltese, we may conclude that *ab* was used in a classificatory way throughout the Semitic group, and that the Semitic relationship system is based upon clan organization. Rivers [3] has put forward the view that the Semitic and Nilotic relationship systems are based on the institution of the extended or patriarchal family, and called this type of system the "kindred" system. If I am right that the Semitic system was originally based upon the clan, the "kindred" system is only a development of the clan system.[4] Further, from the fact that words from the root *h.m.* are found in all these languages, it must be assumed that the wife's father did have a definite status, which was different from that of the father, and from the father's brother, and it has been

[1] *h.m.*, however, does not occur in Maltese.

[2] The Maltese relationship terms have obviously gone through much change. *Barba* is used for mother's brother; this is a Lombardy word for uncle. The father's brother is called *'amm*.

[3] *Kinship and Social Organization*, p. 78 et seq.

[4] I am not certain whether this term should be retained. I hope to be in a better position to judge when I have worked out the material I have on the Nilotic systems. Unfortunately, I never discussed this point with Rivers, although he read the first draft of this paper and gave me great encouragement to finish and publish it, agreeing as far as I can remember, with all my main points.

suggested that this root might originally have indicated mother's brother, though there is not sufficient evidence to prove this point.

In this article I find that I have touched upon a very large number of problems, many of which would well repay more detailed study, which I am not competent to give. I feel linguists will scorn my attempt to base any conclusion on the comparative study of mere isolated words, and were the words any other than terms of relationship I should look upon such an attempt as unscientific. But relationship terms have an innate social significance and hence are both very stable in meaning and at the same time peculiarly liable to modification from social causes. As language is, above all, a social phenomenon, I have thought it worth while to see what I could learn from this attempt. While I am not ambitious enough to suppose it possible to furnish a solution to such questions as the working of Polarity in Arabic, the connexion between circumcision and marriage, the social system of Babylonia, or the spread of Semitic culture, I wish to urge that the detailed study of relationship terms can throw some light on all such weighty matters.

(To be continued.)

THE TALE OF SUTO AND TATO: KURDISH TEXT WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES

By B. NIKITINE and the late Major E. B. SOANE

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE story of Suto and Tato is in no way fiction, it is a lively reality, and anyone even slightly acquainted with these far-distant, but beautiful and picturesque countries and their inhabitants, will confirm my statement. The principal actors, Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq, the Shaikh of Barzan, Tato, Osman—Suto's elder son, are no longer alive. I am not certain about Suto himself.[1] This old man, a perfect type of a Kurdish chief ruling over the most impregnable region of Central Kurdistan, may yet be alive. At any rate, in 1918 he was. Mulla Said, the narrator, was murdered in Urumia in July, 1918, by his countrymen. Peace be on him!

This man was my teacher of Kurdish. He knew his own language well, and many of its dialects; as well as Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. He was a very learned Mulla, and the breadth of his views and understanding were astonishing in one who had spent all his life in a remote corner of an unknown country.

If the reader be desirous of acquainting himself better with the country of Central Kurdistan, the scene of the events related in the story, he will find many interesting materials in the Rev. Wigram's *Cradle of Mankind*, and the following articles in the *Journal of the Royal Geogr. Society*: Capt. B. Dickson, "Journeys in Kurdistan," April, 1910; Major Maunsell, "Central Kurdistan," August, 1901; and Major Kenneth, "Central Kurdistan," December, 1919. Major Maunsell's map of the country is still the only one available.

During the war I had a chance of visiting some of the Central Kurdish regions. There is no doubt that Horamar[2] is very well worth seeing.

Inaccessible peaks, crags, spurs, precipices, a chaos of enormous rocks, high valleys with snow, deep cañons, the greenish-blue river of the Rubar i Shin, dangerous passes, practically no roads, a spot completely isolated. After seeing all this, one can better understand the character of the people. Savage and rude, uncouth and brave,

[1] Suto was alive in 1920. (E. B. S.)

[2] Also known as Oramar. (E. B. S.)

they resemble Nature around them. Without these influences, Suto, Tato, and their compeers might seem to us a peculiar kind of being.

I thought that their story being strictly true, might be of service to those who have to work among the Kurds and to deal with them.

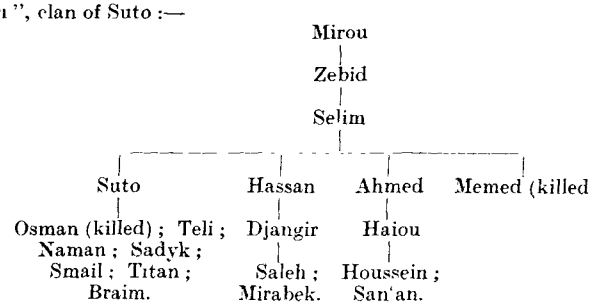
May I acknowledge here my sincere gratitude to the late Major E. B. Soane, without whose kind help I should not have been able to publish an English translation of this tale.

B. N.

The Tale of Suto and Tato

Suto is Agha of the Duskani tribe, from the village of Horamar [1] and of the clan of Mala Miri. Tato is Agha of the Rekani [2] tribe, of the village of Razga, and the clan of Mala Mikail Agha. The Rekani, from early times till now, have been continuously under the hands of the Horamar Aghas, and in the time of Suto Agha they fell even more completely under their dominance. Suto, with his sons, his brothers, and the elders of his clan visited many persecutions and impositions upon the Rekani, and rendered them so desperate that the power of forbearance no longer remained to them. Tato, yet a youth, was a man of much courage, the like of whom had never been seen among the

[1] The Turkish administration classed Horamar as a " nahiya " of the " kaza " of Giaver, " sandjak " of Hakkiari, and vilayet of Van. Horamar has on north, Ishtazin and Giaver; on north-west, Djilou, Baz, Tkhouma, Tiari; on south-west, Artosh, Rekan; on south, Barzan; and on east, Shemdinan. Horamar is not *one* village, as shown on the maps, but an agglomeration of many hamlets, more or less important. The following are their names: Chami Prizan, Oveski, Haousha Deri, Mle Amandje, Naw Gound (the largest), Fravink, Avithir, Bikandalava, and Bin Djerta. Bin Djerta has six hamlets: Bin Djerta, Bi Hanava, Mari Mamou, Bi Mamaga, Meytarava, Bin Djana. All these villages belong to Suto, but besides them the following places are also his property: Hyarta, Shatounis, Banoviye, Chami Touyan, Bire, Chi, Artis, Sheh Mama, Nerva, Shoukia, Seve, Biryi, Kenianish. One knows the importance attached by the Kurdish chiefs to their pedigree. This in one of the " Mala Miri ", clan of Suto :—



I think all these details were never printed.—B. N.

[2] Rekan is a " mahall " of the " kaza " of Amadia, Mossul vilayet. The chief village is Razgia. The name of Agha was given in 1917 as San'an. Probably the son of Haiou, who was killed by Tato.—B. N.

Rekani Aghas, and now his pride could no longer brook the misrule of the Horamari. He said to his brothers, Temo, Hadi, and Resul (all of whom were older than he): "I cannot submit like you, I will not make a Jew of myself in Suto's hands,[1] death is pleasanter than life thus; with God's help I shall terminate Suto's power[2] whether I die or live."

His brothers and relations replied: "We shall run counter to any plan you may consider advisable; but we shall be annihilated, for we are not strong enough to cope with the Horamari." Tato replied: "And if we be annihilated, there is no loss. If we prevail, we have profited in name and honour till Judgment Day, and if vanquished we die and are at rest. Whatever comes to pass I am resigned."

So they thus perfected their agreement to a feud with the Horamari.

One day it so happened that Haio, Suto's brother, in accordance with his custom, visited the Rekani villages and commenced harrying and plundering. Tato and Tamo accompanied by ten of their men approached him and said: "Go out from amongst our people! from this day on we do not consent to your coming or going in Rekani." Haio said: "Nevertheless, we are [here], and we do not regard you as of any importance."

When Haio spoke thus Tato presented his Martini, discharged a cartridge, and killed him on the spot. Some of Haio's followers were also killed, and others got away to Nerva, Suto's village, the distance between Nerva and Razga being less than two hours. The following day Suto collected all the tribesmen of Duskan and Horamar, and said: "Now will I go at once and annihilate the clan of Mikail Agha Rekani, and will seize all the Rekani land as revenge for Haio." All said: "We are ready, whatever you order, we shall execute. Certainly the revenge of the Agha's brother is a duty upon all of us (lit. on all our heads), and even without your orders it is incumbent upon us day and night to strive for Haio's revenge."

So Suto with his force came upon Razga village and opened the fight. Tato's men were few, and could not fight in the open, so took cover in Tato's fort, and from there engaged Suto's forces. They became surrounded, and Suto's men were pressing the attack. At the portal of the fort Tato was seated at an embrasure over the door, and killed four or five at every rush,[3] throwing them back. Suto said

[1] i.e. "admit myself to be a coward, and resign myself to the status of a slave."

[2] Lit. strike Suto's arm with mine.

[3] Lit. every time.

" This will not do, we must approach the fort with a 'chirpa'." [1] They cut some trees from Razga village, and dismembered them, constructed a chirpa and advanced towards the fort, and about the fourth or fifth hour of the night they got the chirpa up to it, and from its top a few men got upon the roof of the fort, and Tato's men became hard pressed. But Tato said: " Fear nothing, a man is for such a day as this, to seize, to kill, that is the manly way. Wait, and now will I scatter them."

He soaked four or five quilts in kerosene, spread them on poles, thrust them in the chirpa, and fired them. The eaves [2] of the fort were all stone, and did not catch fire. When the flames of the chirpa rose, all sides of the fort were illumined. Tato and his men fired several volleys upon Suto's force, and in that time finished off twenty-four people. Once again Suto's men were forced back, the chirpa availed not. He called out to Tato: " I go to prepare destruction for you, this time I will make a chirpa of stone. Then you cannot fire it." Tato answered him, and called out: " I have debauched thy father! Your wooden chirpa did not avail, and before you can bring a stone one to the fort a long time will pass. Perhaps by then God will find me some means."

They commenced the construction of a stone chirpa, but it was not so easy as the wooden one. During this time information reached the Government of Amadia that for the last twelve days Suto had been besieging Tato's fort, and he with his men was beleaguered.

The Qaim Maqam of Amadia then sent a gendarme officer with twenty gendarmes to Razga to remove Suto's force from the attack on Tato by whatever means be possible. The officer and gendarmes reached Razga and saw a great concourse about it. They reasoned that the affair could not be hurried, it would only be possible with stratagem and cunning. Since many men had come to their death; with [but] twenty gendarmes fighting, the affair would not be resolved, and to consent to do so, moreover, would be far from sense.

The officer addressed Suto: " I have come specially to you to say that I do not desire that your clan should be destroyed, as you are a well-born and respectable Agha. It is now several days since, that you have brought your force against the Rekani, and are fighting. The noise of it has reached the Vilayet of Mosul, and the Wali has

[1] " Chirpa " seems to be a kind of Roman " vinea ", a moving fence or shelter for the attacking side.

[2] Originally sūvānd.

informed to Qaim Maqam of Amadia that he has heard such a rumour, and ordered him to make searching inquiries, and if it is correct to let him know quickly, when he will inform the Wali of Van that he may send royal troops from Van against the tribe of Suto. Also from Mosul two battalions with two guns will come to discipline Suto and protect Tato.

" Since things are thus, the saving of your position is, that in one hour you disband your force, when we shall reply to the Wali of Mosul that nothing of importance has occurred, that some men of Suto and Tato had quarrelled behind the village about the matter of some vineyard theft for two or three hours, and had now separated with two or three men wounded. Then you will not be responsible. So, I have told you. Consent, as you like ; or dissent, as you like."

When the officer thus spoke, all the people said to Suto : " We will not destroy our homes, conflict with the Government is too much for us. If it is tribal warfare we are all ready to give ourselves to killing for you. But against the Government is not possible for us."

In the end Suto consented, and retired his force.

The officer took much money from him, and also placed a heavy obligation upon him, inasmuch as he had arranged his affairs with ease. He also said to Tato : " To save your position it is [best] that you should transport your household and family and your relatives to the headquarters of the Amadia canton ; inform the Vilayet and the Sublime Porte at Constantinople. Catalogue your grievances and injuries before the necessary departments, and perhaps the Government may give you its protection. Otherwise you will not be able to defend yourselves against the pressure of the Aghas of Horamar. We also will all bear witness for you." In the end he made Tato also acquiescent and grateful, and took all his family and following with him to Amadia. Also he profited by much money from him. For there is a popular proverb amongst the Kurds : " Turks are vultures, their pleasure is in being full of carrion."

When Tato with all his people went to Amadia the lands of Rekani were left without a guardian. Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq [1] was also

[1] Shemdinan, known also by a Kurdish name of " Naw Tchiya " (i.e. " between the mounts "). In Turkish administration it was a " kaza " of the " Sandjak " of Hakkiari. Shemdinan has three " nahiya " : (*a*) *Zerzan*, governed directly by the Kaimakam, residing in Neri ; (*b*) *Houmarou*, with a " mudir " in the village of Benbo or in Surunis ; (*c*) *Girdi Harki*, with a " mudir " in the village of Bietkar (Bi Kar). This last nahiya is divided in three districts : (i) Girdi-ye Baroja (i.e. " open to the east ") ; (ii) Girdi-ye Nawpar (i.e. " middle ") : and (iii) Girdi-ye bin-Tchiya (i.e. " below the mount "). As far as I know these details have not yet been

a great vulture, and the Rekani lands were equally a very fat and pleasing carcase. The avidity of the noble Shaikh became most overpowering, and he took thought to himself how he could easily bring the lands of Rekani under his own hand. He sent a confidential letter, by the hand of two or three respectable and intelligent men, together with some money to the Qaim Maqam of Amadia [saying]: "I beg of you to so arrange that Tato should need me, and come here, that I may say to him that I will get his business arranged. You on your side, hinder it somewhat."

When the letter reached the Qaim Maqam it pleased him very much, and he acted in accordance with the Shaikh's aims, saying to Tato: "I have thought of a surer and easier way for you. Although here also your affairs may be arranged, the Mosul Vilayet delays matters, and before a result eventuates one becomes most disgusted. The Van Vilayet puts things in hand more quickly, and in that Vilayet, everything is in the hands of Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq, [who] does as he likes. I say if you and your brothers and some of the notables of the Rekani tribe go to Neri before Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq, your affairs will be sooner arranged. [That] both tribally and officially the Shaikh be partner and protector is better for you, and then Suto's back will break." In fine, he convinced Tato, who was grateful to the Qaim Maqam for showing him such a course. So Tato with his brothers and the notables came to Neri, and the game entered the nets of the Shaikh.

When he came before Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq, the latter showed him much honour and graciousness. He was more soft-tongued than a Pawai,[1] and soothed Tato's heart by all means possible. He said: "Sell me the site of Razga Fort. I will then entirely demolish it and build it again larger and stronger. I will place twenty of my own men with you, and will give your men a hundred Martini and Mauser rifles, and will also procure a special order from Government for your protection. And in exchange for this the elders of the Rekani shall give me one tenth of their harvests each year."

Tato replied: "Whatever the Shaikh order, I consent."

In the end their pact was thus resolved, and Tato deceived. Sura

published. There are 126 villages in Shemdinan, twenty-one of them are Christian. North of Shemdinan is Gaver, west Oramar, south Baradost (Turkish B., not to be confounded with Persian B.) and Barzan, east Persian districts of Desht, Mergever, and Oushnou. -B. N.

[1] Pawa is a village of Juanrud near Sina (Persian Kurdistan) mentioned in the Sharaf Nama as Fivej, the inhabitants of which are noted for cunning.

Chaush[1] with twenty chosen men was sent with Tato among the Rekani. They entirely razed Razga fort, and sent masons, who commenced rebuilding it. The lower stories were approaching completion when Suto came to the conclusion that if Razga fort be completed in this style and the Shaikh support the Rekani, Tato's strength would reach such a degree that he could no longer oppose him, and in the end there would be great distress for the Agha of Horamar. Also the caravan road from Horamar towards Mosul, Akra, and Amadia passes through the Rekani.

Suto therefore summoned all the Duskani and Horamari, and said to them: "You all know to what extent Tato Rekani is my enemy." They replied: "Yes, Agha, we know well." He said: "You all know how masterful and rapacious is Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq?" They replied: "Yes, Agha." He said: "You know that if the Razga fort be finished upon those foundations and the Shaikh combine with Tato the lands of the Duskani and Horamari will be entrapped, and we shall be forced to submit to Tato,[2] or else not live." They all said together: "Yes, Agha, we know it is thus, and more." Suto said to his people: "Good, since you all confirm this, why do you not plan how to prevent them, for now we are placed between death and life, and death is the nearer. Enough, either you make a plan, and I will fall in with your ideas, or I will think it over, and you will act in accordance with what I say." They replied: "So long as the person of our Agha is present, no one is the possessor of an opinion. Whatever the Agha decide, our duty is obedience." Suto said: "Since you are so submissive, let it be agreed that I sacrifice myself to your saving. First," he said, "My people! You know that I did humble myself to Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq enough that I give him one of your villages for him to show gratitude and for my honour to be vastly greater than that of Tato." They all said: "We believe it, it is even as the Agha says." Suto said: "Good, whatever I do is for your sakes, and not for myself. My idea is this. Let us attack Razga and kill Sura Chaush and the Shaikh's men, and not allow Razga fort to be completed. How do you think that would do?" They said "We are steadfast in the Agha's opinion, for whenever the Razga fort be finished we shall be destroyed, so that war is the better course for us, when, if we are to be destroyed, it will be with honour and good fame, not with meanness and dishonour."

[1] Chaush = sergeant in the Turkish army. The Kurds use it to distinguish a man in charge of a small body of fighting men.

[2] Lit. become Tato's Jews.

So at dawn 900 men of the Duski and Horamari attacked Razga. That day Tato and his men had gone to Amadia to fetch their families to Razga, and only Sura Chaush with twenty men was there. The fort was not yet finished. For an hour they fought, and Suto's force surrounded them on all sides. Sura and his men retired to a house, but it was not suitable for defence. Suto's people came right up to the walls of the house, and though from the lattice Sura killed two or three of Suto's men, is was of no avail. They fired the house at every corner, and Sura with twelve men were faced with burning. They fought to the utmost, and did not surrender their arms, but seven men asked for mercy and emerged. Suto said to those seven : " Give up your arms, and go before the Shaikh himself, and tell him not to think again of the lands of Rekan. So long as a lad of the Mala Miri is left, no one can with impunity trespass upon the clan of the Rekani."

Those seven servants came [to the Shaikh] stripped, without arms, miserable, shamefaced. Everyone remained aghast, and said : " What state is this ? " They described their misfortunes in full, and when they had told the tale of their condition to Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq he was enraged to the utmost degree. For two reasons ; one was that the wheat and rice of the Rekani had not fallen into his hands, and the other that great loss and dishonour had come to him. The Shaikh fell to thoughts of vengeance for this affair. He collected his chief men and consulted with them : " What course can you see ? " he said. A few replied : " Let us collect a large force from the tribes and attack and annihilate them all." Some said : " The course is that full details of his actions be laid before the Valis of Van and Mosul, and that through Government he come to judgment, and that by the hand of Government he come to chastisement." And others said : " It is well that the Shaikh show favour to Abdurrahim Agha. He is of the Mafi, and between them and the Mala Miri is ever enmity. Then he and Tato would unite, and when enemies thus appeared from outside and inside, he (Suto) would be hard pressed."

Others yet said : " Let us raid their villages and hold up their caravan roads, nor allow them rest till we fully achieve our revenge." In short, each one gave some opinion.

I, the humble Mulla Said, was not at the conference, but at the school teaching the students. A servant came and summoned me to The Shaikh. I went into his presence and he asked me, " What do you think is the best method of revenging Sura Chaush and his men ?" I replied, " I am a mulla and am young ; of matters of policy I know

nothing. I have not much, nay, even hardly, mixed in mundane affairs. Here, all present are intelligent, important, and experienced. They necessarily know better than I." The Shaikh said, "It is as you say, but I desire that you also give your opinion, whether good or bad, for they have all expounded their own ideas." I asked, "Of all their opinions, which has appeared to your reverence the most acceptable?" The Shaikh replied, "As yet I am saying nothing till you also say what is your opinion." I said, "I beg that I may know the opinions of the others, and if they agree with mine I will confirm them, and if not in agreement, then to the degree of my defective wits I also will lay some proposal before you." The Shaikh repeated the opinions of the conference in detail, and said, "These are they, their ideas, let me see now what you will say." I replied, "The idea of the tribal force without the knowledge or co-operation of Government is bad, headstrong actions are eventually the cause of damage and remorse. Raiding and caravan-plundering also are but the work of brigands. They are not worthy of the honour and repute of a great one like you, the spiritual head of the humble. Friendliness toward Abdurrahim Agha is indeed good, but in that case, when Suto is disposed of, it is unlikely to profit our cause, and even if it do so will take a long time. Representation of his conduct to the Walis and his being brought to justice by Government is certainly necessary, but the first consideration is that possibly so much alone may not be enough and will not cure our ills. At most, Government will imprison him and after a time will take a deal of money from him and release him, when he will become still stronger and our affairs yet more deranged. I consider best thus: First, representation of his conduct to Government; next, the procuring of an official order and the stationing of ten gendarmes for the repair of Razga fort, and the testimony of Tato that the village and fort of Razga have been sold by him to Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq. Then, that Government give permission to Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq to protect the village and instal at Razga his own armed men therefor. Then, whatever incident occur, no fault is on the Shaikh, it is on Suto. Very good presents should be sent to the Qaim Maqams of Giaver and Amadia to gratify them, so that they will write well of the Shaikh and evil of Suto. Four hundred men, 100 Shemdinan, 100 Girdi, 100 Herki, 100 Muzuri, who regard themselves as your adherents,[1] should be

[1] The tribes living under the Shaikh's rule in Shemdinan are the following: (*a*) *Harki*, their Agha (in 1917) Temer, son of Sartip; (*b*) *Girdi*, with Oguz Bek, son of Zulfekar Bek; (*c*) *Shemdinan* (two sections: Zarza and Humarou), with a nominal

sent with Tato to Razga while the fort is being finished and the gendarmes and masons are yet on it. Every night the men should attack one Duskani village. Then our revenge will be both tribal and governmental, and the aim of the Shaikh, which is to possess the Rekani, will be achieved and all four tribes will become enemies of Suto. And then neither he nor his descendants can ever be at rest from those four tribes."

When I outlined this plan, the Shaikh was so pleased, and laughed so much, that a hen with all its feathers might have flown into his mouth.

He said "Bravo! Mulla Said. Your idea pleases my mind better than any other, and I shall work according to your scheme." The members of the conference also agreed that my ideas were more practicable and profitable than any others. The Shaikh continued, "And, since your plan is better than all the others, I should like you to take the trouble to go to Razga and be with my people yourself till the castle be finished. Without your consent, no one shall do anything."

Then I represented that such was not my duty, but the Shaikh became more persistent. In the end 400 men and ten gendarmes were collected, as I had suggested, and were handed over to me.

I petitioned the Shaikh to allow Shuhab ed Din, his nephew, Mulla Musa, his secretary, and Qatas Agha, his steward, all three, to come as well. The Shaikh asked, "What are they for? They are not necessary when you are there, what need of anyone else?" I replied, "A heavy beam needs many backs to sustain it, for a single one would break under it; this is a great undertaking, and very exacting, and if one has to cope with all its demands, confusion will result, and the work suffer. Since Shuhab ed Din is your nephew his influence and value are greater; it is necessary that he come as commander of the fighting men. Mulla Musa is necessary for letter writing and advice upon affairs, and Qatas Agha for the men's rations and collection of the harvests. If I have to do all these my reason will become deranged and unable to cope with the real difficulties. Once more all the members of the meeting confirmed what I had said.

The Shaikh also agreed, and again commended me, and sent us.

chief, Samed Khan Bek, son of Mustafa Bek. These three ashirets number about 13,000 persons. I do not know why Mizouri are mentioned here. They are not a Shemdinan tribe, but live close to Barzan, in the "kaza" of Zibar. Their chief village is Shive-Benan.—B. N.

At night we arrived at Mazra[1] and Begoz, and the following day reached the gorge of Herki. The next night we went to Deri, and that same night sent fifty selected men to the hill above Peramizi, which is at the boundaries of the Rekani, Herki, and Duskani, because if that hill be taken no one could get to the Rekani. We rose with the dawn and pressed forward for one stage, nor rested till we reached Razga, and when we arrived there but half an hour was left to sunset. At once I sent 100 men, 25 from each tribe, on to the hillock before Nerva, Suto's village. I gave them instructions that no one should fire a rifle nor attack till morning, when I would come myself. If that night Suto rose and escaped, good; if not, they should surround the village and not allow anyone to emerge. That night Suto's spies were among the Rekani and warned him that this time such a force had come to Razga, both tribal and government, that he can no longer remain at Nerva.

So that night he arose and went to Horamar. With the dawn those of us who had remained at Razga reached the others who had gone to the hillock before Nerva, and together surrounded and fired a volley on the village, and no sound came from it. By degrees the men sneaked up to it and saw it was deserted and no one in it. We also went to it, and I said to Tato, "This time it is your turn, take your revenge, Tato." His men set fire to the forts of Nerva, and the whole village burned. It being time of ripening grapes the force went into the vineyards and brought loads of grapes to Razga. The masons resumed work on the fort. The day after, we left 100 men there, and three hundred with Ahmed Beg Barasuri (who was one of Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq's chaushes) we sent against Biri and Chi villages. They plundered them thoroughly, and brought back all the sheep and mules to Razga.

I then sent a letter to the Shaikh that "Thanks to the shadow of the protection of your exalted ancestors, the raiders of the Shaikh (may our souls be his sacrifice) reached Razga with all ease. One after the other successes and victories, with attainment of all desires, had been won from the enemy, and the details are thus and thus". The Shaikh was most delighted, and congratulated us upon our victories. He wrote: "At present my constant hope is in the perfection of understanding and wisdom and courage of such as you.

[1] The following description is interesting, as it gives the itinerary from Neri to Razga. I think Capt. B. Dickson went over in this direction, but on that journey he left Oramar unvisited, going to the "Tangi Bylinda" on the Great Zab.—B. N.

Than those gratifying victories are yet greater—God be with you. Amen. Sadiq."

Let us resume the tale of Suto's plight. When he went to Horamar he sent Mulla Hasan Shuki, who was his clerk, and Qazi of Duskan and Horamar, to Tahir Agha Giaveri, and when the latter reached Tahir Agha he said, "Suto Agha has sent me to you. You are an Asad Aghai, the head of all the Duskani tribe, and you are in touch with government at Giaver. Friendship is for such a day. Now what are we to think? and what are we to do?" Tahir Agha, a man of experience, said to Mulla Hasan, "I have to think somewhat. At present for Suto, except to pacify Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq, there is no course left, as his quarrel with Tato and Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq's men, and the killing of Sura Chaush and twelve men, is well known everywhere. The Government is a supporter of the Shaikh. Therefore, now it is necessary to pacify the Shaikh."

Mulla Hasan said, "Yes, it is as you say. I also think the same, but I do not know where lies the way to the pacification of the Shaikh." Tahir Agha replied, "It is certainly difficult, but, if it be possible for you to go to Razga to Mulla Said, ask him if it can be done; he may tell you some way."

Mulla Hasan left Tahir Agha with the intention of coming to me, and arrived at the village of Hishi in Rekani, a Christian village which is an hour distant from Razga, and remained there the night. In the early morning we saw a Christian man come before me from there who said he wished to see me alone. When he saw me he said, "Suto's clerk is sitting in my house and says he would much like to come before you and give you his news, but does not dare on account of outposts who might kill him."

I then sent ten men with the Christian, and said to them, "Go and bring Mulla Hasan in safety here, if a hair of his head fall, I will make of you all a target for Martinis." So the men went and fetched him, and he remained two nights with us, and we discussed everything. I said to him, "If the Shaikh accept Suto and forgive him for the killing, do you promise that he will go before the Shaikh?" He said, "Yes, but on condition that Suto be certain of his own life." I said, "Good, go to Suto and explain all to him and get his promise, and by the time you return I shall have communicated with the Shaikh and obtained his decision." We sent Mulla Hasan back to Suto and I commenced correspondence with the Shaikh. Since I knew the habit of Turkish officials, how their word and deed were

never in agreement, and that except for the cooking of the roast of their own ends they have no care, I knew that in a short time they would again bring Suto to distress, and even take large sums of money from the Shaikh, and afterwards, step by step, favour Suto, and in turn take money from him. They destroy no man for another's sake. I therefore deemed it suitable thus, that the Shaikh accept Suto, for as yet he had not lost his grip of affairs. Finally, I wrote to the Shaikh in this sense and set forth the details of Mulla Hasan's coming and going and our conversations together, and sent the letter. The Shaikh sent me reply, "Whatever be the means of protecting my name and honour in these affairs, you are my agent and attorney. In future you need not refer to me. Such as you think right, so do, beloved,—w'as salam."

The day after arrival of that reply, Mulla Hasan returned to Razga and said, "If you are certain of the Shaikh, I am certain of Suto, that he will not disregard my advice." I said, "Since it is so, and we are both agents, I consider Suto's best course thus, to take Tahir Agha and Ali Effendi Pailani with him and go to Neri to the tomb of Sayid Taha,[1] when the Shaikh may forgive him. If Suto do not thus, you know he is culpable before Government and will come to destruction." Mulla Hasan said, "If you know that it will be well thus, I will do so." I reassured him and he departed, and, having spoke to Suto in this sense, the latter consented and went with Tahir Agha and Ali Effendi to Neri. The Shaikh was most gratified, for his desire was ever to get fine flour from between two hard mill-stones. It was not for grief over Sura Chaush: he wanted money. He said to Suto, "For the sakes of Tahir Agha and Ali Effendi, and

[1] The family of the Shaikhs of Neri ("Sadat-i Neri") is very old and respectable one, ascending to the Shaikh Abd-ul-Kader Gilani himself. Here is their pedigree during the past few generations:—

Mulla Haji
|
Mulla Saleh
|
Seyid Taha the 1st
|
Shaikh Obeidullah
(the principal actor of a famous invasion into Persia in 1883)
|
Shaikh Abd-ul-Kader (Turkish Senator, now in Stamboul) — Shaikh Muhammad Siddik
Seyid Taha the 2nd (He is now appointed as a "district officer" in Rowanduz by the Iraq authorities — B. N.) — Seyid Muslih — Seyid Shemsuddin.

for the sake of the honour of my grandfather's grave, I have forgiven you for killing and seizing and exiling. But the orphans of Sura Chaush are poor, and the dependants of his men are helpless. The blood money of each is one hundred liras. Give one thousand three hundred liras, and depart with well wishing to your own house."

Suto having agreed, two gendarmes and eight men were handed over to him to go among the Duski and Horamari to collect thirteen hundred liras for the Shaikh and bring it. In the end he apportioned more than three thousand among the Duski and Horamari, and collected it. Thirteen hundred was given to the Shaikh, and he took the residue for himself. When Suto thought it over, he realized that if Tato became a Shaikh's man, and the Shaikh's servants be continuously with Tato, his own condition would become uncertain and his profits diminish, so he said to himself that it would be well to make such plans regarding Tato as to destroy him by pretence of friendship.

After a year, when all the lands of the Rekani had fallen into the Shaikh's hands with their harvests (not a donkey's ear reached Tato), Suto knew that there was a chance to humiliate Tato. He sent Mulla Hasan to him, having told him, "What is past is past, may he and I make a compact and from now hence become friends, and, as formerly, do one another no harm. Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq is a dragon, and will eventually devour both of us. It is now a year he (Tato) sees what profit has come to him. To the Shaikh's servants there is no difference between him and a [common] Kurmanj. Now that the Shaikh destroys us, it is better that we make peace. If he believe not, I will give him my daughter in marriage that he really believe that I wish peace from my heart." Mulla Hasan accordingly went to Tato and spoke to him after this fashion. It entirely won him, and he consented. Suto gave him his daughter. One day Tato, seizing an opportunity, took all their arms from the Shaikh's men, and turned them out disarmed. They came to the Shaikh, who was extremely chagrined, but to no good, for Suto and Tato were now entirely reconciled, and together went to the Shaikh of Barzan,[1] who was also an enemy of Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq, and became his adherents. Two years passed thus, and Tato was entirely at peace.

[1] A very powerful and rich family of Sheikhs, living on the Great Zab. The rebellion mentioned below took place under the Shaikh Abd-us-Salam the 2nd of Barzan, against the Turkish general from Mossul, Fazil Pasha. The Kurds completely defeated the Turkish regular troops in a cañon near the village of Bab-Sefan. But the end of this Sheikh was very sad, for he was hung by the Turks in Mossul at the beginning of the war.—B. N.

Thereafter Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq died, and the Shaikh of Barzan rebelled against the Turkish Government. By degrees Suto's plans were maturing. He knew that there remained now no sanctuary for Tato, and he considered, "It is well to make him out guilty before Government, so that when no course be left to him I may destroy him." He sent to Tato, who each year used to pay certain money to Government on account of sheep tax, a message saying, "What necessity is there for this? All the Duskani tribe pay less than half. This year, at the time of sheep-count, send the Rekani animals to us till the officials go, then take the herds back." Tato did accordingly. Suto secretly advised the Qaim Maqam of Amadia that "Tato acts in this manner, and however much I admonish him he heeds not, I know not what to do; for fear of Government I do not dare punish him, otherwise for me to punish him is easier than to swallow a draught of water."

The Qaim Maqam of Amadia sent Suto a most grateful reply to the effect that he was authorized to punish any person who in any iota practised deception on the Most High Islamic State, and Suto felt secure.

One day he feigned illness, fell into his bed, and sent word to all his friends and relatives that he was near to dying and asking all to come that they be present at his death. Mulla Hasan was seated by his pillow, and with him was reading the Yasin chapter. All his relatives were collected and were weeping for him. Tato, who was his son-in-law, was also sent for to come and bring Suto's daughter with him, for, "the Agha is at the point of death, in case they should not see one another alive."

Tato, with his wife and brother Tamo and four or five servants, went to Nerva, Suto's village. When they arrived they saw everyone weeping for the Agha, and the brothers joined in the lamentations. Tato cried "Agha! Agha! Lift thine eyes a little! May we all be thy sacrifice! Would that once again you might arise from this sickness even be I not left on this earth." Suto raised his eyes a little, sighed, and said, "Tato, I am dying. Thank God, my men have seen me once more. Death is God's ordinance, and it is the way of all of us." He continued, "Usman, Teli, serve Tato well. So! I die. Tata is your elder brother. Fall not out with him, as formerly." All said, "Yes, whatever the Agha orders, we obey with heart and soul."

That night a separate apartment was given Tato and Tamo. At the time of sleeping Suto called Usman and Teli and now said to

them, "I am well, my idea is thus." They departed lightly and took as many men as necessary to the apartment of Tato and Tamo, killed both in their sleep, and disarmed their servants. Suto arose and said "Thank God, I have finished my enemy and taken my revenge in safety".

KURDISH TEXT

(حکا یتیا سوتو . وتتو)

سوتو آغای عشیرتا دوسکانی رْگندی هوره ماری . رْ اوجاغا ما لا میری یه . تتو آغای عشیرتا ریکانی رْگندی رزگه . رْ ما لا میکائیل آغابو . عشیرتا ریکانی رْ زمانی قدیم حتی نوکه . دایمی رْیر دستی آغاییت هوره ماریا بونه . وز مانی سوتو آغا زیده تر کَوْتِنَه بِنْ دستی هوره ماریان . وسوتو . و کوریت وی . وبرایت وی . وهمی مزنیت او جاغا وی گلك ظلم و تعدای له ریکا نیان کرن . زیده عاجز کرن . ایدی طاقتا تحمّلی نما . تتو تازه جاحیل بو . مرووکی گلك جسوربو . دناو آغاییت ریکانیان دا . کَسَكْ وکی وی پیدا نه بوبو . چیدی غیرتاوی تحمّلا ظاما هوره ماریان نکر گوته برایت خو . تمو . وهادی . ورسول . هرسی رْوی مزن تربون . . . اَز وکی هنگو قبول ناکم . خوُ . ددستی سوتودا . ناکَمَه جُو . بومه مرن خوشتره . رْ رْ ینا هو . أز بتوفیقا خدی . پنجة خو . دی دمه بر پنجة سوتو . چة مرم . چه مام . برایت وی . وملتی وی گوتن تو چاوا مناسب دزانی . رْ خبری ته در ناکوین . أمّا أم دی

محوبین مه طاقتا هوره ماریان نیه . تتوگوت . بِلا محو ببین هیچ ضررنیه . اگرغالب بوین . أوه مه حتی قیامتی ناو . وناموس . قازانجکر . واگر مغلوب بوین دی مرین . وراحت بین . بهرطرزی بیت أز گلك رازیمه . خلاصه همیان قرار اینانه سر درْمنیا دگل هوره ماریان . رورْکی . وَتُوَقْومی حَیُو برای سوتو . دیسالسرا عادتی خوها ته گندیت ریکانی دست کر . بِه . خُورْتی . وتشت ستاندنی . تتو . وتمو . دگل ده مروان چونه نك حیو گوتن درکوه رْناو ملتی مه . رْأوْرو پاش قبول ناکین . هو نگ هات وچونا . ریکانی بکن . حیوگوت . أم دی هیین . وهنگو بتشتکی نزانین وختی حیو هوگوت . تتودری مارتینی . دا لای حیو . فیشَکَکْ لوی خسارکر . لِوِی دری حَیُوکشت . وخلا میت حیورْی هندلـ کشتن . وهندلـ حلاتن چونه نیرْ وَکِی گندی سوتو . کوما بینا نیروکی . ورزگه دوساعت کیمتره . رورْا پاشی سوتو همی عشیرتا دوسکانی وهوره ماری جماکرن . گوت دی چم مـا لا میکا ئیل آغـای ریکانی بجارکی بِرِینْمَهَ وَه . وجي ریکانی بتمامی زَوْتْکم . بو تو لا . حیو . همیان گوتن أم حازرین . تو چاوا أمردفر موی تجاوزی رْ أمری جنابی آغاناکین . البته تو لا برای آغالسرمه همیان لازمـه بی گوتنا آغا واجبه أم شـو ورو رْ به خبتین له تولا حیو . خلاصه . سوتو دگل لشکری خوهاته

سرگندی رزگه . دست کرن بشری . مروویت تتو کیم بون نشیان رْ دروه شَرْ بکن . خوهاو یتنه قصراتتو . دقصریدا شر دگل لشکری سوتو کرن . کَوْتِنَه مُحَاصَرَه . لشکری سوتو هجوم دکرنه . دری قصری تتولسر تیر أَنْدَازَا . هِنْداوی دری رونشتبو . هرجاری چار پینج رْوان دکشتن . وددا نه پاش . سوتو گوت . هونابیت لازمه بچرْپَه بچینه بن قصری . چند داریت له گندی رزگه همی برین قَدْقَدْ کَرَن . وکرنه چرپه چون بوبن قصری . شوی ساعت چارو پینج چرپه گهاند نه قصری . هندل مروویت لشکری له سرچرپه چونه سر بانی قصری . مروویت تتو طنگاوبون . تتو گوت . هیچ نه ترسن میر بو رورْ کی هُو نه . گرتن . کشتن . ریکا میرانه . صبر کن نوکه دی وان بلاو کم . تتوچار پینج لحیف دناو نفتی هَلِیناْنْ . بسری جلان وه کرن دریرْ کرنه ناوچرپه . آگر بردا چرپه . سواندیت قصری همی بر بون نه دسوتن . وختی گُرْیَا آگری رْچرپه بلندبو . همی قراغیت قصری رُونَا بون . تتو وخلامان شیلکیت تفتگان لدوییلک کرنه لشکری سوتو . وی دفعی بیست وچار کس تمام کرن . دیسا لشکری سوتو رْ قصری دانه پاش . چرپه رْی فایده نکر . سوتو گازی کره تتو . هنگی دی چم ته محوکم . أوه نوکه دی چرپة بران چیکم . ایدی تو نشی وی بسورْی . دومای هیه .

تتو جوابا وی دا . گازی کر . مِن بابی تَه گا . چرپی داران فایده نَکِرْ حتی تو چرپی بَران دِگَهینِیَه قصری . گلك دی دور کیشیتْ . بلکو حتی هنگی خدی بومه چاره یکی . بِکَتْ . دَسْتْکِرِنْ بچیکرنا چرپی بران أمّا وکی چرپی داران سنای نبو . دوی مابینی دا . خبر گهشته حکومتا آمیدِیی کو أوه دوازده روژه لشکری سوتو لسرقصرا تتویه . وتتو دگل مروویت خو . دمحاصره دایه . قائم مقامی آمید یی ضابطی جند رمان دگل بیست جند رمان هِنارْنَه رزگه . کو بهر طرزی دبیت لشکری سوتو رْسرتتو دفع بکن . ضابط وجندرمه هاتنه رزگه دیتن قلَه بالِغَکی مزن لسررزگه . فکر کرن کوأوشوله بتندی چی نابیت . به تدبیر وحکیما نه دی ممکن بیت چونکو گلك مرو هاتبونه کشتن . به بیست جندرمه بشرد فع کرن . نَدِبُو . و به هیوی قبول کرن رْی رْعقلی دوربو . ضابط گوته سوتو . أز هاتیمَه مخصوص بیرْمه ته کوازحز ناکر مالا ته خراب بِبیتْ . چونکو تو آغا یکی خاندان و معتبری . أوه هنده روژه ته أو لشکره اینا یه سرجي ریکانی . شری دکی دنگ گَشْتِیَه ولا یتا مو صلی . والی خبر دایه قائم مقامی آمید یی من تشتکی هو زانیه . تحقیقا مادّهِ بکَه . اگر راسته زوخبر بده من . داخبر بدمه والي وانی عسکری شاها نه رْوانی به هنیریت بو سرعشیرتا سوتو . ورْ

ولا یتا مو صلی رڵی دوتابور عسکر د گل دوطو پان دی هین بو تربیا سوتو . ومحا فظا تتو . ما دامکه هویه صلاحا . حالی ته أوه یه ییك ساعت أول وی جمعیتی بَلاوْ بکی . أم رڵی دی جوابا والي مو صلی دین . کو تشتکی موجبی أهمّیتی واقع نبو یه چند غلامیت سوتو . وتتو . لپشتا گندی لسر مسئلیا دزیا رزان . دوسی ساعتان شر کرن . ورڵییك وه بون . ودو یان سی مرو هاتینه بریندار کرن . هنگی تو مسئول نابی . أوه من گوته ته . قبول دکی کیفا تیه . قیول رڵی نَکَیْ کیفا تیه وختی ضا بطی هو گوت . همی ملّتی گوته سوتو . أم مالاخو خراب ناکین بشری دو لتان رڵمه زیدَیَه . اگر شری عشیر تانه . أم همی حازرین . خو بوته . بدینه کشتن . أمّا لای حکو متی بمه ممکن نابیت . خلاصه سوتو قبول کر . لشکری خو پاشوَه بِرْ . ضابطی گلك پاره رڵسوتو . وَرْ گِرْتْ . ومنتکی مزن رڵی دانا سرسوتو کومن شولاته بسنای چیکر . . . وگوته تتورڵی صلاحا . حالی ته أوه یه تومال وعیال . وخزمیت خوهمیان نقل کَیَه مرکزی قضا آمیدیی . خبر بدیه ولایتی . وبابی عالی له استنبولی . و مغدوریت . ومظلو میتاخو . بوهمی مقاماتیت لازمه . بروجه تفصیل بیان بکی . بلکو حکومت ته محافظه بکت اگرنه تو نشی خو رْ ظلما آغاییت هوره ماریان حفظ بکی . وأم همی دی بوته شاهدیی

دین . خُلاصَه تتورژی قانع و ممنون کر . و مالاوی. ومروویت وی همی‌دگل خوبر نه آمیدیی . وگلک پاره رْ تتو رژی قازانج کر . چونکو لناوکردان مَثَلکی مشهورهیه . رومی خرْتَلِنْ . خُوشیا وان أوَهَ کَلَشْ مِشَه بنْ وختی تتو بمرو ویت خووه . چو آمیدیی . جي ریکانی بی‌خدان ما . شیخ محمدصدیق رژی . خرتلکی مزن بو . جي ریکا نی رژی . کَلَشَکی گلک خوش . وقلو بو طمعا جنابی شیخ گلک غالب بو . فکراخو کر . کوبطرزکی سنای جي ریکانی بینیته بن دستی‌خو . کاغذلـ محرمانه دگل دوسی مرو ویت معتبر وزانا وچند پاره بو قائم‌مقامی آمیدیی هنارن . کوأز خواهش دکم . تو وتو چیکی . تتومحتا جی . من به بیت . بهیته ایره . أزدگل‌وی به آخوم . شولاوی أز بدمه چیکرن تو شولاوی لویدری پیچل تأخیر بکه . وختیکو خبری شیخ گهشته قائم مقام . گلک کیفخوش بو . موا فقی مقصودا شیخ عمل کر . گوته تتو . ریککی قاهیم‌تر . و بسنای تر . من بو ته ملاحظه کریه . اگرچی لیره رژی شولا ته ممکن دبیت اُمّا ولایتا موصلی شولان پیچل تأخیر دکت . حتی نیتجه در دکویت . مر و گلک عاجز دبیت . ولایتاوانی . زوتر اجرا آتان دکن . و ولایتا وانی هرچی هیه دردستی شیخ محمد صدیق دایه . هرچی حز بکت دکت . أزد بیرْم اگر تو .

و برایت‌خو . وچند معتبریت عشیرتا ریکانی بچنه نهری لالی شیخ محمد صدیق شولا هنگودی زوترچی بیت . وهم عشیرتی وهم حکومتی زاتی شیخ شریك و پشتیوان بیت بوهنگو چیتره . و پشتا سوتو . دی شکیت . خلاصه تتو رازی کر . و رْ قائم مقام ممنون بو . کو ریککی هو نیشا وی دا . تتو دگل بران ومعتبر ان هاته نهری . نیچیری شیخ هاته داوا وی وَختی تتو هاته لالی شیخ محمّد صدیق . گلك احترامًا وی گرت . وممنون کر . شیخ رْ پاوه ئیان عزمان لُوسْ تر بو . بهر طرزکی دلی تتو رازی کر . گوته تتو جي قصرا رزگه بفروشه من . أزدی قصری تمام خراب کم جارکی دی رْتو دی مزن تر . و قاهیم تر چیکم . و بیست خلامیت خو . دی دانیمه لالی ته . وصد تفنگ . مارتین . وسوزنی . دی‌دمه مرِوویت ته . وَرِ طرفی حکومتی رْی أمرکی خصوصی بو محافظاته . دی دمه تحصیل کرن . وبَدَلْ وِهی مزنیت ریکانی دَهْپیکاحا صِلاتی خُو . هرسال بدنه من . تتو گوت . هر أمری شیخ بفرموت . من قَبوله . خلاصه وتو معاملا خوگر یدان . و تتوخلات کر . و سُورَه چاوش . دگل بیست خلامیت بِرْاره . دگل تتو هنارنه . ناوْ ریکانیان . قصرا رزگه رْ بن خراب کرن . هوستا هنارن دست کرن . به چیکر نا قصری . تبَقیتْ بِنی نیز یکی تمام بونی

بون . سوتو ملاحظه کر . اگر . قصرا رزگه بوی طرزی تمام
ببیت . ودستی شیخی بکو یته ناو ریکانی . هِنگْی قوّتا تتو .
دی گته دَرَجَه یَکی . ایدی نشیت بَرَامْبَرِیا وی بکت . پاشی بو
آغایت هوره ماری طَنْگَاوِ یَکی مزن دی پیدا بیت . چو نکو
ریکا . کاروانی هوره ماریان بولای موصلی . آکری . آمیدیی .
لِنَاوْ ریکانی دچیت . سوتو همی دوسکانی . وهوره ماری گازی
کرن . گوته وان . هونگ دزانن تتوی ریکانی چاوا درْ منی مَیَه .
گوتن بلی آغا . چاك دزانین . گوت . هونگ دزانن شیخ محمد
صدیق چاوا خوُرْتْ . و طمعکاره . گوتن بلی آغا . گوت . هونگ
دزانن اگر قصرا رزگه لسروی اساسی تمام به بیت . و شیخ
دگل تتومتّفق به بیت . جي دوسکانی وهوره ماری دی کویته
محاصره . أم هنگی لازمه به بینه جُوبیتْ تتو . اگر نه نارْین .
همیان پیکْوَه گوتن بلی آغا دزانین . ویه وزیده تره . سوتو گوته
ملّتی خو . بس مادام هونگ وانه همیان تصدیق دکن . هونگ
بوچی تدبیر اگرتنا پیشیا وانه ناکن . نوکه أم دما بینا مِرِنی .
وَرْیِنی دَایْنَه . ومرن نیز یك تره . بس یان هونگ تدبیری
بکن . و أز دی تا بعی فکرا هنگوبم . یان أز بکم هونگ
موافقی گوتنا من عمل بکن . همیان گوتن . حتی و جودا ذاتی آغا
حازره . کس رْمه خدان رَئِی نیه هر رئیکی آغابفر موت .

وظیفا مه اطاعته . سوتو گوت . مادام کو هو نگ هو مطیع بن قرار بیت أز وجودا خو فدای مصلحتا حالی هنگو بکم . آوّلا گوت أی ملّت هو نگ دزانن اگر أز تنزّل بو شیخ محمد صدیق بکم. فقط گندکی هنگو بدمه وی. أودی گلک رْمن ممنون بیت . و احتراما من گلک دی رْاحترا اما تتو زیده تر بیت . همیان گوتن باوردکین . وَیَه وَکی آغا دفرموت . سوتو گوت . بس هر چی بکم . بو خاترا هنگو یه . بوُخوُنیَه . فِکرْا من نوکه أوه یه . هجوم بکینه رزگه . سوره چاوش وخلامیت شیخی بکزین ونهیلین قصرا رزگه تمام بکن . هو نگ چاوا مناسب دزانن . همیان گوتن اَمْ همی لسر رئیا آغا حازرین . چونکو مادام قصرا رزگه تمام بو . أم دی محو بین بس بو مه شرصلاح تره دا اگر محو دبین . بشرف وناموس محو ببین . نه برزیلی . و بی ناموُسی . خلاصه دگل سپیدی نه صدمیر دو سکی وهوره ماری هجوم کرنه سررزگه. وی روزْی تتو و مر و ویت خو چو بو نه آمیدیی. کو . مالیت خو بینِنَه رزگه . سوره چاوش دگل بیست خلامان حازر بون . قصرزْی درست نبو بو . ساعتکی شرکرن . رْ همی قراغان لشکری سو تو . دَوْرَه لِوانْدا . سوره وخلامیت خو. چو نه خانیکی . أوْخانی بوُشَرِی چالْ نبو . مرو ویت سوتو گشتنه بن دِوْاریت خانی. دِکُلَکان دا . سوره دوسی مرو ویت

سُوتُو کُشْتِنْ. أَمّا فایْدَه نبو. رِهَمی رخان آ گربردا نه خانے سوره دگل دوازده خلامان ها ته سوتن. حتی شیان شرکرن. و چکیت خو ندان. حاوت خلامان. أمان خو استن. درکوتن. سو توگوته وان حاوتان چکیت خو بدن. هر نه نِلْ شیخی خو. بیرْ نه وی. جارکیدی خیالاجي ریکانی نکست. حتی کُورَکی مالا میری مایه. ممکن نیه کس به راحتی تصرفی دعشیرتا ریکانی دا بکست. أو حاوت خلام هاتن. رؤسْ. بی چل. کِریتْ. شرْمِنْدَه. همی متحیر مان گوتن. أَوَه چه حاله. وان رْی حالی خو بتمامی حکایت کرن وختی وان حاوت خلامان حکایا یتا حالی خو بو شیخ محمد صدیق بیان کرن. شیخ غایت عاجزبو. رِدُو جِهتَان. بیك أَوَه بُو. گنم. و بِرِنْجی ریکانی نهاته دستی وی بیدی أَوَهَ بو زَرَرْ و بی نا مُوسِیکی مزن هاته وی. شیخ کَوْتَه فکرا تُولاْ وی وْا قِعی. همی مزنیت خوحازر کرن. ومشورت بِوْان کر. گوت. هونگ چاوا صلاح دبینن. هندکان گوتن دی لشکرکی مزن رْعشیرتان درست کین چینه سروی همیان بِر بِنِینَه وَه. هندکان گوتن صلاح أوه یه احوالی وی بتمامی بو والي وانی. ووالي موصلی بهیته بیان کرن وله حکومتی بهیته محکوم کرن. وبدستی حکومتی بهیته تربیه کرن. وَهندکان گوتن. چاکه حضرتی شیخ عبد الرحیم آغا تلطیف بکت.

أو رْ مالا مَفی یَه . ما بینا وان ومالا میری دایمی نخوشه . هنگی أو وتتو دی بنـه بیك درْ منی رْ دروه . وناودا . کو پیدابون . دی پریشـان بیت . هند کان گوتن دی نرْ دان بینـه گندیت وان . وچینه سر ریکیت کاروانیت وان . ناهیلین راحت بیت حتی بتمامی تولاخو دکینه وه . خلاصه هر بیکی رأیك گُوتْ . بندة حقیر ملا سید له مجلسی حازر نبو . له مدرسه بو درسا فقیـان دگوت خلاملك هات گوت شیخ ته خوازیت . بنده چو حضورا شیخ . فرمو تو چاوا صلاح دزانی . بو تو لا سوره چاوش وخلا مان . بنده گوت . أز ملا مه . تازه جا حیلم شولیت سیاسی نزانم . من نه گلك بلکی پیچك رْی تیکلیا اموریت دنیایی نکریه . وَتأَه بیت حازر همی عقلدارن . مزنن شول دیتی نه . أوان البته رْ بنده چیتر دزانن . شیخ فرمو وَیَه وکی دبیرْی أمّا أز حز دکم تورْی رأیاخو بیان کی . چه چالـ چه خراب . چونکو وانه همیان رأیاخو بیان کرینه . بنده گوت . رْهمی رَئیان کیشك مقبولی نظرا مبارکی حضرتی روحنا فداه بویه . شیخ فرمو هیشتـا من چه اظهـار نکریه حتی تو رْی رأیا خود بیرْی . بنده گوت . خواهش دکم بزانم . رأییت وان چنه دا اگر موافق فکرا بنده بن تصدیق بکم . اگر موافق نبون هنگی بقدر عقلی نا قصی خو بنده رْی دی تشتکی عرضی حضورا مبارلـ کت . شیخ رأییت مجلسی کَتْ کَتْ حکایت کرن . گوت أَوَه تنَه رأییت وان . بزانم

کا تو دی چه بیرْی. بنده گوت. رأیا لشکری عشیر تی بی اطلاعی وبی تیکلیا دستی حکو متی خرابه. حرکاتیت خود سرانه. دو مای باعثی خسارت. وندا متی یه. نرْده کرن. وکاروان شلاندن رْی شولا أشقیانه. لا یبق نیه بو مَزِ نا تیا شأن وشرفا حضرتی مَولاَی بنده گان. تلطیفا عبدا لرحیم آغا واقعًا چاکه. أمّادوی اثنای دا. وختی موفّقیتا سوتو. زحمته کو فایده بدت بو مقصودامه واگر فایده بدت رْی. دَرَنگ دی بیت. و بیانا احوالی وی بو والیان ومحکوم کرناوی له حکومتی البته لازمه. وشرطی أوّله. بلی أوهند بتنی رْی کافی نیه دردی مه درمان ناکت. نهایت. حکومت دی وی حبس کت پاشی مد تکی. گلك پاره دی رْ وی ورگریت. ووی بردت. هنگی سوتو دی خُورْتْ تر بیت. وشولامه دی آسی تر بیت. بنده هو مناسب دزانیت. أوّ لا بیا نا حالی وی بو حکو متی. پاشی تحصیلا امری رسمی ودانا ده جندرمه. بوتعمیرا قصرا رزگه. واقرارا تتو له حکومتی کو گندی رزگه. وقصرا رزگه من فروتنه شیخ محمد صدّیق. وحکومت رخصت بدت کو شیخ بو محافظا گندی مروویت خوبسلاح دانیته رزگه هنگی هر واقعه یکی بِقَوْ میت. سوچ بو شیخ نیه. بو سوتویه. و دیهاریت گلك چاله بوقائم مقامی گورَی. وقائم مقامی آمیدیی بهنیرن. دلی وان چاله خوش کن

وتو کو درحق شیخ دایمی بچا کی. ودرحق سوتو بخرابی. بنویسن. وچارصد میران. صد شمد نیان. صد گردی. صد هرکی. صد مزوری کو أوه خو بمحو بیت ته دزانن. دگل تتو ریکَه رزگه حتی قصر تمام دبیت. جندرمه. و هوستا لسر قصری بن. أوان میرانه. هر شوی بچنه سرگندکی دوسکانی. هنگی هم عشیرتی دی تولا مه بیت. هم حکومتی. ومقصودا شیخ کو تصرفا ریکانی یه أورْی دی حاصل بیت. وهر چارعشیرت رْی دی بنه درْمن دگل سوتو. ایدی نه أو. ونه أولادی وی رْ دستی وان چار عسیرتا نه راحت نابن. وختی بنده هوترتیب بیان کر. شیخ وتو کیف خوش بو. وتو کنی. ممکن بو. مرپشکک به همی پران بچیته دوی وی شیخ محمد صدیق گوت آفرین ملاسعید رأیا ته رْ همیان چیتر کوته عقلی من. دی عمل برأیا ته کم. واهلی مجلسی رْی همیان گوتن الحق رائیاوی رْهمیان مناسب تر. وبفا یده تره. شیخ فرمو بس ما دام رأیا ته رْهمیان منا سب تر بو. أز حز دکم تو زحمتی بکیشی بچیه رزگه لنک مرو ویت من بی حتی قصر تمام دبیت. و بی رأیا ته کس چه حرَکَه نکت. هِنْدِی بنده رجا کر وظیفا من نیه. أمّا شیخ مِجِتْ تِرْ بو. خلاصه. چارصد میر بطرزی بنده گوتبو. وده جندر مه حازر کرن. تسلیم بنده کرن. بنده عرض شیخ کر. حز دکم شهاب الدین خوارزای شیخ. وملا موسی کاتب

شیخ . وقطاس آغا وکیل خرجی شیخ أَوْهَرْ سیکَه رْی بِهِینْ .
شیخ امر فرمو . اوه بو چنه . لازم نینه مادا مکو تو چوی کسی
دی حاجت نیه . بنده گوت . کاریتی گران دبیت گلك مِلِی خوُ
بِدَ نَه بن . اگر نه ملی یکی بتنی دی دِبِنْدا شکیت . أَوَه شولکی
مز نه . گلك خز مت هنه . اگر همی خز متان یك بکت فکرا
وی دی مشوّش بیت . شول دی آلوُزْ بیت . شهاب الدین
چو نکو خوار زای حضر تی شیخه سهم و صیا نتا وی زیده تره
لازمه أوبهیت . بو قوما ندار یا خلامان . وملا موسی لازمه بو
کاغذ نو یسین . ومشورت کرنا اموران . وقطاس آغا لازمه بو دانا
ارزا قی خلامان . وجا کرنا حاصلا تی . اگروا نه همیان بنده بکت
فکر دی پار چه پارچه بیت حَلاْ مشکلا تان نشیت بکت . دیسا
همی أهلی مجلسی تصدیقِ کرن . گوتن و تو یه وکی ملاسعید دبیرْیت .
شیخ رْی تصدیق کر . دیسا آفرین گوت . وأم هنارین .
شوی چو ینه . مزره . وبیگوز . روزْا پاشی چوینه . شیوا هرکی .
روزْا پاشتر چوینه دری . وی شوی پینجه میر دست برْاری . مه
هنار نه چیای هند اوی پر امیزی . کو سرحدی ریکانی . و هرکیان .
ودو سکیانه . چو نکو اگر أوچیا بهیته گر تن کس نشیت بچیته
لای ریکانی . دگل سپیدی أم رابو ین . یك منزل مه هارْو .
نه رونشتین حتی گهشتینه رزگه . وختی أم کهشتینه و یدری

نیوساعت ما بو . بۆمَغْرِ بی . وی ساعتی صدمیر . رْهرعشیرتکی بیست و پینج میرْمَه هنار نه گری پیش نیروه کی گندی سوتو . بنده و تو تنبیه لِوانْ کِرْکوکس چه تفنگـان نه هـاو یرْیت . و هجوم نکن حتی صُبْهَ أَزْ بِخُو تیمْ . اگر أوشوه سـوتو حلات . چو . چـا که . اگـر نه دی دوره لـگـنـدی دین نا هیلین کس درکو یت . وی شوی خَفِیّتْ سوتو لناو ریکانی هبـون . خبردا نه سوتو . کـو وی کَرَدی قوّتکی و تو ها تیه رزگـه . هم عشیر تی . هم حکو متی . کـوإیدی . تو نَشیبی له نـیروه روُنیبیْ . وی شوی سوتو حلات چو هوره ماری . دگل سپیدی أم بیت مای لرزگه چو ین گهشتینه یت چو یه گری پـیش نیروه کی . مه پیـکـوه دوره لگندی دا . وشیلکیت تفنگـان کـرنه . گـنـدی . چـه دنگ رُگـندی نهات . هیدی هیدی خلام پارستـنه گـنـدی . زانین چوُلَه . کس تیـدا نیه . أم رْی چو ینه گـندی . مه گـو ته تتو . وی جاری نوبتا تیه . تولاخو . وَکَه . تتو . ومروویت وی آگـر بردا نه قصریت نیرو کی گـند همی سوُتْ . وختی تری بو لشکر چو رزان . باریـت تری ایـنـان بو رزگـه . هوستـان دست کـر به چیکرنا قصری . روزْا پاشتر . صد میر مه لـرزگـه هیلان سیصد میر دگـل احمـد بگـی بره سـوری کو یلک بو رْ چاو شیت خلامیت شیخ محمد صدیق مه هنار نه سرگندی بیری.

وگندی چی . تمیس تالان کرن . وپزی وان وهیستر یت وان . همی اینان . هاتنه رزگه . ومه گاغذ بو شیخی هنار کو الحمد لله سایهٔ همتا اجدا دی عالی نرًا دی حضر تی شیخ أرواحنا فداه بالکمال مو فقیت گهشتینه رزگه . ولد و ییك غلبه و مظفر یت با حصول . هرمرام وأخذ انتقام أز دشمنی بد انجام دکاردا یه . وکیفیتا حال هو یه دام ظلّه العالی آمین بنده سعید شیخ گلك کیفخوش بو . تبر یکا فتوحا تیت مه بو مه شرف اصدار فر مو . نو یسی بو . ذاتاً دایمی امیدا داعی رٌکا لا فِراست ودِرا یت وجسار تا امثا لی هنگو رٌوان فتو حاتیت مسرّت انگیز زیده تر هیه و فقکم آلله آمین الداعی صدیق بچینه سربخشی حالی سوتو. وختی سوتو چو هوره ماری . ملاحسن شوکی . کو کاتبی وی بو . و قاضی د و سکانی وهوره ماری بو . هناره لالی طاهر آغای گوری وختی ملا حسن هاتنه لا لی طاهر آغا . گوت سوتو آغا أز هنار یه خزمت هنگو تواسد آغایی سری مه همی عشیرتا دو سکیانی. و تو اعضای حکومتا گوریی خز ماتی . ود وستینی . بو رورٌکی هو یه . نو که تد بیرا مَه چیه . وأم چه بکین . چاکه . طاهرآغا مرووکی تیگشتیه . گوته ملا حسن هندی أز ملا حظه دکم. نو که بو سوتو. رٌ غیری راضی کرنا شیخ محمد صدیق . چه ری نمانَه . چونکو

شری وی. د گل تتو . و د گل خلا میت شیخی . و کشتنا سوره چاوش د گل دواز ده خلامان معلومی همی مقاماتان بویه. حکومت طرفداری شیخیه . بس نو که لازمه دلی شیخی بیته خوشکرن . ملا حسن گوت بلی . وَیَه وکی دفر موی . أز رٹی و تو دزانم . أمانزانم . ریکا دخلو شکرنا شیخی دی چاوا بیت. طاهر آغا گوت. حقیقةْ بِزَحْمَتَه. أمّا اگر ممکن بیت تو بشی بچیه رزگه لا لی ملاسعید رٹوی به پرسی ممکنه . کو أو ریکَکی بو ته بیرٹیت . ملاحسن رٹ لا لی طاهر آغا گریاوه قصدا لا لی بنده کر. خوگهانده . گندی هیشی. رٹعشیر تاریکانی گندی مسیحیانه. ساعتکی دوره رٹرزگه. شوی ملا حسن لِوِی دَرِی مٰا. صُبَیْ زو . مه دیت مروو کی نصرانی. رٹ هیشی هاته لا لی مه . گوت حزد کم ملا سعید بتنی به بینم . وختی بنده دیت . گوت ملای سوتو لِه ما لا من رونشتیه . دبیرٹیت قوی حز دکم بهیمه لا لی ملاسعید .چند خبر هنه عرض بکم. أمّا نَوِی رِمْ بهیم . رٹ بَرْ قراولان نکو من بکرٹن. بنده رٹی ده خلام د گل نصرانی هنارن. من گوت هرن ملاحسن رٹ هیشی بسلامتی بیننه ایره. مُو یَکْ رٹ سری ملاحسن بکویت هنگو همیان. دی کَمَه آرٹ مٰانجی . مارتینان . خلاصه . خلام چون . ملا حسن اینا دوشوان ما . لا لی مه . همی گفتگومه کرن . بنده گوته ملاحسن اگرحضرتی شیخ سوتو قبول بکت . و رٹ کشتنی عفو بکت . تو

وعده دِدَیْ کو سوتو بِچیتَه حضورا شیخ . گوت بلی أما بشرطیکو سوتو أمین بیت رْروحاخو. بنده گوت بس توهره لا لی سوتو . بتمامی دگل وی به آخوَه . و قَوْلی . رِْوی وَ رْگرَه . حتّی تو تیپَه وَه . أز رْی . دی دگل حضرتی شیخ . مخابره . بکم . بزانم رأیا شیخ چیه. ملا حسن. مه هِنارَهَ وه. بولا لی سوتو. وبنده دست کر به کاغذ نو یسینی وسوآل وجوابی . دگل شیخی . چونکو بنده عادتی مأموریت عثما نیان دزانی . کوچه و ختان قول . و فعلیت وان موافق نینه . رْغیری پاتنا کَبابا غرَضا خو . چه مقصود دی نینه . مه دزانی کو مدّتکی . دی سوتو طنگاو کن . حتی پاره یکی زور رْ شیخی دخون . پا شی . دومای . هیدی هیدی . دی سوتو تلطیف کن. حتی گلك پاره رْوی رْی . دخون. کَسْك بوُکَسْ محونا کن . بنده وتو صلاح ومناسب دیت کو شیخ . سوتو قبول بکت . هیشتا شول رْدستی وی در نکوتی . خلا صه به وی مضمونی بنده بو شیخ نویسی . و کیفیتا ها تن وچون . وآخوتنا مه دگل ملا حسن بتفصیل مه بو حضورا شیخ بیان کر . و هنار . حضرتی شیخ جواب بو بنده هنار . هرطرزی کو موجب جفظا شرف و نا موسا داعی بیت . دوی ماده یی دا . تو وکیل . ومأذونی . زین پس هیچ حاجت بمرا جعاداعی نیه. چاوا بفکرا خودزانی عمل بکه. عزیزم والسلام. الداعی محمد صدیق . وختی أوجوا به هات . ملاحسن رْی . رورْا

پاشتر هاته رز گه . ملاحسن گوت . اگر تو رْ لالی شیخی خاطر جمع بی . أز رْی رْ لای سوتو خاطر جمعم . کو رْ خبری من در ناکویت بنده گوت مادام وَیَه . أوه أم هردو وکیلین . أزهو صلاحا سوتو دزانم . طاهرآغا و علی افندی پایْلانی دگل خوبِیَتْ بچیته نهری . سرمرقدی سید طه . داشیخ . وی عفو بکت . اگر سوتو وهی نکت . تودزانی أولِه دَوُلَتی محکومه . دی هیته محو کرن . ملا حسن گوت . اگر تودزانی دِی . هُوچیبیتْ . أز دی وهی کم . من رْی تأمینات داملاحسن . أو رْی چو . بِوِی طرزی . بو سوتو . گوت . وسوتو رْی قبول کر . دگل طاهرآغا . وعلی افندی چو نهری . شیخ گلك کیفخوش بو . چو نکو دایمی مقصودا جنابی شیخ آرَکی هُورْ بُو . رِْناوْ دُو بَرِیتْ رَقْ . أَوْدِ خما سوره چاوش دْانَبوُ وی پارَه دِویا . گوته سوتو . بُوخاترا طاهرآغا وعلی افندی . وبوخاترا . شرفا مرقدی با پیری خو . من توعفو کری . رْ کشتنی . وگرتنی . و سورگون کرنی . أمّا هیتیمیت سوره چاوش فقیرن . وهیتیمیت خلامان . بی چاره نه . خونا هَرْ پیکی صد لیران هزار . وسیصد لیره بدت . بخیر بچیته مالاخو . سوتو رْی قانع بو . دو جندرمه . وهشت خلام دانه سوتو . کو بچیته ناو دوسکی وهوره ما ریان کو هزار وسیصد لیره بوشیخ . جماکت . بینیت . خلاصه چو سیهزار لیره زیده تر پلاته کر . لِسَرْ عشیر تا

دو سکی وهوره ماریان . وتحصیل کرن هزار وسیصد دانه شیخ .
یی زیده بوخو هلگرت . وحتیکو سوتو ملاحظه کر . تیگشت .
کو اگر تتو مرووی شیخ بیت . ودایمی خلامیت شیخ لالی
تَتُوبِنْ حالی وی دی نخوش بیت . منفعتی وی دی کیم بیت . گوت
چاکه تدبیر کی وتو بکم تتو بدوستینی تلف بکم . پاشی سالکی .
کوجي ریکانی تمام کَوْتَه دستی شیخ وحاصلاتی ریکانی . رِ کَری
گُهْ . نَه گشتَه تتو . سوُتوُ . زانی . کَوْلی هَیَه کو تتو بِه لیپینیتْ .
سوتو . ملاحسن هِنارَه لالی تتو . کو بیرْیته وی . هَرْچِي
چُویْ . چُو . بِلابِهیتْ . أَزُ أَوْ . عَهْدَ کی بِگرِینْ . رِ نُوکَه
ویوَه . بِبینَه دوست . چه جارانْ . ضَرَرا . بیلُ ودُو . ناکین .
شیخ محمد صدّیق أَرْدَهایَه دی مَه هَرْ دُویانْ خُوتْ . أَوَه
سالکه أو دزانیت چه منفعت گشتیَه وی . فَرْقا وی . و
کِرْ ما نْجَکی نیه لِنِكْ خلامیت شیخی . مادامکه شیخ دی مه محوْ
کت . أم مصالحه بکین صلاح تره . اگر باور نکت . أزدی کچا
خو رْی دَمَه وی داچالـ باور بکت . کوأر . رْدل مصلحتی دخوازم .
ملاحسن چولالی تتو بوی طرزی بوتتو گوت . تمام کَوْتَه عَقْلی
تتو . وقبول کر . سوتو کچا خو دا تتو . رورْ کی . تتو هَجتَکْ
پیدا کر . همی چکیت خلامیت شیخ محمد صدیق ستاندن .
وخلام بیچْك کرنه در . هاتنه لالی شیخی . شیخ گلك عاجزبو .

أمافایده نکر . چو نکو سوتو . وتتو تمام متفق بون . وشیخی بارزانی رئی درمنی شیخ محمد صدّیق بو . سوتو و تتو پیکوه چونه لالی شیخی بارزانی . بونه تابعیت وی . دوسالان هو رابارن . تتو تمام خاطر جمع بو . پاشی شیخ محمد صدیق مر . و شیخی بارزانی رْ حکومتا عثمانی عصیان کر . هیدی هیدی اَسْبَابیتْ سوتو مُهَیّا بون . زانی کوایدی تتوچه پناه نَمانْ . وسوتو ملاحظه کر. چاکه . له حکومتی رئی وی محکوم بکم . داچهِ رِی بووی نمینن پاشی وی بِفَوِ تینِمْ . خبردا تتو . أَوْهَرْسالْ هنده پارهٔ أغنامی ددته حکومتی . چه لزوم هَیَه . همی عشیرتا دوسکیان نیوکا وی نادن . أوساله وختی پَظْ هَرْ ماری . حیوانی ریکانیان بهنیریته لالی مه حتی مأمور دچن . پاشی پظی خو بِبَنْ . تتو رئی وَه کِرْ . سوتو بمخفی خبر دا قائم مقامی آمیدیی حالی تتو أوه یه . هندی نصیحت دکم قبول ناکت . نزانم چبکم رْ ترسا دَوْلتی نَویرِم تربیه بکم . اگرنه . لِبلْ من تَرْ بیا وی . رْ آوْخوا رْ نه وَیکی سنایْ تره . قائم مقامی آمیدیی . جوابکی گلك به تشکَر و ممنونی بو سوتو هنار . گوتبو . تو مأذونی هر کسی ذرّه قدر . خیانتی دگل دَوْلتا عَلیَّه یا اِسْلامیَّه بکت تربیه بکه . سوتو تمام خاطر جمع بو . رورْکی خو نخوش کر . کوْتَه ناوْ نِوِیناْنْ خبر بو همی دوستان. وخزمان هنار . کو سوتو . نیز یکی مِرِنی یَه . بلاهَمی بهین دا

وختی مرنی حازربن . ملاحسن لهِ نِلْ بالْگی وی رو نشتبو .
لدوییلـ سُورَهْ یاسینْ دخوند . همی قومی وی جمابو . بووی
دگرین . جواب دانه تتو رْی کو أو رْی زاوای سوتویه بلا بهیت .
وکچا سوتو رْی دگل خو بینیت . کوأوه آغا لسرمرنی یه . نَکُو
جارکی دی بساخی ییلـ ودو نبینن . تتو . و رْنا خو . و برای وی
تمو . دگل چار پینج خلامان . چونه نیروکی گندی سوتو . وختی
چون دیتن خلک همی بوآغا دگرین . تتو . وتمورْي گلک گرین .
تتو گازی کر . آغا . آغا . پیچلـ چاویت خو راکه . أم همی
قربانی ته بین . خوزی جارکی دی . تورْ وی نخوشي . رابوبای .
بِلامن چه لِد نیای تَمابا . سوتو پیچلـ چاویت خو راکرن . آهِیَلْ
کیشا . گوت . تتو أزمِرِیَه . الحمد لله جارکی دی من همی مروویت
خودیتن . مرن خُکْمی خدیه ریکامه همیانه . گوت . اوُ سْمانْ .
تیلی . خزمتکی چالـ بو تتو بکن . أوه أزدمرم . تتو برا مَزِنی
هنگویه . چه جاران رْ خبری تتو در نه کون . همیان گوتن بلی .
هرأمری آغابفرموت . بجان ودل مه قبوله . شوی منزلک جدا .
دا نه . تتو . وتمو . وختی نوستن . سوتو . او سمان وتیلی گازی
کرن . هنگی گوته وان . أزساخم . فکرامن . أوه یه . أورْی
سِولـ چون . چند مرو لازم بون دگل خوبرن چونه منز لا تتو .
وتمو . هردو . دِخَوی دا . کشتن . وخلامیت وان رْچلـ کرن .

سوتو رابو گوت . شکر بوخدی . کو من دژمنی خو تلف کر .
و تولا خو کره وه أَز مَامْ سلامت والسلام

I would call attention to one feature in this Kurdish text which seems to me rather particular. The verb does not accord with the subject, but with the preceding complement, i.e. the subject being in the singular (Suto, Tato, Qaimaqam, I) the verb is in the plural *because of plurality of the complement* (all tribes, four and five men, twenty gendarmes, ten golams), as we see in these sentences :—

ستو همی عشیرتا دو سطانی و هوره ماری جما کرن

Suto *have* collected all the tribesmen . . .

تتر هر جاری چار پینج رُوان دکشتن و ددانه پاش

Tato *were* killing and throwing back four or five at every rush . . .

قائماقام بیست جندرمان هنارنه رزگه

Qaimaqam *have* sent twenty gendarmes to Razga . . .

بنده رُی ده خلام دگل نصرانی هنارن

I have sent ten golams with the Christian (to show the difference, let us say in French "*j'avons* envoyé").

I do not think it is a kind of pluralis majestatis, because I find such sentences too: ستو همی دوسکانی و هوره ماری بنده رُی ده خلام دگل نصرانی and گازی کرن گوته وان هنارن من گوت هرن , where the verb is in the plural for the reason explained above and in the regular singular form when there is no plural complement preceding.—B. N.

"BHASA'S WORKS"—ARE THEY GENUINE?

By A. KRISHNA PISHAROTI and K. RAMA PISHAROTI, M.A.

IN the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series are included thirteen dramas which the learned editor, Mahāmahōpādhyāya T. Gaṇapati Śāstri, has assigned to Bhāsa, the predecessor of Kālidāsa.[1] The various arguments advanced by him in support of his theory may be summed up thus :—

The thirteen dramas, which we shall hereafter term the T.B. dramas, display a similarity of structure as regards the prologue and poetic merit, and have some common passages. It is, therefore, assumed that they are the works of one and the same author. Rājaśēkhara says that Bhāsa has written many dramas, one of which is *Svapna-vāsavadatta* : and Bāṇa says that Bhāsa's dramas open with a speech by the *Sūtradhāra*. Since one of the T.B. plays is named Svapna-vāsavadatta, and since they all open with a speech by the Sūtradhāra, it is inferred that Bhāsa is the author of all of them. The question whether their language is antique enough to justify their ascription to a predecessor of Kālidāsa is also discussed. The presence of archaisms, the simplicity of the Sanskrit, and the "freshness" of the Prakrit are urged as arguments for an answer in the affirmative. It is also claimed they have such poetic merits as to offer even Kālidāsa a model. This position is apparently substantiated by pointing out various ideas common to both these dramas and the works of Kālidāsa.

From the historical point of view, however, the Śāstri's theory cannot stand. Speaking generally, and without going into details, every open-minded critic must perforce admit that *Pratimā-nāṭaka* must come after Kālidāsa : *Cārudatta* after Śūdraka : and *Avimāraka* after Daṇḍin. As regards *Pratimā*, the genealogy of Rāma's predecessors as given there agrees not with that given by Vālmīki, but with that given by Kālidāsa.[2] It is to be borne in mind that the reference to Rāma's predecessors is but a passing one in Pratimā.[3]

[1] See above, vol. i, pt. iii, pp. 35 ff.—L. D. B.
[2] On Puranic authority.—L. D. B.
[3] Cf. Pratimā, Act IV, verses 9 and 10, etc.

whereas Kālidāsa has dealt with it at length. The genealogy, casually mentioned in the drama, can find general acceptance only in case it has been described in detail elsewhere. Such a deviation from Vālmīki, *because it serves no dramatic purpose*, can justify itself only on the assumption that it is based on Kālidāsa. The legitimate inference from this is that the author of the drama must have borrowed it from Kālidāsa. As for *Cārudatta*, it is evidently an adaptation [1] of the first four acts of *Mṛcchakaṭika* for our stage. And the clever playwright has so adapted them as to produce a complete drama. This he has been able to do by omitting such of the details here as are useful for the *dénouement* of the plot of the last six acts. In the hurry of the adaptation, the adapter has forgotten even to quote or give the usual *maṅgala-ślōka*—something inexcusable in an Indian writer. It is unnecessary to advance any argument to prove that it is adapted, for it is plain on the very face of it. The story of *Avimāraka*, even the casual reader can understand, is modelled upon the stories of Daśa-kumāra-carita. On the publication of Avanti-sundarī, a poem by Daṇḍin that has been recently acquired by the Madras Government, it is probable that we may find many verses common to it and Avimāraka. These considerations, as also the reference to the worship of statues [2] in Pratimā, Act III, indicate that Bhāsa, the *predecessor* of Kālidāsa, cannot be the author of the T.B. dramas.

The antiquity of the Sanskrit and Prakrit, adduced to justify and support the Bhāsa Theory, is in reality only an ingenious myth.[3]

[1] The omission of details for the sake of time-economy, and of scenes because of the practical difficulty of representation on our stage, and the consequent necessity of recasting the language to gloss them over, will go far to explain the assumed novelty of *Cārudatta*.

[2] Kērala supplies at least one positive instance of the worship of the statues of one of her sovereigns. In the temple at Tiruvañjikulam, the old capital of the Perumāḷs, there is set up and worshipped the statue of the last of the Perumāḷs, Bhāskara Ravi Varma Cēramān Perumāḷ. In view of the connexion of this prince and the T.B. dramas with the Malabar stage, we are inclined to think that the statue incident in the Pratimā is based upon this deification. That it is a product of Malabar is still further emphasized by the fact that Sītā keeps away from and does not participate in the coronation ceremony of Rāma ; cf. Pratimā, Act I. This is based upon the practice of Kērala, where the king's wife has no part or place in her lord's coronation.

[3] See V. Sukthankar in *JAOS.*, vol. xl, pp. 248 ff. ; vol. xli, pp. 1 ff. ; V. Lesný, *Výrojový stupeň nářecí prākrtských v dramatech Bhāsových*, Prague, 1917 ; W. Printz, *Bhāsa's Prakrit*, Frankfurt a. M., 1921 ; *JRAS.*, 1919, pp. 233 ff. ; 1921, pp. 367 ff., 587 ff. ; 1922, p. 79 ff ; G. Morgenstierne, *Über das Verhaltniss zwischen Cārudatta und Mrcchakaṭikā*, Leipzig, 1921.—L. D. B.

The Sanskrit has not such a strongly archaic flavour as would constitute a positive proof of its antiquity. The little that exists is the necessary result of the influence of Vālmīki and Kālidāsa. And its general tone of simplicity is easily explained when it is remembered that these dramas were produced not with a literary purpose, nor to glorify a king or a national event, but mainly, as we shall show later, with a view to meet the demands of a flourishing popular stage. As to the Prakrit, the objection is still less valid to one who is familiar with Malayalam manuscripts of Sanskrit dramas. It is to be borne in mind that all these dramas are preserved only in Malayalam characters. In Kērala, Prakrit had only a purely literary existence, being in fact more literary than Sanskrit itself. It never rose to the position of a spoken language, and its only use here was for dramas. In using it our dramatists strictly adhered to the rules laid down by the ancient Prakrit grammarians. Even the latest writer, when he uses Prakrit, imitates the most ancient variety, that being the only kind current and available here. In short, all the peculiarities noted from the T.B. plays can as well be found in the *Tapatī-saṃvaraṇa* and *Dhanañjayābhyudaya* (sixth century) or the *Cūḍāmaṇi* (eighth century). Even in writing down the dramas of Kālidāsa, or Harṣa, or Bhavabhūti in Malayalam characters, the local Prakritic method is followed, so much so that if a manuscript, say of Śākuntala, preserved in Malayalam character, is examined, we can see therein many of the peculiarities claimed for the Prakrit of the T.B. dramas. Are we then to assume from these peculiarities that the Kālidāsa of Kērala is older than the real Kālidāsa? Therefore, in considering the age of a drama preserved in Malayalam characters alone, *Prakritic peculiarities are no test of antiquity*. Hence the peculiarities of language also are of no weight as arguments to prove the Bhāsa Theory.

The *varying merit* of the T.B. dramas is another argument against the Bhāsa Theory. The *Svapna-vāsavadatta* and *Pratijñā* may easily be given the first place in the series; yet while the former is simple, the latter is artificial in style. The *Pratimā* occupies a unique place. Whether we consider it from the purely dramatic or the literary point of view, the last three acts do not stand comparison with the first four. The first half is decidedly superior to the last half in every respect. It evidently is a patched-up drama, the combined product of two hands of varying merit. The *Abhiṣēka* and *Avimāraka* rank lower than the first pair. The Avimāraka betrays a clumsy hand in construction, and its poetry, quite in keeping with its construction,

is that of a beginner, being laboured and artificial. Such also is the *Pañcarātra*, of which Acts I and III are probably more artificial than any other in the series. The critic is forced, as in the case of *Pratimā*, to maintain that Act II on the one hand and Acts I and III on the other are the works of two different hands of varying literary attainments. *Bāla-carita* is a failure from the dramatic point of view, for there is no unity of construction, except what comes from having the same hero. It ranks evidently with the five one-act dramas, but is decidedly of less literary merit. The five one-act dramas are excellent in their own way; their conversational vigour is scarcely rivalled by any other of the T.B. dramas, and successfully competes with that of the unpublished *Āścarya-cūḍāmaṇi*, to which we shall refer later. Such variations in merit necessitate the inference that these dramas cannot be the works of one and the same author. Even the theory of the growth of the poet's genius cannot bridge over such wide differences, especially when such occur in one and the same drama.

Even the structural similarity of these dramas, which is the Śāstri's mainstay, does not appeal to us very much. Taking the prologues as a whole, there is no complete similarity. While some of the series follow *Svapna-vāsavadatta*, the rest do not. *Pañcarātra* has, in addition, a very clumsy *viṣkambhaka* on the model of Harṣa; *Pratimā* resembles Śākuntala in the latter half. We cannot understand why the poet, who has followed a fixed type of prologue in some of the dramas, should not do the same in the other dramas. Again, all these dramas have not the same *Bharata-vākya*, which we should naturally expect in view of the repetition of the same verse in more than one drama.

A study of the prologues of these dramas shows that their similarities consist in opening the play with *nāndy-antē tataḥ praviśati sūtradhāraḥ* and closing the prologue with *sthāpanā* instead of *prastāvanā*, the point on which the Śāstri lays such emphasis. But this is only an illusion. Malayali Sanskrit dramas begin always with *nāndy-antē*, etc., and close the prologue with *sthāpanā* instead of *prastāvanā*. This fact will become clear when the prologue of Cūḍāmaṇi, quoted below, is examined. This method is followed not only in the case of Malayali plays, but also in our manuscripts of non-Malayali dramas. Thus our manuscript of Śākuntala opens with *nāndy-antē tataḥ praviśati sūtradhāraḥ* and closes with *sthāpanā*. If the Sūtradhāra's opening the drama and the presence of *sthāpanā* instead of *prastāvanā* are accepted as being the invariable characteristics of Bhāsa, then the

number of "Bhāsa's" plays can be easily swelled. Hence, structural similarity, as deduced from *Svapna-vāsavadatta*, is also no argument for the theory of Bhāsa's authorship.

If, however, the structural peculiarity of the T.B. plays be taken as the strongest factor for deciding their authorship, it would be more natural and rational to assign all those dramas which have these structural peculiarities and the sentence *mayi vijñāpana-vyagrē* to Śaktibhadra, the author of *Āścarya-cūdāmaṇi*: for the prologue of that drama has all these peculiarities, as the portion quoted will show. A study of this drama will clearly show that it has also all the simplicity, sweetness, and elegance of the T.B. plays, and that to a far greater extent. It has numerous ideas in common with Kālidāsa, and its Prakrit has all the peculiarities of that of the T.B. plays. It has also the same prominence assigned to such actions and incidents as have the greatest stage-effect, and the same care bestowed on characterization and situation. In short, its similarity to the T.B. plays is so patent, that but for the mention of the author's name it might have been included in that series.

From the facts before us, and arguing like the Śāstri, we might assume on the strength of structural similarity that all those T.B. dramas which have the sentence *mayi vijñāpana-vyagrē*, etc., are written by Śaktibhadra, at least till better evidence of a more positive nature be forthcoming. To support this we might point to the statement put in the mouth of the Sūtradhāra that Śaktibhadra has written other dramas, one of which is *Unmāda-vāsavadatta*. The Śāstri, to whom Āścarya-cūḍāmaṇi is well known, ought to have pointed out this fact and given reasons to show why Śaktibhadra could not be the author of at any rate the T.B. dramas which have this sentence.

There are, however, difficulties in the way of this Śaktibhadra Theory. There is first the question why his name is omitted from these dramas, while it is kept in Cūḍāmaṇi. Secondly, there is the necessity for including Svapna-vāsavadatta in this list, which is a sore point in view of Bhāsa's connexion with a drama so named. The third is the consequent difficulty of explaining the presence of other dramas in the T.B. series.

Critical consideration of these and other facts has led us to the conclusion—and this is supported by a strong tradition—that the T.B. dramas are the result of compilation and adaptation, undertaken to meet the large demands made by the flourishing stage of Kērala.

Our country has a distinct Malayali histrionic tradition as regards the staging of Sanskrit dramas. This tradition has a great antiquity and an unbroken continuity. There is a set of professional actors, the Cākyārs and the Naṅgyārs, connected with each large temple in Kērala, who act a number of Sanskrit dramas. Every drama that they act is connected with two works, *Āṭṭa-prakāra* and *Krama-dīpikā*, which are valuable as sources for the history of the growth and development of the Sanskrit theatre in Kērala. One of these, which belongs to a particular Cākyar family and is in our possession, mentions the following dramas as acted by that family :—

1. Tapatī-saṃvaraṇa } Works of Kulaśēkhara Varma Perumāḷ
2. Dhanañjaya } (sixth century A.D.).[1]
3. Nāgānanda of Harṣa.
4. Āścarya-cūḍāmaṇi,[2] by Śaktibhadra, said to be an immediate disciple of Śaṅkarācārya.
5. Kalyāṇa-saugandhika. Anonymous ; MSS. are available, but hitherto only scraps have been collected.
6. Śrī-kṛṣṇa-carita. Anonymous ; not available.
7. Vicchinnābhiṣēka. Traditionally assigned to the last of the Perumāḷs ; MSS. not yet available.

And the following dramas, included in the T.B. series :—

8. Svapna-vāsavadatta.
9. Abhiṣēka-nāṭaka.
10. Bāla-carita.
11. Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa.
12. Dūta-vākya.
13. Karṇa-bhāra.
14. Dūta-ghaṭōtkacāṅka.

As regards the dramas of the T.B. series included here, we have been able to identify them from the various fragmentary scenes found mentioned therein. The titles *Śēphālikāṅka* and *Svapnāṅka* in the fragments connect them with No. 8 in the list given above ; *Tōraṇa-yuddha* and *Bāli-vadha* point to No. 9 ; *Mallāṅka* to No. 10 :

[1] The Śāstri assigns the dramatist Kulaśēkhara Varma Perumāḷ to the twelfth century. Apart from other evidences, we may here observe that the ancient city of Tiruvañjikulam, which is mentioned as his capital, was a deserted ruin in the twelfth century. It was completely destroyed by Rājēndra Cōḷa at the beginning of the eleventh century.

[2] This is the most popular drama among the Malayalis, and is more often staged than any other in the series. Both from the literary and the dramatic point of view it deserves a very high place, second only to that of Kālidāsa. MSS. of it are readily available. We are preparing an edition, which we hope to publish soon.

Mantrāṅka to No. 11. The twelfth is found mentioned by name. No. 14 is mentioned not as a drama but only as an Act (*aṅka*). It is probably an Act of some other drama which has not yet been obtained. Probably the names of other dramas and scenes from them may be got from other actors' manuals kept by other Cākyār families.[1]

The golden age of the Sanskrit theatre of Kērala was during the times of the two latter Perumāḷs. Of these, the earlier, Kulaśēkhara Perumāḷ (sixth century), was a dramatist of no mean merit, as his works show. He was a devout follower of Kālidāsa, and displays his influence on every page. Bhāskara Ravi Varman, the last of the Perumāḷs (seventh century), was an equally brilliant scholar, and, if tradition can be believed, is the author of Vicchinnābhiṣēka. It was during their time that the acting of Sanskrit dramas was reformed. As reformed then, it has continued to exist to the present day.

Through the active patronage of these sovereigns the stage of Kērala acquired new life, and, thanks to the innovations introduced by them, it became also the most popular of our entertainments. It was they who improved the mode of acting Sanskrit dramas. This, and the determination of the dress for each cast of character, the use of paints, and the functioning of Vidūṣaka were the major innovations introduced. Further, they introduced changes in Bharata's laws of dramatic technique that made the drama appeal more strongly to the public,[2] produced greater stage-effect,[3] and dispensed with all unnecessary encumbrances.[4] Thus they laid down that Kālidāsa's is the true

[1] To this list may be added two other dramas. The first is *Unmāda-vāsavadatta* of Śaktibhadra, as may be gathered from the prologue appended. The other is *Śākuntala*, which, tradition says, was staged and then abandoned owing to the difficulty of acting it properly. This may account for the structural peculiarities in the manuscript of Śākuntala to which we have referred elsewhere.

[2] The Vidūṣaka's reciting a vernacular translation of the Sanskrit originals acted by the *Nāyaka* and the introduction of current events, political and social, may be brought under the head of popularization.

[3] The introduction of mass-scenes, of battles, and of deaths may be mentioned in support of this.

[4] The omission of the Sūtradhāra reciting the *nāndī* and the opening of the drama by the Sūtradhāra acting the *sthāpanā* may be cited as an instance of this. A vigorous stage, under the direction of a practical dramatist, would naturally try for the sake of economy to delete unnecessary characters, especially when actors have to appear on the stage in their respective character-costumes. Of the two Sūtradhāras that the laws of orthodox dramaturgy require for the prologue, the function of one is simply to recite the *nāndī* (benedictory verse) and retire. To dress up a character for this purpose, which from the actor's point of view is so unimportant, cannot appeal to a practical dramatist, the more so as the dressing, as required by the reformed stage, is very elaborate. Owing to the need for character-economy, as

taste in poetry and fixed dramatic technique, both in theory and practice. Such is the lesson that our stage tradition and current practice yield us.[1]

The Āścarya-cūdāmaṇi, presented to suit this reformed dramatic taste and technique, may be taken as a type of the post-Perumāḷ Sanskrit drama, the more so as it is the most popular among our traditional actors. When therefore we find a similar technique and literary form in another drama, the natural presumption, in the absence of positive evidence to the contrary, is that this too is a post-Perumāḷ drama, produced for the stage of Kērala. Hence we conclude that the T.B. dramas are post-Perumāḷ in age and were produced for our stage, since they have the same technique and literary form as the *Cūḍāmaṇi*. Further, since they, or at least some of them, have passages in common with this drama, they must have been written not earlier than Śaktibhadra, i.e. not earlier than the eighth century.

The similarity in dramatic technique and literary form of the T.B. dramas has already been treated in detail by the Śāstri. We need now touch upon only one aspect, their stage-worthiness. The glowing praise that the Śāstri heaps upon them is justifiable only from this point of view. One who is familiar with the Kērala stage and its mode of acting can easily understand that these dramas would be successful on our stage, and will be forced even to say that all their merit lies in their fitness for the stage. Even the casual reader must be struck by the general simplicity and elegance of their language, the importance assigned to incidents and situations of dramatic character, the prominence given to character-evolution, the numerous gaps left in each drama to be filled up by the actors, the brisk and vigorous dialogues.

Who then were their authors? We do not know, for they are anonymous. But, if we may theorize from tradition and from practice, as current here, and from the unique nature of the Cārudatta, our answer is that they are the result of compilation and adaptation.

demanded by a practical stage, the functions of the Nāndī-Sūtradhāra and the Sthāpanā-Sūtradhāra have been combined.

Definite light on the earlier, and therefore the more important, phases of the reformation might be obtained from the Vyaṅgya-Vyākhyāna on the *Tapatī-saṃvaraṇa*, written by a contemporary of Kulaśēkhara Varma Perumāḷ, from the actors' point of view and for their guidance.

[1] Some salient features of the acting of a Sanskrit drama in Kērala are described in " Acting in Kērala ", by K. R. Pisharoti, published in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society of Bangalore*, April, 1922, pp. 283 ff. As regards the date of Bhāskara Ravi Varma Perumāḷ, there is a difference of opinion. Here is given the date at which Mr. A. K. Pisharoti has arrived in his history of Kērala, which is about to be published.

Their prologues omit the names of their authors, not because it was not the practice to name authors, not because these writers were very modest and dared not risk their reputation, but because the plays have no authors in the real sense of the term. The playwrights have suppressed their names, because they have the honesty not to appropriate to themselves what really belongs to others; and this is quite in keeping with their native sense of *dharma*. When the stage is flourishing there is generally a great demand for new dramas. Even in a living language the demand for new dramas cannot be easily met, and not rarely we meet it by adapting and compiling from popular writers. Such being the case, the difficulty of producing an original drama in a dead language can be easily realized. The demand made by the stage of Kērala must therefore have been met similarly. The process of compilation and adaptation must have been actively at work to satisfy the popular craving for new dramas. When dramas have been thus compiled and adapted, the authors cannot consistently with their honour claim the works as their own; and, naturally enough, they have not done so. Further, because they have set forth no claims to the authorship of these plays, they are under no obligation to acknowledge their sources and their indebtedness. And it is no wonder if we find in all these dramas a general resemblance of language and structural similarity. These various playwrights have tried, as far as they could, to introduce the literary forms of Kālidāsa and to accommodate themselves to the accepted dramatic technique.

Such, then, must have been the way that the *Cārudatta* came into existence. The *Svapna-vāsavadatta* of the T.B. series may also be such an adaptation of the original Svapna-vāsavadatta of Bhāsa. The peculiar nature of Acts II–III support this view. This would explain the absence from the *Svapna-vāsavadatta* of the T.B. series of a verse quoted by Abhinavagupta from Bhāsa's original. The published Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa also may be an adaptation, because there is found no mention of Udayana's having taught Vāsavadattā in her maternal home to play on the *vīṇā*. A statement more definite than this cannot be made in the present state of our knowledge, though probably with the acquisition of more sources of the history of the stage of Kērala more light may be thrown upon this subject.

Our view, then, is that the T.B. dramas are compilations or adaptations. It may, however, be asked why these, intended as they are merely for the stage, should have even prologues. The function

of the prologue from a dramatic point of view is primarily twofold: (i) to give the *maṅgala-ślōka*, and (ii) to mention who the first character is that appears on the stage. It is also found to touch upon the authorship and the name of the play; but these details, however useful they may be from the historic point of view, have no intrinsic dramatic interest and importance, unless it be to serve as an advertisement. Naturally, the playwright who is engaged in adapting or compiling will limit the prologue to the barest necessity. Hence in many of the T.B. dramas it is restricted to the *maṅgala-ślōka* and the mention of the character who is to open the play. Consistently with his reverence for tradition, the playwright cannot omit the benedictory stanza; and the prologue he cannot drop because it is needed to show who the opening character is.

Tradition says that there was here a brisk process of compilation and adaptation to supply materials not merely for dramas, but also for *prabandhas*, which are of the nature of *campūs*, and which also are acted, or rather dramatically expounded, by the Cākyārs. These contain *verbatim* passages from well-known works, and are traditionally accepted as compilations.

It may further be remarked that our old Sanskrit scholars who are familiar with the traditions of our theatre and with the mode of acting Sanskrit dramas by the Cākyārs are also of opinion that the T.B. plays are only compilations and adaptations.

Appendix

The Prologue of the Āścarya-cūḍāmaṇi

(*Nāndy-antē tataḥ praviśati sūtradhāraḥ.*)

Sūtradhāraḥ.

Vīcī-sthānē sahasraṃ marataka-parigha-spardhi bibhrad bhujānām
utphēnō hāra-jālāir aruṇa-rucir anantâhi-ratna-prabhābhiḥ
bibhrāṇaś śaṅkham antaś-caram acaram anirvāpaṇīyaṃ ca tējaḥ
pāyād vaḥ Śārṅga-dhanvā śayita iva samudrâika-dēśē samudraḥ.

(*Parikramya nēpathyâbhimukham avalōkya.*)

Āryē itas tāvat.

(*Praviśya.*)

Naṭī. Ayya[1] iaṁhi.

[1] Here and in other like cases the MS. represents original *ry* by a double *a*. I have transliterated by *yy*; cf. Pischel, *GPS.*, § 284.—L. D. B.

SŪTRADHĀRAḤ. Āryē

Abhirañjanīṃ janānāṃ sahāya-sādhyāṃ gurûpadēśēna
dhuram udvahāmi gurvīṃ nṛpa iva Bharatâdibhir vōḍhām.

NAṬĪ. Ayyassa guruaṃ dāva ahiāraṃ āārō evva sūēdi.

SŪTRADHĀRAḤ. Atha kim? Sundari nanu bahūnām asādhāraṇō durgamaḥ panthāḥ.

NAṬĪ. Ayya kiṃ asāhāraṇaṃ ti pucchadi.

SŪTRADHĀRAḤ. Āryē dakṣiṇā-pathād āgatam Āścarya-cūḍāmaṇir nāma nāṭakam abhinayâmṛēḍita-sāubhāgyam abhilaṣāma ity āryamiśrāṇāṃ śāsanam.

NAṬĪ. Ayya accāhidaṃ khu ēdaṃ. Āāsaṃ pasavaï pupphaṃ siadāō teḷḷaṃ uppādaanti jaï dakkhiṇāō disāō āadaṃ ṇāḍaa-ṇibandhaṇam.

SŪTRADHĀRAḤ. Āryē mā mâivam. Upacinu guṇam apahastaya janmâbhinivēśam. Paśya

Guṇaḥ pramāṇaṃ na diśāṃ vibhāgō
nidarśanaṃ nanv idam ēva tatra
stana-dvayē tē hari-candanaṃ ca
hāraś ca nīhāra-marīci-gāuraḥ.

NAṬĪ (*ātmānaṃ vilōkya*). Jujjaï. Raaṇāarō khu sō padēsō. Ayya kadamō uṇa sō kavī jō attaṇō paññā-rūvaṃ ṇibandhaṇaṃ vāēṇa dēsantaraṃ pavēsidu-kāmō.

SŪTRADHĀRAḤ. Āryē śrūyatām. Unmāda-vāsavadatta-prabhṛtīnām kāvyānāṃ kartuś Śaktibhadrasyêdaṃ prajñā-vilasitam.

NAṬĪ. Hōdavvaṃ.

SŪTRADHĀRAḤ. Tatas tvam api pātrâvadhānaṃ kuruṣva. Aham apy ēvam ārya-miśrān vijñāpayāmi. (*Parikramya.*) Ayē kiṃ nu khalu mayi vijñāpana-vyagrē śabda iva śrūyatē. Aṅga paśyāmi.

(*Nēpathyē jyā-ghōṣaḥ kriyatē.*)

SŪTRADHĀRAḤ. Bhavatu vijñātam.

Sapatnīkasya Rāmasya vartayan vanyam āspadam
jyā-nirghōṣēṇa Sāumitriḥ pakva-sattvān apōhati.

(*Niṣkrāntau.*)

Sthāpanā.

THE TONES OF YORUBA

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IT has hitherto been assumed that the Tone system of the Yoruba language comprised four tones, viz.—a high tone, a middle tone, a low tone, and a so-called compound tone. An examination of the phonetic structure of the language has led to the conclusion that there are other significant tones which must be understood. The purpose of this article is to explain the Tone system of the language as viewed in the light of recent investigations. The observations and transcriptions are based upon the pronunciation of Mr. A. Baptist, a native Yoruba, to whom I am considerably indebted for his patience and his zealous interest in the subject.

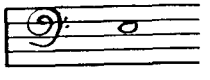
1. There are, in the first place, the three significant tones most frequently met with. They are:—

(*a*) High level, which we shall indicate by prefixing the sign ˊ before the syllable bearing this tone.

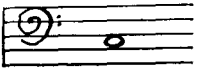
(*b*) Middle level, to which no sign need be prefixed.

(*c*) Low falling, which will be indicated by the sign ˎ. This tone is always difficult to indicate in musical notation, as the voice, starting somewhere in the neighbourhood of E, falls suddenly. The end of the syllable is frequently voiceless.
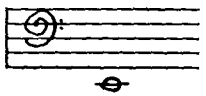
These tones are illustrated, with musical notation, in the following words:—

(*a*) 

ˊba = to overtake. ˊbu = to abuse.

(*b*) 

ba = to crouch. bu = to be mildewed.

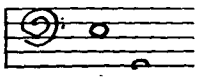
(c) 

ˎba = to alight. ˎbu = to take out of.

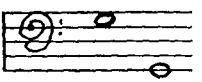
Certain grammatical distinctions of the highest importance are expressed by means of these tones, e.g. :—

o = thou (colloquial form of iwɔ)

ˊo = he (,, ,, ,, oũ)



o ˎd̃ī = thou walkest.



ˊo ˎd̃ī = he walks.

Similarly, ara rɛ = yourself, while ara ˎrɛ = himself. The monosyllable rɛ has, in addition, the following meanings :—

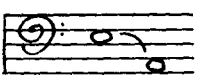
ˊrɛ = to cut with a knife.

rɛ = to soak in water.

ˎrɛ = to wither, to be tired.

2. There is the tone which is sometimes indicated in European transliteration by the diacritic ˜. The fact that this diacritic is so infrequently met with seems to indicate that the nature of the tone was not very clearly recognized.

The tone is, in reality, a mid-falling tone, and is found only on long vowels. It is the significant tone of the definite article na: which is pronounced



na:

This tone is indicated by prefixing the sign ˋ. Compare this with ˎna = to flog, and ˊna = to spend.

This tone will be found in all those words which contain this particle, e.g. :—

lo͡gukā ˋna: = at the same time.

kā ˋna: = same.

ˊlɛ ˎhī ˋna: = afterwards.

ˊba ka ˋna: = the same.

It is also found in the two words :—

ˋbɛ:kɔ = no ; not so.

ˋbɛ:ni = yes. It is so,

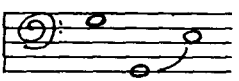
these being the two words in European transliteration where the diacritic ~ is most frequently found.

The tone is certainly met with in the following cases :—

to ˋbɛ: = thus.
ˌi ˋbe: ˌrɛ: = a question.
ɑ ˋlɑ:nũ = the merciful.
ˊbi . . . ˋle: ˌre = to ask.
ˋkɑ:kiri = about.

It is also heard in such expressions as ɑ ˋrɑ: ˌeˊko = a native of Lagos, where ɑ ˋrɑ: stands for ɑrɑ ti, ti being the preposition "of".

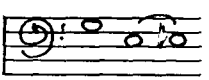
3. There is a low rising tone found in certain words, e.g. :—



ˊmɑ ɪ̃ũ: = five.

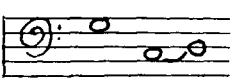
This tone may be indicated by prefixing ˌ. Vowels bearing this tone are long.

Compare this with



mɑ ɪ̃ũ: = don't rumple it.

and with



mɑ ɪ̃ũ: = don't destroy it.

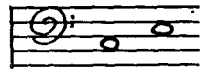
This tone is found in the following examples :—

ɔˊgɔˌɪ̃ũ: = hundred.
ɛ ˌgbɛˌɪ̃ũ: = thousand.
ˊbɑˌji: = thus.
ˌɑ̃:ɪ̃ĩ = middle.
lo ˌni: = to-day.
ˌkpɑ: ˌkpɑ = even, or intensive adverbial particle.

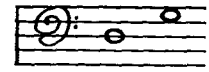
Compare

e ˌre: = beans.
e ˊre = game.
ˊe ˌre = boa constrictor.
ˌe ˌre = gain.

4. There appears to be a tone between the middle and high tones. The exact nature of this tone has been difficult to discover: its significance is best understood by a comparison of the two following words :—

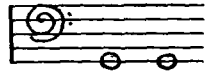


ɑ-wo = plate.

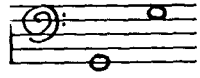


ɑ'wo = guinea fowl.

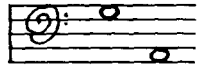
The tone in question is found on the second syllable of **ɑwo** = plate. It is certainly not the middle tone, which is found in the first syllable of both words, nor is it the high tone which is found in the second syllable of **ɑwo** = guinea fowl. Compare the following words :—



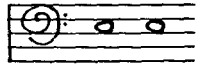
\ɑ\wo = plate (another pronunciation).



\ɑ'wo = a sort of fish.

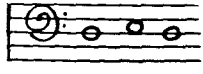


'ɑ\wo = net.



ɑwo = secrecy.

It will be noticed that the average interval between middle and high tones is about a fourth; between high and low tones, an octave. The new tone is characterized by an interval varying from a semitone to a tone, or even a third.



ɑgbɑrɑ = strength.

I propose to indicate this tone by prefixing ˗. The following are examples :—

ɛni ˗kɛni = anybody.
i ˗nũ ni ˗bi nĩ = persecution.
˗ni ˗ni kpɔ̃ = thickness.
˗li le = strong, hard.
ɑ ˗bu ˗le = hut.

The native speaker will insist upon this interval in these words. **ˌɑ gbɑ ˌrɑ** is wrong, and **ɑ ˊgbɑ rɑ** is equally wrong. It is wrong to pronounce the word on a monotone, whether that monotone is high, middle, or low. Such monotone words are very common in the language, so that the pronunciation **ɑ ˗gbɑ rɑ** can be satisfactorily explained only by postulating a tone between the Middle and the High Tone. This new tone might be called the Intermediate Tone.

5. There remains to be considered an important series of tones which are found in certain verb forms. The 3rd pers. sing. personal pronoun used as the direct object of a transitive verb is expressed by lengthening the final vowel of the verb. Thus, if **ˊo ˊbu** means "he abuses", then **ˊo ˊbu:** means "he abuses him, her, it".

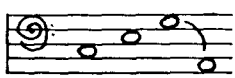
This lengthening of the vowel brings in its train a complication of the tone, and results in the first series of verb tones that we have to recognize. It will not be necessary to indicate these tones by special signs: if we indicate the simple tone of the verb, that will give us all that is required when once we have established the nature of the tone arising when the vowel is lengthened in a verb of every tone.

(*a*) High tone verb. **ˊbu** = to abuse.



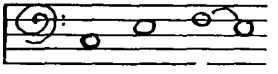
ˊo ˊbu = he abuses. **ˊo ˊbu:** = he abuses him.

This falling tone must not be confused with the falling tone found on **ˋnɑ:** = the, even. Compare :—



e ˊmi ˋnɑ: = I myself, even I.

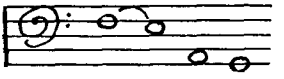
and



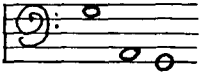
e ˊmi ˊnɑ: = I spend it, from ˊnɑ = to spend.

This is the tone that is used in the particle **mɑ:**, meaning continue, carry on, and it is important that it should not be confused with ˊ**mɑ** = stop.

Thus

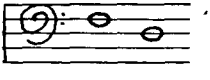


ˊmɑ: ˏsɔ ˏrɔ = continue talking,

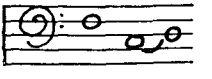


ˊmɑ ˏsɔ ˏrɔ = stop talking.

(*b*) Middle tone verb. **dɛ** = to entrap.

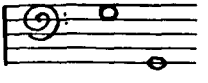


ˊo **dɛ** = he entraps.

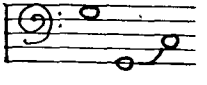


ˊo **dɛ:** = he entraps it.

(*c*) Low tone verb. ˏ**bu** = to take out of.



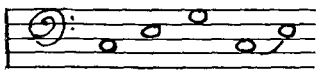
ˊo ˏbu = he takes out of.



ˊo ˏbu: = he takes out of it.

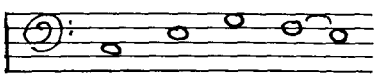
6. The last verb tone is found in the future tense of high tone verbs. The future auxiliary ˊ**jio** is in itself a high tone, and although there is no general modification when two high tones are adjacent, yet in this case the tone of the verb undergoes a sudden change.

ˊbu = to abuse. The future tense is



e ˊmi ˊjio ˊbu

The vowel of the verb is only slightly lengthened. If we lengthen the vowel to indicate 3rd pers. pron. object as indicated in the previous paragraph. this new tone disappears and we get:—



e ˊmi ˊjio ˊbu: = I shall abuse him.

This significant tone of the future of all high tone verbs need not be specially marked in broad transcriptions: if the tone of the verb is indicated, the presence of the auxiliary **jio** will be sufficient to warn the reader of the tone. If, in addition the vowel of the verb is lengthened, then that will indicate that the special future tone gives way to the tone used to indicate the presence of a direct object.

I attach a phonetic transcription of the story of the North Wind and the Sun, with a verbatim translation interlined, and followed by the text with musical notation.

ɛ ˋfu: ˎfu -li le ˎa ti ˋo: ˎr̃ũ
wind strong and sun

ˎɛ ˋfu:fu -li le ˎa ti ˋo: ˎr̃ũ ˊn̩ ɡ̣i ˎj̃ã ˋla: r̃ĩ a ra w̃ɔ̃
wind strong and sun (part.) dispute among self their

ˎe ˊji ˊti ˊo ˊni a -gba ra ɡ̣u ˎe ke ˎɡ̣i lɔ,
which he has strength (comparative sign) other (part.)

ˊni ˎgba ti a r̃ĩ ˎɡ̣o kã ˊm̩ ˎbɔ wa ˎkpɛ ˊlu: ˎɛ ˎwu
when traveller one (part.) came towards with cloak

to ˊni kpɔ̃ ˊni ara ˎrɛ. a -wɔ̃ me ˎɡ̣e ˎɡ̣i ʃe ˎa ˊde ˎhũ,
that is thick in body his they both make agreement

ˊkpe ˎe ˊji ˊti ˊo ˊba ˊkɔ ˊkɔ -ɡ̣ɛ ˊki ar̃ĩ ˎɡ̣o ˋna: ˊbɔ
that he who (part.) first let traveller the take

ˌɛ wu ˊnī ˊnī kpɔ̃ ˌrɛ ˊkuˌro, oũ ni ˊko ˊʤɛ a-laˉgba ra
cloak thick his off he is should be strong

ˌʤu ˊnī ˊnũ ˌa wɔ̃ meˌʤeˌʤi. ɛ ˋfu:ˌfu -li le ˋna:
(comparative) in them both. wind strong the

ˌsi ˌbɛˌrɛ ˊsi ˊfɛ ki kã ki kã ˌkpɛˊlu gbo gbo a-gba ra
and begin to blow strong strong with all strength

ˌrɛ, ˌʃugbɔ̃ ˊbi ˊo ˊti ˊŋˊfɛ ki kã ki kã,
his, but as he (past tense) part. blow strong strong

ˋbɛ:-ni a rĩˌʤo ˋna: ˊtũˌbɔ ˊwe ˌɛ ˌwu ˊnīˊnī kpɔ̃ ˌrɛ
so traveller the more wrap cloak thick his

-mɔ ra -gi ri -gi ri; ˌa ti ˊni ˌikɛˌhī, ˌɛ ˋfu:ˌfu -li le ˋna:
to himself close close and in last, wind strong the

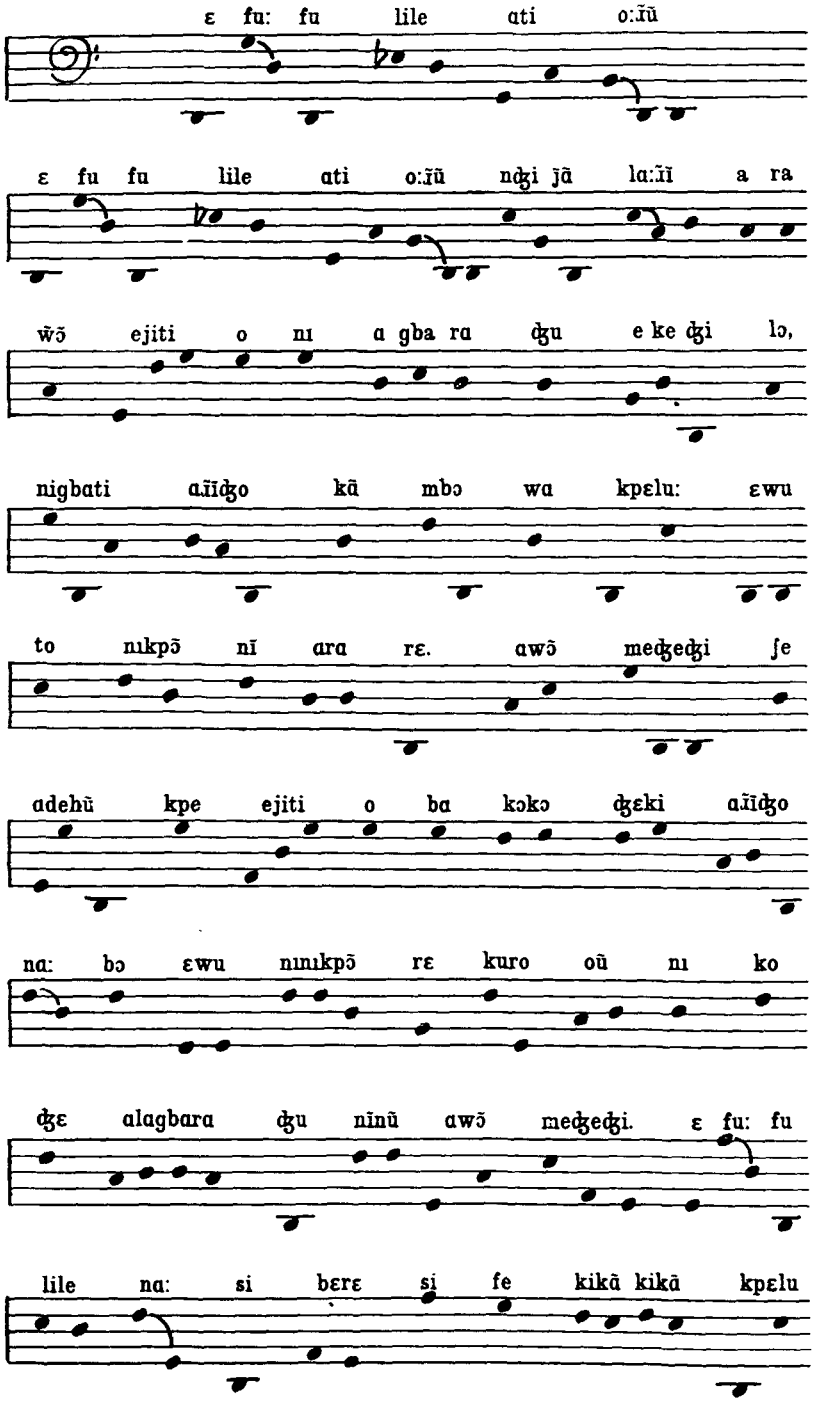
da wɔ -du ro. ˊlɛˌhī ˋna: ˋo:ˌrũ ˌrã -ʤa de ˋkpɛˊlu gbo gbo
stop. then sun shine out with all

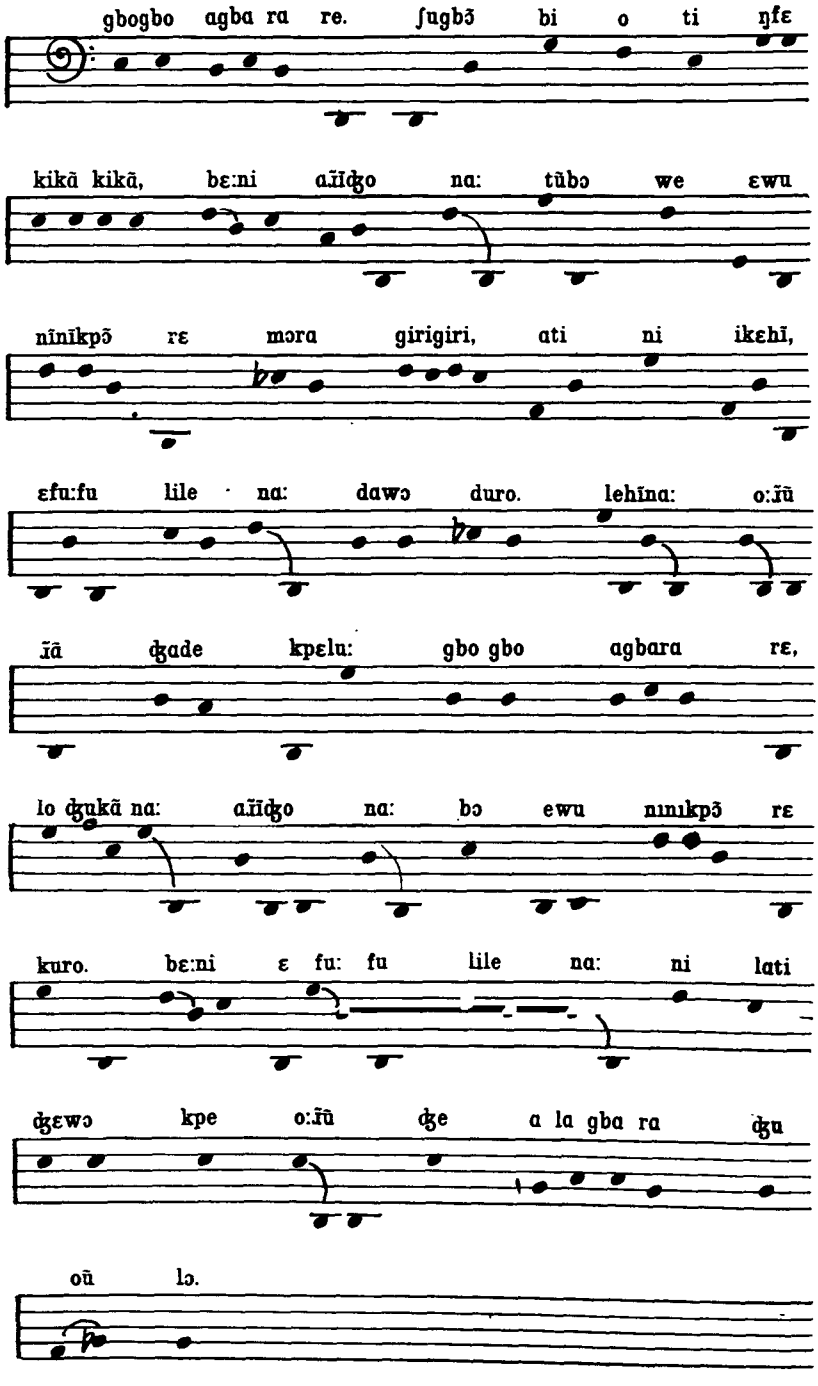
a-gba ra ˌrɛ, lo-ʤu kã ˋna: a rĩˌʤo ˋna: ˊbɔ ˌɛˌwu
strength his, whereupon traveller the took off cloak

ˊnī ˊnī kpɔ̃ ˌrɛ ˌkuˌro. ˋbɛ:ni ˌɛˋfu:ˌfu -li le ˋna: ˊni
thick his away. so wind strong has

-la ti ʤɛ wɔ kpe ˋo:ˌrũ ʤɛ a-laˉgba ra ʤu
to confess that sun is strong (comparative)

oũ lɔ.
he (particle).


ɛ fu: fu lile ɑti o:ɪ̃ũ
ɛ fu fu lile ɑti o:ɪ̃ũ nʤi jã̄ lɑ:ɪ̃ĩ a ra
w̃ɔ̃ ejiti o nɪ a gba rɑ ʤu e ke ʤi lɔ,
nigbati ɑɪ̃ĩʤo kã̄ mbɔ wɑ kpɛlu: ɛwu
to nɪkpɔ̃ nĩ ɑrɑ rɛ. ɑwɔ̃ meʤeʤi ʃe
ɑdehũ kpe ejiti o bɑ kɔkɔ ʤɛki ɑɪ̃ĩʤo
nɑ: bɔ ɛwu nɪnɪkpɔ̃ rɛ kuro oũ nɪ ko
ʤɛ ɑlɑgbɑrɑ ʤu nĩnũ ɑwɔ̃ meʤeʤi. ɛ fu: fu
lile nɑ: si bɛrɛ si fe kikã̄ kikã̄ kpɛlu


gbogbo agba ra re. ʃugbɔ̃ bi o ti ŋfɛ
kikã̄ kikã̄, bɛ:ni aĩdgo na: tũbɔ we ɛwu
nĩnĩkpɔ̃ rɛ mɔra girigiri, ati ni ikɛhĩ,
ɛfu:fu lile na: dawɔ duro. lehĩna: o:ĩũ
ĩã̄ dgade kpɛlu: gbo gbo agbara rɛ,
lo dgukã̄ na: aĩdgo na: bɔ ewu nınıkpɔ̃ rɛ
kuro. bɛ:ni ɛ fu: fu lile na: ni lati
dgɛwɔ kpe o:ĩũ dge a la gba ra dgu
oũ lɔ.

THE MARSDEN MSS. AND INDIAN MISSION BIBLIOGRAPHY

By the Rev. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

IN 1910 I published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, August number, pp. 437–61, under the title of "The Marsden MSS. in the British Museum", some notes by W. Rees Philipps and H. Beveridge on some remarkable treasures once in the Jesuit Archives of Goa and now in the British Museum. These MSS., comprising ten volumes (Add. MSS. 9852–61), contain original letters by the Jesuit Missionaries in India and the farther East, addressed mostly to the Provincial of Goa, before the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1757 by the Marquess de Pombal. Some of the documents refer, however, to Cochin and Southern India, these portions of the mission field having belonged to Goa till the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The MSS. are entered in the British Museum Catalogue as Additional MSS. 9852–61, and are there summarily described. A fuller description of the contents of some of these volumes appeared in my article quoted above. They belonged originally to a collection in Goa, as Add. 9859 and 9860 bear the press-mark "Gau[eta] No. 32", while Add. 9853 is marked "Gau. No. 42". In 1911–12 I had a large number of these MSS., all those, namely, which referred to the history of the Jesuit Missions in Northern India, rotographed with the view of publishing them.

My article was followed up in *JASB.*, volume for 1911, p. 115, by a short note from the pen of the late W. Irvine on the meaning of "Gaveta". H. Beveridge also published in *The Indian Magazine and Review*, London, A. Constable, October, 1910, pp. 264–6, an article on Father Anthony Botelho's report in Add. MSS. 9855.

These studies have now been taken up again by Sir E. Denison Ross, the Principal of the School of Oriental Studies, London, in an article on "The Manuscripts collected by William Marsden, with special reference to two copies of Almeida's History of Ethiopia". This article, of which an author's copy was sent me on 10th August, 1922, occupies pp. 513–38 of a review which, lacking further indications,

I suppose and hear to be the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London, Vol. II, Pt. III.

Sir E. Denison Ross deals partly with the British Museum Add. MSS. 9852-61, of which the last, No. 9861. is a copy of Father Almeida's *Historia de Ethiopia a alta*. Father C. Beccari, S.J., who has reprinted this in his collection on Ethiopia, thought that the British Museum copy was the only surviving one of the work. His reprint fills three of the fifteen volumes published in Rome between 1903 and 1917 under the general title of *Rerum Æthiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX*.

I now find from Sir E. Denison Ross's article that two other collections of Jesuitica were presented by W. Marsden to the British Museum in 1828. They are preserved in two small boxes numbered Add. 6878 and 6879, and are described as " Documents brought from the Archives of the Romish Church at Goa (covering the period between 1569 and 1613) ".

As these two collections of Jesuit MSS. from Goa were overlooked by my two excellent friends in 1910 and have probably never attracted the attention of Jesuit writers, I copy here from Sir E. Denison Ross the description in the British Museum Catalogue. The contents of No. 6879 will be welcomed by the Editors of *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, if, as I suppose, they have not come across copies of them elsewhere.

Additional Manuscripts: No. 6878.

The following documents, brought from the Archives of the Romish Church at Goa:—

1. Depositions, attested by Alexander Riarius, Prothonotary at Rome, as to Miracles performed by Reliques of the Holy Cross; d. Rome, 20 May and 27 July, 1569.

2. A Charter of Sebastian, King of Portugal, in Portuguese; d. 1572 (scarcely legible).

3. Attestation to the Genuineness of Reliques sent to various Churches in the Eastern and Western Indies; d. 16 April, 1573.

4. Certified Transcript of Attestations to the Genuineness of various Reliques given to the Jesuits; d. 13 Oct., 1574 (printed on vellum).

5. Bull of Gregory XIII, d. Rome, 24 Oct., 1579, granting more ample powers to Everard Mercurianus, General of the Jesuits, to prevent the Jesuits from passing into other Orders (v. Bullarum Collect. a Cocquelines, Tom. IV, p. 418).

6. An imperfect document reciting a Bull of Gregory XIII; d. id. Jun., 1583, granting 4000 Scudi annually towards the support of the Church in the East.

7. Attestation by Claudius Aquaviva, General of the Jesuits, to the Genuineness of certain Reliques sent to Japan; d. Rome, 28 Nov., 1583.

8. Attestation by the same to the Genuineness of Reliques of St. Abundius, sent to Japan; same date.

9. Confirmation by Pope Sixtus V of Sebastian, Bishop Elect of Funai, in Japan; d. Rome, 11 Kal. Mar., 1587.

10. Attestation by Claudius Aquaviva to the Genuineness of the Reliques of several Saints sent to the Church at Goa; d. Rome, 17 Dec., 1590.[1]

11. Authenticated Copies of Documents relating to the Appointment of Peter Martinez to be Bishop of Funai; d. Rome, 27 Feb., 1592.

12. Form of Profession of Faith made by Franciscus de Vasconcellos, Bishop Elect of Cochin. No date.[2]

13. Tirado da Censura de Fr. João Ponce de Leão das Memorias de Margarita de Valois.

No. 6879.

1. Commission to the Archbishop of Goa or his Vicar to examine Witnesses and Documents with a view to further Proceedings in the Canonisation of Francis Xavier; d. Rome, 7 Sept., 1613.

2. A Vellum Roll, containing Interrogatories and Articles administered by authority of the Commissioners about to examine into Evidence as to the Claim of Francis Xavier to Canonisation; 1613.

3. A Duplicate of the above-mentioned Roll.

"Most of these documents," says Sir E. Denison Ross, "bear a press-mark indicating the shelf or drawer in which they were preserved in the Goa archives. The term employed is *Gaveta*, or Drawer, and it is variously contracted to *Gau* or *Gauet*, which is followed by a number, thus 'No. 34'." [3]

[1] Francisco de Souza, S.J., *Oriente Conquistado*, Parte 2, Conq. 2, Div. 2, § 4, p. 158 (Bombay edn.), mentions a relic of the Holy Cross sent by Father General Cl. Aquaviva to the hermitage of the H. Cross of Manapad, Fishery Coast (1581-2).

[2] Confirmed in 1721; took possession of the See of Cochin, 10th May, 1722; raised to the Metropolitan See of Goa in 1745. Cf. *Mitras Lusitanas*, III Parte, Bombay, 1888, p. 29.

[3] Cf. *Bulletin*, p. 518.

Eight other MSS., Oriental, were presented by W. Marsden to the British Museum in 1834, i.e. Add. MSS. 9390-7; they have, however, no special interest for us, as they do not proceed from Catholic Missionaries. See Sir E. Denison Ross, article quoted, pp. 518-19.

In the second place, Sir E. Denison Ross deals with the MSS. presented by W. Marsden to King's College, London. This portion is entirely new to me, and is full of interesting matter for the historian of our Eastern Missions.

One of the MSS. is a second copy of Almeida's History of Ethiopia. Not only does it appear to be a copy revised by Almeida and later than the British Museum copy, but it has three appendices, which make it especially valuable. I may say, however, that Appendix I, foll. 32*a*–70*a*, the "Appendix à Historia de Ethiopia. Naqual se refutam os principaes erros q' andaõ escritos em huã q' se imprimio ẽ Valença no ãno de 1610", has appeared in Father Fernão Guerreiro's *Relaçam Annal das Covsas qve fizeram os Padres da Companhia de Iesvs . . . nos annos de* 607. & 608 . . . Lisboa, Pedro Crasbeeck, M.DCXI, foll. 265*a*-344*a*. This latter, a refutation of Urreta's book, has thirteen chapters, whereas the King's College MS. is divided into thirty-six sections.

That the K.C. MS. of Almeida's History belonged also originally to the Jesuit Archives of Goa is clear from the fact that on the obverse of the last folio it has the press-mark "*Gaueta No.* 34", the same press-mark as that of Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 6878 and 6879, described above.

Sir E. Denison Ross intends to return shortly to the study of the K.C. copy of Almeida's History, "as I have now discovered," he writes to me, "the outer cover of the King's College Almeida, which contains a good deal of preliminary matter."

The MSS. presented by Marsden to King's College have now been loaned to the School of Oriental Studies, and it requires no prophet to say that, with Sir E. Denison Ross as Principal of the School and a galaxy of the ablest Oriental linguists around him, we shall hear more about the collection.

These MSS. are a wonderful collection, containing, besides rich historical materials, a large number of Oriental MSS. composed by Catholic Missionaries in India, Ethiopia, Burma, China, and the Philippines. If all are MSS., then some at least, it would seem, have been transcribed from printed copies.

Since this collection was never examined by the Jesuit

bibliographers, not even by the most eminent of all, Father C. Sommervogel, for his *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, we shall be excused if, considering the many countries it covers and the wide interest it bids fair to arouse, we reproduce here from Marsden's *Bibliotheca Marsdeniana Philologica et Orientalis*, London, 1827, those entries in which we recognize or suspect the work of Catholic Missionaries. We have to thank Sir E. Denison Ross for having made the list accessible to us through his article, for Marsden's *Bibliotheca* is now scarce.

We shall prefix numbers to the different entries to facilitate future reference, as it may be worth discussing the authorship of some of these MSS. *occasione datâ*. Our own comments on these entries are inserted within [ ].

Whether all the MSS. to be mentioned here are still in the Marsden collection presented to King's College will appear, writes Sir E. Denison Ross (op. cit., p. 526), when the new catalogue, now in preparation, is completed.

Arabic.

1. The Book of the Four Gospels, in Arabic. 4to. (The division of the Chapters differs from that of our Versions ; the Second Chapter of St. Matthew, for example, beginning at the eighteenth verse of our First Chapter.)

   [We mention this because the first Jesuit Missionaries at Akbar's Court tried hard to obtain a copy of the Arabic translation of the four Gospels.]

Burmah.

2. Alphabetum Barmanum seu Bomanum, auctore Domino Melchiore Carpani. ("Communicante amicissimo Auctore in nave Gallico[1] l'Actif, mense Maii 1775, G.P." It was printed at Rome in the following year.)

Chinese, Cochin-Chinese or Tunkinese, etc.

3. Dictionarium Sinico-Latinum, cum variis Appendicibus. 4to. (The words of this Chinese Dictionary are arranged according to the Pronunciation, and not according to the Radicals. The French Orthography is employed. Annexed to it are the following : A List of Ten Chinese Dictionaries ; a Table of the 214 Radicals ; an Index of all the Characters explained in the Dictionary, classed

[1] *Sic. Navis* is feminine.

under their respective Radicals, with their Pronunciation; the peculiar Numerical particles; an alphabetical series of Characters expressing opposite meanings; characters combined with TA, to strike; Table of the Cycle of Sixty years; and Decimal system of Numbers from One to one hundred Billions.)

[The authorship of this, if the author is a Jesuit, may perhaps be determined by referring to some of the names in Sommervogel, X, coll. 971–3, or, better still, by consulting H. Cordier's *Bibliotheca Sinica*, in four volumes.]

4. Arte de la lingua Mandarina.

[I do not find this in Sommervogel, loc. cit.]

5. Quaesita Missionariorum Chinae seu Sinarum, S. Congregationi de Propaganda Fide exhibita, cum Responsis ad ea. 4to.

6. Quaesita Missionariorum Tunkini et Responsiones ad ipsa. Quaeries [1] proposed to the Missionaries respecting the laws, government, religion, etc., of the people of Tunkin, and their Answers; collected and arranged by Fr. Joannes de Paz. 4to. "Impressum Manilæ anno Dñi 1680." (From whence it is to be inferred that the MS. was copied from the printed work.)

[For Nos. 5 and 6, Sommervogel, Vol. X, might be consulted under "Rites Chinois", or see Cordier's *Bibliotheca Sinica*. Joannes de Paz is perhaps a Dominican.]

7. Martyrology of Portuguese Missionaries. Fol.

[This may be unknown to Jesuit bibliographers, and in that case it should prove very valuable for the historians of our Asiatic Missions, chiefly those of Japan.]

8. An Account of the State of Christianity in China in the years 1633 and 1634, as well as of the Empire in general. To which is added a Report of the Anamitic or Tunkin Mission. In Latin. Sm. 4to.

[Same remark as for Nos. 5 and 6, except that Sommervogel, Vol. X, should be consulted under a different rubric.]

Ethiopic.

9. Magseph asselat, i.e. Flagellum Mendaciorum, contra libellum Æthiopicum, falso nomine dictum *Masgueb Haymanot Æthiop*, etc., auctore Antonio Fernandio. Aliter: Doctrina Christiana, Æthiopice et Latine, Goae, 1642. Fol.

[My notes on Jesuit Printing in India (MS.) contain on this the following:—

[1] *Sic.*

[1642.—Anthony Fernandez, S.J.—" Flagellum mendaciourm sive Tractatus de erroribus Æthiopiæ sermone Chaldæo. Typis Æthiopicis ab Urbano VIII ad Patriarcham Alphonsum submissis. Impressum Goae, in Collegio S. Pauli, 1642. 4to."

[Alegambe writes: " Tractatus de erroribus Æthiopiæ, in Chaldæum sermonem ab ipso conversus, inscriptus Flagellum Mendacii, MDCXXI."

[Machado says: " Magseph Assetat, id est Flagellum Mendaciorum, Goa. In the characters of the country."

[He refutes in it the errors of the Masgah Haymonot, i.e. " Treasure of the Faith ", written by the schismatical Raz Athemateot. Cf. Sommervogel, III, 646.

[" Printed shortly before the author's death with the Ethiopic type sent by Urban VIII to the Patriarch," Affonso Mendes. Cf. E. M. Rivière, S.J., *Corr. et Add. à la Bibl. de la C. de J.*, fasc. 2, 194; J. A. Ismael Gracias, *A imprensa em Goa* . . . , pp. 46–7; C. Gómez Rodeles, S.J., in *JAS. Bengal*, 1913, pp. 156–7.

[" A copy of the Magseph assetat is in the Biblioteca Nacional of Lisbon." (Note by Mr. James Southwood, British Museum, to the writer.)]

10. Historia de Ethiopia a alta, ou Abassia: Imperio do *Abexim*, cujo Rey vulgarmente he chamado Preste Joam. Dedicada a Magestade d'El Rey D. Joam o IV. Nosso Senhor. Composta pelo Padre Manoel de Almeida da Companhia de Jesus. Fol. (With a Chart of Abyssinia and of the Source of the Nile.) An Abridgement of this work was published at Coimbra in 1660, fol., by P. Balthezar Tellez. A second copy wants the Title and some of the preliminary part.

[On this, see Sir E. Denison Ross's article referred to in the beginning.]

Persian.

11. The Gospels of the Four Evangelists in the Persian language. 4to. (This book appears to have been in the possession of Jeronymo Xavier, then residing at Agra, whose signature is affixed to an introductory memorandum dated in 1605, the year in which Akbar died and his son, Jehângìr, succeeded to the throne.)

[This is not noticed as among the Marsden MSS. of King's College by E. D. Maclagan (now Sir) in *JAS. Bengal*, 1896, p. 113, where he notices Nos. 12, 13, and 14 among Jerome Xavier's

works. At pp. 95–6 of the article referred to we find the following interesting information on Jerome Xavier's translation of the four Gospels :—

[" At the beginning of March (1604) there had arrived at Agra from Lahor a 'distinguished and learned Florentine João Battista Vecchiete', who had travelled 'in many eastern lands, through Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Persia', and who was much favoured by the Emperor." An interesting account of his books is then given (by Jerome Xavier in Marsden MSS., Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 9854, foll. 7–19) :—

[" 'He has much friendship for us, in proof of which he gave us a book of the Holy Gospels in Arabic with the Latin at the foot, printed in the Vatican, which we value very highly.[1] He had also with him the Psalter of David in Persian, which he obtained with great pains and at great cost from a Jew who had it in Persian, but in Hebrew character. It was translated two hundred years ago by an eminent Jew of Persia. We gave ourselves to the transcribing of these books with much delight. While the Italian was here, he copied in Persian characters the Books of Proverbs, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Judith, and Esther, which he had in Persian, but in Hebrew character,[2] and gave them to us freshly copied, but though the characters are new, the translation is more than two hundred years old; he obtained them from some Jews in Persia at a good price. We gave him the book of the four Gospels in Persian, which he greatly desired, for he said that they had the Gospel of St. Matthew in Persian at Rome, but would like very much to have the other three. Last year we sent to Rome another book of the Gospels in Persian, the translation of which is more than 300 years old. God grant that it arrived safely. We are now arranging the same Gospels in Persian with the corresponding Latin at the foot, which God willing will be much esteemed in Europe.' "

[Sommervogel (*Bibl. de la C. de J.*, VIII, col. 1339) notes under the name of Father Jerome Xavier: "Los quatro Evangelhos em Persico, feitos do P. Yeronimo Xavier em Lahor, corte de

[1] [" The Roman editio princeps of the four Gospels, 1590–1 (issued both with and without an interlinear Latin version)." W. Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. iii (1893), p. 1615, col. 1.]

[2] " The regular custom among the Jews. See *Ind. Antiq.*, xvii, 115." Note by E. D. Maclagan.

Moya [read: Mogor] en 1607.—A Lisbonne." He adds: "In Father Maracci's *Relation*, translated by Father de Machault, we read, p. 23: 'Father Francis Morando, of Bologna, a great scholar in the Parthian and Industanne tongue . . . must reside at present at Agra . . . to get copied and put into one Tome the excellent works of Father Hierosme Xauier, the nephew of St. Francis, who . . . composed several Books, and translated others, as the Gospels into the Parthian tongue.'"

[In December, 1912, while at the Bishop's Residence, Agra, I found, in the library of the Capuchin Fathers there, a manuscript copy of the Persian Gospels, and was allowed to bring it with me to Calcutta for the purpose of study. I sent it to Mr. H. Beveridge in England, and returned it to Agra. If I remember well (for I could not now easily get at the copious notes to which this study led), I came to the conclusion that it was a copy of Jerome Xavier's Gospels, transcribed about 1680, and that his Persian translation had been utilized by Bishop Brian Walton (1600–61) for his Polyglot Bible, which came out in 1657. Nine languages are represented in it: Hebrew, Chaldee, Samaritan, Syrian, Arabic, Persian, Ethiopic, Greek, and Latin. (Cf. *Encycl. Britann.*, 11th edition, XXVIII, coll. 300–1; XXII, col. 25.) The Persian is represented by the Gospels and also by the Pentateuch, which increases the likelihood that Jerome Xavier's four Gospels were printed by Bishop Walton. If I remember correctly, the Bishop states that the Persian Gospels had been obtained from India, i.e. from Mogor, but he did not know the author of the translation. What we have quoted, however, above from the *JASB.*, 1896, shows that before 1604 Jerome Xavier had a Persian translation of the four Gospels, then more than 300 years old, and the question arises whether he did not help himself with this older translation for his own translation, even if he made his own according to the Vulgate, as he did for his translation of the Psalms. See No. 12.

[The Persian translation sent to Rome in 1603 must have reached, for Cornelius a Lapide refers to it somewhere in his commentaries (on St. Matthew ?).

[In the month of Rabī-ul-awwal in the year 990 (March–April, 1582) Emperor Akbar had written to the King of Spain, Philip II: "It has been brought to our notice that the revealed books, such as the Pentateuch, the Gospels, and the Psalms, have been translated into Arabic and Persian. Should these books, which are

profitable to all whether translated or not, be procurable in your country, send them." (*JASB.*, 1896, p. 54.)]

12. Psalterio de David conforme a ediçaõ Vulgata, traducido polo P. Jeronimo Xavier da C. de J., na cidade de Agra, corte do gran Mogol Jahanguir. (Persian translation of the Psalms of David.) 8vo.

[This is unknown to Sommervogel and Rivière. Our bibliographers should take note also that copies of Nos. 13 and 14 are to be found in King's College, London.]

13. Lives of the Twelve Apostles of Jesus Christ, composed in Persian, by P. Jeronimo Xavier of the C. of J., at Agrah, the Court of the Emperor Jehângîr, in the year 1609. 8vo.

[See on this my article about the Serampore copy (*JASB.*, 1914, pp. 65–84); and, on another copy from Akbar's library, which Col. George Ranking presented to me, see *Catholic Herald of India*, Calcutta, 1921, pp. 479–81, with a note on a copy in the Bodleian. Col. G. Ranking's copy was presented by me to the Goethals Indian Library, St. Xavier's College, Calcutta.]

14. The Guide of Kings, composed in Persian by P. Jeronimo Xavier of the C. of J., and addressed to the Mogol Emperor Jehângîr in the year 1609. Sm. fol.

[Sommervogel does not show where a copy could be found.]

15. I. A Persian Vocabulary.

16. II. *Saraj-al-munir* or the Brilliant Lamp: a Treatise of Morals, in twenty sections, each section concluding with an appropriate Apologue. 8vo.

[I take note of these last two, because I suspect that they belong to the history of the Jesuit Mission of Agra, notably to that of Father Jerome Xavier. H. Beveridge has published somewhere a note on a philosophical or moral treatise of J. Xavier's, which is not mentioned in Sommervogel. I cannot now think of the title or the name of the review.]

17. Rudimenta linguæ Persicæ. A Grammar of the Persian language in Latin, with a Vocabulary, Latin, Portuguese, and Persian. 4to.

[Sommervogel, VIII, col. 1339, has under the name of Jerome Xavier: "Rudimenta linguæ Persicæ." (Alcazar, *Hist. de la Prov. de Toledo*, t. II, p. 203.)]

18. Speculum sanctum Vitæ (Miraculorumque) D. N. Jesu Christi, Persicè. Sm. fol.

[Another treatise by Jerome Xavier. See Sommervogel, VIII, col. 1339, and *JASB.*, 1896, pp. 110–11. See also my "European

Art at the Moghul Court" in *Journ. Un. Prov. Hist. Soc.;* Allahabad, Vol. III, May, 1922, pp. 181–2, on a mutilated copy of Jerome Xavier's *Life of Our Lord* from Akbar's Library in the Lahore Museum.]

19. Letters written by Portuguese Missionaries from Ajmîr, Agrah, etc., during the years 1626 to 1668; also one from Antonio d'Andrade, in Tibet, to the Mission in Cashgar; with an Account of political and military transactions during the reign of the Emperor Akbar. Sm. 4to.

[We ought to covet this number for its bearing on the history of Akbar and of the Jesuit Missions in Northern India and Tibet. It is unknown to Jesuit bibliographers. It is remarkable that it was not presented to the British Museum with Add. MSS. 9852–61, all from the Archives of the Provincial of Goa. It gives us the first intimation we have met with of a Jesuit expedition to Kashgar (before 1630 ?), since after that date, if not earlier, Antonio d'Andrada had left for Goa, where he died in 1634. Bro. Benedict Goes, S.J., had passed through Kashgar some twenty-five years before on his way from Agra to the *terra incognita* of Cathay.]

20. A Vocabulary, Portuguese, Hindustani, and Persian. 4to.

[This, too, comes apparently from the third Jesuit Mission at Agra (1595-1803). We would again associate with it the name of Jerome Xavier.]

Philippine and Molucca Islands.

21. Bocabulario *Tagalo*, su autor el P. F. Miguel Ruiz del Orden de S. Domingo, añadido per otros de varias Religiones. (1580) 4to, v. vol.

22. Arte de la lengua Tagala, compuesto por un Religioso del Orden de Predicadores. 1736. 4to.

23. (Arte de la lengua *Tagala.*) 4to. (This Grammar is in its composition entirely different from the preceding. The beauty of the writing cannot be surpassed, but the copy is in bad preservation, and wants the Title.)

[Father D. de Bobadilla, S.J., is the author of an Arte de la lengua Tagala, A.D. 163 . . . Cf. Sommervogel, X, 983. Idem, X, coll. 983–4, might be of use to determine the authorship of Nos. 23, 24, 25, and 26. There exist also special bibliographies for the Philippines.]

24. Arte de la lengua Pampanga (with a specimen of the Alphabetic characters employed in the writing of the natives). 4to.

25. Bucabulario *Yloco*. A vocabulary Spanish and *Ylocio*. Fol.
26. Vocabulario de la lengua *Bisaya, Hilugueyna* y *Haraia* de las Islas de *Panai* y *Sugbu* y para las demas Islas. Por Alonso de Mentrida. Añadido e impresso por Martin Claver. (1698) 4to.
27. Information respecting the state of Christianity in the Molucca islands (in the Portuguese language), transmitted to Europe in the year 1588. 4to.

[The Molucca Missions depended from the Jesuit Provincial of Goa. This document, if emanating from Jesuit Missionaries, as is likely, would have been utilized by Fr. Francisco de Souza for his *Oriente Conquistado*, but the date 1588 belongs to that part of his History, vol. iii, which remained in MS., and of which a copy was formerly, and is perhaps still, to be found in Portugal. See Sommervogel under his name. When will it be discovered and published ? A most important work.]

Sanscrit, Bengali, Hindustani in the Nagri character.

28. The Adi or First *Purân*, a Christian work in the *Mahratta* language and *Nagri* character, divided into Five Parts and appearing to contain an exposition of the Old Testament.
29. The *Dêva Purân* or Divine History : a Christian work in the *Mahratta* language and *Nagri* character, appearing to contain an exposition of the New Testament or History of Christ.

[These two numbers seem to refer to a copy of the Purāṇa by Father Thomas Stephens, S.J., the Englishman. Stephens' Purāṇa was printed at Goa in 1616, 1649, and 1654, in the Roman character, like all the Jesuit vernacular compositions printed at Goa and Rachol. It was reprinted at Mangalore in the Roman character some years ago (1907 ?). The 2nd and 3rd editions bear the sub-title of Purāṇa. Though entitled *Discurso sobre a vinda de Jesu Christo*, it gives, says Sommervogel, the Bible story from the creation to the Ascension of Our Lord, and is divided into two treatises. I leave it to Mr. J. A. Saldanha, of Mangalore, who republished this work, to decide whether an edition in the native character would not be highly desirable. A few hundred rupees would suffice to procure rotographs of the work.

[Less likely is this Purāṇa the Purāṇa of Father Stephen de la Croix, S.J. : Discursos sobre a vida do Apostolo S. Pedro, em que se refutam os principais erros do gentilismo deste Oriente . . . According to Sommervogel (II, 1688) this was printed at Goa in

1634, in two folio volumes, pp. xi, 358, and 283. There is a copy of it in the Biblioteca Nacional of Lisbon. In the Biblioteca Publica of Pangim, Nova Goa, there is a mutilated Purāṇa, printed in Roman characters, evidently at Goa or Rachol, in the seventeenth century, of which the first volume runs from leaf 26 to leaf 280; the second volume continues from leaf 281 to 358; then comes the second part, from leaf 1 to leaf 238, the rest being missing. Though Ismael Gracias spoke of it to me as different from the Purāṇa of Fr. Stephen de la Croix, I believe that it is a copy of his work, since the copy described by Sommervogel stops in the first volume at page (leaf ?) 358. Ismael Gracias sent me photographs of leaf 26 (?), first volume, and of leaf 1 (?) of the second volume, and a friend of mine from Mangalore describes the language as Mahrāṭhī-Koṅkaṇī. The first line of fol. 26 (?) (first volume) is: *Discvrsa-avasvarv Atthava.* Stanza 41, the third stanza on that page, runs thus:—

Magã yecu papv durzanu
Ta nite papasangatv uartunu
Dossaqhanddanna nacarv hounu
Nigatã cõmungara. 41

[The first lines of leaf 1 of the second volume are: Dvssarea Pvran | nachem panchavem | candda: ziyecanddim Brahma, Vist- | tnnu Mhaessu Deua nhauatv mhannauni, aissẽ dauilẽ | ahe, annv teyanche cuddha bhazanechẽ | chhedanna quelẽ asse | + | Avasvarv Paila | Vistnnv Pvrannasa- | qhi arãbhicu deqhoni ta Deu nha- | ue mhannaunu aissè hiye pratha- | maliye discvrssaauasuarî | lihilã ahe. |

[One can make out from these last lines that there is question of refutations of Gentile errors. This is another work which it would be worth while to reprint for the use of our Mahrāṭhī and Koṅkaṇī Christians. Its stanzas had great vogue in the seventeenth century.

[There is also another Mahrāṭhī Purāṇa by Father Vaz de Guimaraès, printed at Lisbon in 1659, and reprinted at Bombay in 1845 and 1876. Is this different from Father Stephen de la Croix' ?]

30. A Christian work in the *Mahratta* language and *Nagri* character, containing "Instructions for the knowledge of the Universal Lord; Prayers (*mantra*) adapted to several occasions: Invocations (*prathima*), a kind of Litany; and a Catechism or Dialogue, in

Question and Answer, between a Tutor and his Disciple, on points of Faith and Doctrine". (Probably composed by the Jesuits of Goa.)

[This might be at least partly Fr. Thomas Stephens' *Doutrina Christãa*, a Catechism printed the first time at Rachol in 1622. There is a copy in the Biblioteca Nacional of Lisbon, and a MS. copy in the British Museum.]

31. Fruitos de Arvore da Vida, Traduzido e composto pello P. Antonio de Saldanha : in the Hindustâni language and European character. 4to.

[This is by Fr. Anthony de Saldanha, S.J., and is given as printed at Rachol, 4to, no year, as is also the case with his *Rosas e boninas*. His *Tratado dos Milagres* was printed at Rachol in 1655, 4to. See Sommervogel (VII, 159). There is a copy of the "Tratado dos Milagres" of 1655 in the Biblioteca Nacional of Lisbon.

[Though the language of the *Fruitos de Arvore da Vida* is described as Hindustānī, it is more likely that it is Mahrāthī-Koṅkaṇī.

[If these works and others published at Goa and Rachol are no longer current among the Mahrāthī- and Koṅkaṇī-speaking Christians, it reveals a sad state of things, and we have only our own supineness to blame, if, knowing where printed or MS. copies can be found, we do not avail ourselves of the knowledge. Very different is the state of things in China, the original home of printing, where few, if any, of the works composed by the old Missionaries have been lost, and where new editions of their works are continually reprinted.]

32. A Vocabulary, Portuguese and Hindustâni, in the *Nagri* character. Sm. fol.

[Our discussion on this entry assumes that the vocabulary is correctly described as being a Hindustānī one.

[This vocabulary can hardly be that of Fr. Francis Mary of Tours, a French Capuchin, of the Capuchin Province of Touraine, who had been a Missionary in Persia before he was attached to the Mission of Surat, where he composed a voluminous Hindustānī Dictionary entitled *Thesaurus Linguæ Indianæ*. The Latin title of his dictionary goes against the identification. He left his MS. in the library of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide in 1704, as appears from a note by C. A. Fabronius, at that time Secretary of the Propaganda. This Dictionary was corrected by Father Cassiano

a Macerata, another Capuchin of the Tibetan Mission, as may be inferred from another note of Cardinal Borgia at the end of the same MS. Cf. Fr. Felix, O.M.C., in *The Franciscan Annals of India*, Nov., 1915, p. 416.

[While in Bengal, D. Fr. Eugenio Trigueiros, an Augustinian, composed a vocabulary containing "Names of things and medicines" in Portuguese and Hindustani or Persian. Born on Jan. 6, 1687, he left for the Missions of Bengal in 1715, and was Vicar of Our Lady of Guadelupe at Chittagong up to 1722; he governed for a time the See of Mylapore; in 1724 he became Bishop-elect of Uranopolis, and Coadjutor and successor of D. João de Casal, the Bishop of Macao, where he was consecrated in 1727. Cf. *Mitras Lusitanas*, 2a ed., Lisboa, 1897, by Padre Cas. Christ. de Nazareth, p. 248. One would expect, however, that a dictionary composed at Chittagong was a Bengali one.

[The Jesuits of Agra would have been the most likely persons in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to compile a Portuguese-Hindustānī dictionary. What encourages us to think that No. 32 was compiled by the Jesuits is that the Marsden collection contains so many linguistic works of the Jesuits in India, particularly of the Jesuits of Agra, and that Marsden appears to have made a regular haul, not only of the Jesuit letters addressed to the Provincial of Goa, but of the original MSS. of Jesuit vernacular works, copies of which might have been preserved by the Provincial, even after some of these works had appeared in print.

[I do not find any Portuguese-Hindustānī dictionary attributed to the Carmelite Missionaries of the Tatta Mission in Sind (seventeenth century). Cf. *Histoire de l'établissement de la Mission de Perse par les Pères Carmes Déchaussés* par le R. P. Berthold-Ignace de Sainte Anne, Bruxelles, 1885, where (App. B, p. 364 *seq.*) there is a summary bibliographical list taken from *Collectio Scriptorum O.C.E.*]

33. A Vocabulary, Portuguese and Bengali. Sm. 4to.

[Perhaps one of the three works by Frei Manoel da Assumpção, an Augustinian Missionary in Bengal, which were printed at Lisbon in 1743. In *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IX, 1914, Pt. I, pp. 40–63, I have described chiefly the Catechism, a copy of which is to be had in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XIII (July–Dec., 1916, pp. 68–9), I described summarily two copies of the same Friar's Vocabulary in

Bengali and Portuguese (British Museum, press-marks: 828 *a* 8, and G. 16, 741). It contains pp. xi, 592. First comes: Breve compendio da Grammatica Bengala: next, pp. 41–306: a Bengali-Portuguese vocabulary: next, pp. 307–578: a Portuguese-Bengali vocabulary. I have also published a photographic facsimile of the title-page and of pp. 532 and 533 of the Portuguese-Bengali vocabulary.

[Between 1671 and 1684 the Jesuits of the Goa Province organized a Mission among the Bengali converts of Don Antonio, son of the Raja of Busna. Father Marcos Antonio Santucci, S.J., the Superior of that Mission, wrote from Nolua Cot to the Provincial of Goa on January 3, 1683: "The Fathers [Ignatius Gomes, Manoel Sarayva, and himself] have not failed in their duty; they have learned the language well, have composed vocabularies, a grammar, a confessionary, and prayers: they have translated the Christian Doctrine [*Doutrina Christã* or Catechism], etc., nothing of which existed till now." Cf. *O Chronista de Tissuary*, Goa, Vol. II, 1867, p. 12, quoted in *Bengal: Past and Present*, IX, p. 46.]

Telinga, Tamul, Kanari.

34. A work in the Kanari language and character, on Religious subjects, and apparently composed by a Christian Missionary. Fol.

[On Jan. 6, 1916, Prof. Barnett, of the British Museum, sent me a memorandum drawn up by Mr. James Southwood, about books printed in India, mostly by the Jesuits. Among Mr. James Southwood's notes I find: "The *Jardim dos Pastores* [of Fr. Miguel de Almeida, S.J.] is in the Marsden library, King's College, London." Would not No. 34 be, therefore, de Almeida's *Jardim dos Pastores*, of which I have still in my possession, loaned by a friend on the Goa side, the first volume, one of five? Cf. my description of it in *The Examiner*, Bombay, July 22, 1922 (pp. 288-9); July 29 (pp. 297-8); Aug. 5 (pp. 308-9); Aug. 12 (pp. 318-19); Aug. 19 (pp. 326-8).

[Volume III of *Jardim dos Pastores* is noticed by Sommervogel as printed at Goa in 1658, and the number of leaves (fol. 270) tallies with that of a printed volume of vernacular sermons in the Public Library of Goa. Leaf 210*v* (*alias* leaf 211*r*, according to J. A. Ismael Gracias, who sent me a photograph of it) begins thus: "Pratica Pri- | meira pera o dia da festa do Apostolo Sam Pedro. Tratase de seus Milagres & excelencias. Apostola

Sam Pedrvche adivas sachy Paily Sicauanna. | Tacheam abhi- | nauâ acharianchy gostri quelea. Aicha duassa Aposto | lanchea siracamalla. Catholica Igrazeche . . ." |

[J. A. Ismael Gracias also describes in his *A Imprensa em Goa*, pp. 50–6, another volume of the series.

[It would be interesting to know whether the folio volume of the Marsden MSS. entered here under our No. 34 represents the five volumes of de Almeida's *Jardim dos Pastores*. If it does, an effort should be made on the Goa side to have the complete series republished. We need scarcely add that Konkanī is often spoken of in the old accounts as Kanarese.]

35. The Flower-garden of Knowledge. A Christian work in the Tamul language and character, preceded by a Calendar. Composed by an Ecclesiastic of the Madura Mission. Fol.

[The Fathers of the Madura Mission at our Theological Seminary, St. Mary's College, Kurseong, tell me that they do not know this work. MS. copies of it are perhaps to be found in the collection of MSS. kept at Trichinopoly, the Cathedral, by the Fathers of the Madura Mission. Or it is possible that the work is known on the Jaffna side by Father S. Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I., of Nallur: For the history of the Calendar cf. Rev. L. Besse, S.J., *Father Beschi* . . . . Trichinopoly, St. Joseph's Industrial School Press, 1918, pp. 203–8.]

36. Notizie del Madurey, e del Ingresso, Accrescimento, e Stato della Fede in quel regno, e negli altri contigui. Date in luce da Broglia Antonio Brandolini della C. di G. Missionario dell' istesso Madurey. (Written a few years later than 1717, as appears from a circumstance related at p. 381.)

[This title does not correspond to what Sommervogel (II. 86–7: VIII. 1917) gives, as published by Father Brandolini. Was the work perhaps written by another Madura Missionary? I do not find it under any other's name with the help of Fr. Pierre Bliard's Tables i.e. Sommervogel, Vol. X.]

37. A Book in the Kanara language and character, commencing with a salutation to *Iswara* and proceeding in the form of a dialogue between a *Guru* or Religious Teacher and his Disciple. Certain Crosses, however, denote it to be the work of a Roman Catholic Christian. Ito

"Dialogue between a Guru or Religious Teacher and his Disciple" could be the description of an ordinary Catechism.

We find a similar description of what appears to be a Catechism at No. 30.]

38. Vocabulario da lingoa Canerim do Norte concertado e acrecentado em 1664. Sm. 4to.

[Sommervogel has under Anthony de Saldanha, S.J. (VIII, 459-60): "Vocabulario de lingua Concanica." And de Leon Pinelo (I, 521) says of him: "Vocabulario copiosissimo de la Lengua Concanica, MS. que estaba para imprimirse, segun Sotuvèl [Sotwel, Southwell], fol. 81."

[Sommervogel also notes under Michael de Almeida, S.J., on the authority of Barbosa: "Diccionario da lingua Concanica composto pelo P. Diogo Ribeiro, S.J., addicionado": and on the authority of Southwell: "Vocabularium nostri Benedicti Pereiræ in linguam Concanicam conversum."

[See also Sommervogel under Diego Ribeiro (VI, 1759, 4. A): "Vocabulario da lingua Canarim. 1626," which shows that Canarim and Concani were used synonymously.]

39. Vocabulario Canarin vertido en Portuguesa. 4to.

[In case Canarin means Kanarese, and not Koṅkaṇī, this might be the work of Fr. Leo Cinnamo, S.J., who composed a Grammar and Dictionary of Canara. Cf. Sommervogel, II, 1188, A.]

40. Grammatica da lingua Bramana que corre na Ilha de Goa e sua comarca. (A Grammar of the Northern Kanari language, in Portuguese.) 4to.

41. Arte da lingoa Canarin. (In European characters.) Sm. 4to.

42. Arte da lingoa Canarin. Doutrina Christam em lingoa Bramana Canarin. 4to.

[For Nos. 40–2, compare with: "Grammatica da lingua Concani no dialecto do Norte, composto no seculo XVII por hum Missionario Portuguez: e agora pela primeira vez dada a estampa (por Joachim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara), Nova Goa, 1858."

[Compare also with: "Arte da lingoa Canarin," by Fr. Thomas Stephens, S.J., printed in 1640. Cf. Sommervogel, II, 169, 4. s.v., Busten, Thomas. The Doutrina Christam of No. 42 is perhaps again Fr. Th. Stephens' work.

[Compare still with: "Nous avons aussi la Grammaire et le Dictionnaire de la langue de ce pays, l'une et l'autre mis à la perfection par les PP. Manuel Rodriguez et Paul Iovio Italien, qui ont esté tres-bien entendus en ces langues." Cf. *Relation de*

ce qui s'est passé dans les Indes Orientales . . . par le P. Maracci, S.J., trad. par le P. Jacq. de Machault, Paris, 1651, p. 52. Quoted by Sommervogel, IV, 645.]

43. Arte Malavar, or Grammar of the Malabar (Grantham) language, explained in Portuguese. 4to.

[There is an *Ars Tamul* by Gaspar de Aguilar, S.J. (Sommervogel, I. 82, 1); an *Ars Tamulica* (1673) by Fr. Balthasar da Costa (Sommervogel, II, 1504, A): an *Ars linguæ Malabaricæ*, 158, by Fr. Henry Henriquez, S.J. (Sommervogel, IV, 276, 5); a *Grammatica et Vocabularium Tamulicum* by the same (ibid., IV, 276, 1), etc. Cf. Sommervogel, X, 975.]

44. Alphabetum Grandonico-Malabaricum sive Samscrudonicum. (Transcribed from the edition printed by the P.F. at Rome in 1772, by or for M. Court de Gebelin.) 8vo.

[This is: Alphabetum Grandonico-Malabaricum sive Samscrudonicum Romae MDCCLXXII. Typis Sac. Congregationis de Propag. Fide Præsidum Facultate.

[One leaf unnumbered: recto: dedication to Pope Clement XIV: pp. VI–XXVIII: introduction by Iohannes Christophorus Amaduccius: pp. 1–100: and 8 tables.

[The authorship of this Alphabetum does not belong to the Carmelite Fr. Paulinus a S. Bartholomæo, though in his *Alphabeta Indica*, Romæ, MDCCXCI, p. 3, he speaks of Fr. Clement of Jesus as his agent in Rome, and in his *Sidharubam seu Grammatica Samscrdamica*, p. 7, he writes: "Ultimum denique alphabetum est Samscrdamico Malabaricum nostrum anno 1772. Romæ typis S. Congregationis impressum." The preface by Amaducci was inspired by Fr. Clemens a Jesu. Cf. p. V of the *Alphabetum*. Paulinus came to India only in 1774.

[Amaducci, ibid., calls the author "Clemens Peanius Alexandrinus, Carmelita Excalceatus Provinciæ Pedemontanæ, qui per plures annos Apostolicæ Missioni Verapolensi operam dedit."]

45. Principio do Dereito q. tem el Rey de Portugal da Illa de Goa, a Cidade e mais Ilhas anexas c. Brades Salcete, com as Rendas q. todas Rẽdiaõ ate o anno 1595. Tirado do Tombo dos Contos de Goa q. fez o Provedor mor Francisco Paes p. Ordem del Rey. (Compiled in 1658.) Sm. 4to.

In 1910 we were altogether unable to discover how William Marsden became the owner of the MSS. "brought from the Archives of the

Romish Church in Goa". Sir E. Denison Ross has not succeeded either in making this point clear.

One point now strikes me. The last MS. we have quoted comes evidently from the Archives of the Estado at Goa. Now, there are in the British Museum thirty-nine volumes of documents which once were in the Library of the Marquess de Pombal, and which evidently have come from the Archives of the Estado at Goa. These will be found entered in the British Museum Catalogue under Nos. 20861–20900. It must also be clear that, when Pombal shipped off the Jesuit Missionaries from the dominions of Portugal in India and incarcerated them in Portugal, he confiscated all their Archives at Goa. Did he keep these archives in his own palace instead of depositing them in the Royal Archives? He seems to have done so with the Estado Archives now in the British Museum. If he did so in both cases, all the MSS. of which we have spoken might have come under the auctioneer's hammer after his death, and Marsden might have acquired in this manner both the Jesuit and the Estado Archives. Our surmise would amount almost to certainty if it were found that the British Museum MSS. 20861–20900 had been presented by Marsden. If I recollect well, Pombal ordered away from Goa at the same time as the Jesuit papers all the ecclesiastical and state archives of Goa. Both the churches and the State were expected to keep copies of their papers, but were given no time to do so.

This would not, however, explain how Colonel F. Wilford, of Benares, at the end of the eighteenth century had in his possession at least two of four manuscript works by Father Antonio Monserrate, S.J., which we should think had come from the Goa archives.[1] These were: Monserrate's History of his captivity in Arabia with Father Peter Paes: his account of the Geography and Natural History of Arabia; his History of the first Jesuit Mission to Akbar's Court: and his Geography and Natural History of India. A copy of the last work but one, though apparently different from the one used by Wilford, was found in Calcutta, and was published by us in 1914. The whereabouts of Wilford's MSS. by Monserrate are not known.

A worse fate, I believe, overtook the library of the Jesuits at Cochin on the capture of that city by the Dutch. "You must know," writes Tavernier, "that at the taking of Cochin the Jesuits had in

[1] I have in the press for the *J. A. S. Bengal* two papers on Monserrate: one, an extract from a letter of his of 1579, the other, a note on the two MSS. in Wilford's possession

that city one of the fairest libraries in all Asia, as well for the great quantity of books sent them out of Europe as for several rare manuscripts in the Hebrew, Chaldaic, Arabic, Persian, Indian, Chinese, and other Oriental languages. For in all the conquests of the Portugals their first care was to summon all the learned people of the several nations and to get all their books into their hands. During the little time the Jesuits were in Ethiopia they had copied out all the good books that came to their knowledge and sent all those books to Cochin. . . . But to tell ye what became of this library: General Van Goens made no conscience to expose it to the ignorance of his soldiers, so that I have seen the soldiers and seamen tear several of those beautiful volumes to light their tobacco." The "stately library"—described by Baldæus as connected with their college at Cranganore—was also utterly destroyed when the whole "city was plundered" and "laid level with the ground"; and thus the literary accumulations of more than a century were given over to wasting and destruction![1]

ST. JOSEPH'S COLLEGE, DARJEELING.
8th October, 1923.

As Sir E. Denison Ross was so kind as to send me the proofs of this article, I am able to add that some bibliographical notes on early Jesuit MSS. and prints referring to India will be found in my article "The discovery of the Vedas" (a translation of Professor Th. Zachariae's review of Professor W. Caland's "De ontdekkingsgeschiedenis van den Veda", Amsterdam, 1918, in *Göttingischen gelehrten Anzeigen*, 1921, Nos. 7–9), published in the *Journal of Indian History*, Allahabad University, 1923, No. 5.

Father C. Wessels, S.J., has published in *Studien*, 'sHertogenbosch-Antwerpen, May, 1922 (Deel xcvii) and July, 1922 (Deel xcviii), a paper on Pedro Paez (1621–2), which may prove of great assistance for a study on Almeida's *Historia de Ethiopia a Alta*.

None of the Telugu MSS. in the Marsden collection appears to be from Catholic Missionaries. Of late years, however, a considerable

[1] I take these last quotations from the Rev. Th. Whitehouse, *Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land*, London, 1873, p. 168. I doubt, however, the accuracy of Tavernier, in whose *Travels*, besides, I failed several times to trace the passage ascribed to him by Whitehouse. It is most unlikely that Ethiopic books were sent to Cochin, since the Ethiopic Missions were managed from Goa. One would expect that large consignments of the books in the libraries of the different Convents of Cochin were shipped to Holland about 1662–3. It is sure, however, that the Jesuits could not save their Cochin Archives. Father Fernão de Queyroz writes, I believe in his "Life of Brother Peter de Bastos", that the only thing saved from them was a MS. of that Life by the Provincial, Andrew Lopez.

number of Telugu Catholic MSS., some evidently the work of the French Jesuit Missionaries of the Carnatic (eighteenth century), have been discovered by Father J. Aelen, Jr., of the Mill Hill Mission.

He wrote to me from St. Joseph's Church, Nellore, Madras Presidency, on 4th February, 1923: "Yes, for several years it was my hobby to collect old Telugu Catholic MSS. I now have fifteen complete unpublished MSS., seven incomplete unpublished MSS., of which a few pages are lost; the names of about ten MSS. which I know to exist, but which I have not yet found. Many of the former are mentioned in your list in the *Catholic Directory*.[1] . . . Yes, I had an idea of publishing an article about all these MSS. in the *Catholic Directory*, but I was too late. I shall now print it and send a copy of it to all the priests. I have a press, and we are printing full speed: first, all the old books: then the unpublished MSS.

"I do not know whether I have found valuable MSS. I have two sets of Sanskrit slokas with Telugu meaning. But the most interesting find I had was a few verses about Christ. Looking afterwards in a Hindu book of poetry about Rama, I found that these verses about Christ were quite the same, with a few changes. I have only a few stanzas of that poem, and I am trying to get the others."

DARJEELING,
21st June, 1923

[1] Cf. my "First Steps towards our Bibliotheca Catholica Telingana", in *Catholic Directory*. Madras, 1918.

THE BUGHRA KHAN MENTIONED IN THE QUDATQU BILIK

By M. Barthold

IT is well known that the oldest existing complete literary work of a Mussulman Turk, the Qudatqu Bilik or Qutadghu Bilik, was composed in 462 H. (A.D. 1069-70) by Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Hājib, a native from Bālāsāghūn, on the River Chu, for a Khān residing in Kāshghar who is called "Mashriq Maliki Tabghach Khani Malik Bughra Khan" (King of the East, Khan of China, the King Bughra Khan), "Tabghach Qara Bughra Khanlar Khani" (the Chinese Qara Bughra, the Khan of Khans), "Tabghach Ulugh Bughra Khan" (the Chinese, the great Bughra Khan), even more simply "Ordukent Khani Beg" (the Khan of the court-town, that is Kashghar, the prince). The statements concerning the chronology of the Kashghar kings of the eleventh century are very vague and scanty, and are not supplied by numismatic evidence: therefore it is not an easy task to ascertain who was the king mentioned by Yūsuf. There can be no doubt that he belonged to the dynasty of the Ilek Khāns. The chief authority on the history of that dynasty has been for all Muhammedan and European scholars the great work of Ibn al-Athīr, especially the statements given under the year 408 H. We are told by Ibn al-Athīr that Arslān Khān, son of Qādir Khān Yūsuf, King of Kāshghar, Khotan, and Bālāsāghūn, was deposed by his brother Bughra Khān and taken prisoner: Bughrā Khān was some time later poisoned by his wife, who put to death Arslān Khān also, in 439 H. Bughrā Khān ruled only fifteen months and was succeeded by Ṭoghrul Khān, son of Yūsuf Qadir Khān (that is, by his brother), who ruled sixteen years (until 456 or 457). His son, Ṭoghrul-tagīn, was deposed after two months by "Hārūn Bughrā Khān, brother of Yūsuf Ṭoghrul Khān and son of Tafghāch Boghrā Khān" (?): Hārūn Bughrā Khān passed (*'abara*) Kāshghar, made Hārūn (? mistake for Ṭoghrul-tagīn) prisoner: the army of the latter submitted to him, and he took possession of Kāshghar, Khotan, and the neighbouring districts to Bālāsāghūn, where he reigned twenty-nine years and died in 496. These statements can, of course, not be quite correct: if Bughrā

Khān Hārūn was the brother of Toghrul Khān, he must have been a son of Yūsuf Qadir Khān, and is, in fact, called so by Ibn al-Athīr himself on the previous page. The reigns mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr, and said to have extended from 439 to 496 (fifty-seven years), do not cover all that time, but nearly ten years less. We know, indeed, from an earlier author, Abu-l-Faḍl Baihaqī,[1] that the first Bughrā Khān (called by Ibn al-Athīr Maḥmud) died not in 439 but in 449. Bughrā Khān Hārūn must have reigned in this case from 467 to 496, Toghrul Khān from 451 to 467: the Qudatqu Bilik, composed in 462, was therefore written in the reign of Toghrul Khān, but Bughrā Khān seems to have been a co-regent of his brother: Ibn al-Athīr speaks of the war made by the two brothers against Shams al-Mulk, Khān of Samarqand. Therefore it was quite natural to come to the conclusion that the Bughrā Khān mentioned by Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājib was Bughrā Khān Hārūn ibn Yūsuf, and such an opinion has been expressed in my article "Bughrā Khān" in the *Encyclopædia of Islām*.

But this opinion cannot be maintained after the discovery of another manuscript of the Qudatqu Bilik at Namangūn in Farghāna[2] (unfortunately it had already been lost again), where the Bughrā Khān, to whom the work has been dedicated, is called Abu 'Alī Ḥasan b. Sulaymān. It was, therefore, not a brother but a son of Arslān Khān Sulaymān. We find, indeed, such a name in the "Mulḥaqāt as-Surāḥ" of Jamāl Qorashī (or Qarshī),[3] who gives in his short sketch on the Ilek Khāns hardly any dates, but whose genealogical statements are more correct than the statement of Ibn al-Athīr: we are told in this work that the son of Sulaymān Arslān Khān and the father of that Aḥmed Arslān Khān, who, according to Ibn al-Athīr, defeated the Qarā Khitāy in 522, was Ḥasan Ṭafghāch Khān.[4] Therefore, this must be the Tafghach Khān or Bughrā Khān mentioned in the Qudatqu Bilik.

[1] Ta'rīkh-i-Baihaqī, ed. Morley, p. 230.

[2] Described by Wahidow (the discoverer) in the Russian *Zapiski vost. otd.*, etc., vol. xxii. The MS. has been mentioned by me in the *Enc. of Islām*, s.v. "Ilek Khāns".

[3] Judging by the words of the author himself (W. Barthold, Turkestan, etc., Texts, p. 140: وعرفى بالقرشى لذلك) the nisba قرشى is in this case not derived from Quraish (cf. *Zapiski*, etc., xi, 286), though the author speaks in his preface of himself as of a قرشى like the prophet.

[4] Turkestan, etc., Texts, p. 133 above.

In an official document dated Dhū l-Hijjah, 474 or 491 (that is, 2nd May, 1082, or 27th September, 1101; the document is somewhat injured just at that place, therefore it cannot be ascertained if سبعين or تسعين ought to be read), which was found in Yārkand,[1] the king who ruled at that time in Kāshghar is called Tafghāch Boghrā Qarā Khāqān Abu 'Ali Ḥasan, son of Sulaymān Arslān Qarā Khāqān. We give here the text and translation of the document by which the question who was the prince to whom the Qudatqu Bilik was dedicated is definitely settled, and the statements of Ibn al-Athīr are completely refuted.

TEXT[2]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم احمد الله واستغفره هذا كتب يشهد عليه الشيخ القاضى الامام ابو بكر محمد بن عبد الصمد بن اسمعيل البخارى سلّمه الله وابقاه فى مجلس حكمه وقضائه بكورة يار كنده وهو يومئذ قاضيها وحاكم اهلها ونواحيها من قبل الخاقان الاجلّ السيّد الملك المؤيّد المظفّر المنصور عزّ الدين مشيّد الدولة القاهرة وبرهان الملّة الباهرة وكهف الامّة الطاهرة غياث المسلمين ملك المشرق والصين طفغاج بغرا قرا خاقان ابى على الحسن بن سليمن ارسلان قرا خاقان مجتبى خليفة الله ولى وامير المومنين ومن قبل التكين الاجلّ السيّد عماد الدولة سداد الملّة جغرى تكين ابى موسى هرون بن ملك المشرق طفغاج بغرا قرا خاقان مولى امير المومنين اطال الله بقاهما واعزّ نصرهما انّه حضر مجلس

[1] See note at end.

[2] The tashdīd's and the greater part of the points have been added by me.

الحكم قبله بها فى غرّة ذى الحجّة سنة اربع وسبعين[1] واربعماية المسمّى بحاجى انال بن بولاد سوباسى قرا منذ انال وهو امرد قد طرّ شاربه شعرانى سبط الشعر تامّ القامة ادهم اللون ضخم اشهل ابلج واحضر بحضوره المسمّى هارون بن تغجخ وقد عرفهما معرفة صحيحة بالوجه والاسم والنسب وادّعى الذى حضر اوّلا على الذى احضره معه قطعة ارض فريدة موضعها برستاق يدعى بربل وهى من رساتيق كورة يركندة بحضرة مسجد ينسب الى اسحق الجلاّب وهى مبذّرة ثلثين وقر حنطة بعضها موات وبعضها صالحة للزراعة [بحدوده][2] الاربعة فالحدّ الاوّل لزيق ارض يوسف انال والثانى لزيق ساقية تنسب الى سوكمان بك والثالث لزيق ارض يوسف انال وله لرابع لزيف طريق العامّة ولزيق ارض جوبرز انال ولزيق نهر يدعى ازاك وذكر فى لفظ دعواه انّ جميع هذه الارض المحدودة فيه كانت ملكا لابيه المسمّى فيه ومات وتركها ميراث له ولغيره من ورثته والآن ملكهم وحقّهم وانّ هذا استولى عليها ظلما وجورا واجب عليه رفع يده عنها وتسليمها اليهم وهو يمتنع عن ذلك وسأل مسألته فسئل فانكر دعواه اصلا وجحد رأسا وزعم انّها ملكه وحقّه اشتراها من الغير بثمن معلوم ونقده الثمن وامر المدّعى باقامة

[1] Or تسعين

[2] Conjectural: original document damaged.

البنيّة على صحّة ما ادّعاه وتحقيق ما حكاه ان كانت له ذلك فاورد ثلثة نفر ذكرانهم شهودة فشهدوا له على صحّة ما يدّعيه وسال الاستماع الى شهادتهم ولاصغاء الى كلامهم وهم عبد الجليل جغرى سوباشى بن موسى بن املوك وابو بكر الشلاجى بن براق بن يربا وجبرئل وثاق باشى بن موسى بن بقجار فاستشهدهم عقيب اعادة الدعوى والانكار فشهد كلّ واحد منهم على التعاقب على موافقة الدعوى بحضرة المتنازعين شهادة صحيحة مستقيمة متّفقة اللفظ والمعنى لم يختلفوا فى شئ من ذلك فتفحّص عن حالهم فعدلوا وزكوا وظهرت عدالتهم وتوجّه الحكم على المشهود عليه واعلمه به وامره بايراد دفع او جرح ان كان له ذلك فعجز عنه عجزا ظاهرا بعد ما مكنه مدة مثله فعند ذلك التمس منه المدّعى ان يحكم له بما ادّعى فاستجار الله تعلى وساله العصمة عن الزيغ والزلل وحكم بكون الارض المحدودة فيه ملكا للمشهود له ولغيره من ورثة ابيه وامر المحكوم عليه بقصر يده عنها وتسليمها الى المحكوم له واطلق له الرجوع على بائعه بالثمن الذى نقده ثمّ انّ المحكوم له التمس منه اثبات ما صحّ عنده وثبت لديهِ فاجابه الى ملتمسه وامر بكتبة هذا الذكر لذكور حجّة له عند مساس الحاجة وذلك بتاريخ المورّخ فيه صدره

In a different hand and ink:—

يقول محمد بن عبد الصمد بن اسمعيل الحكم المذكور فيه
صدر عنّى والسجلّ كتب بامرى والسطر مع التوقيع خطّى

TRANSLATION [1]

In the name of God, the merciful: I praise God and implore his forgiveness.

This document is attested by the Shaykh, the Qāḍī and Imām Abu Bekr Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu 'ṣ-Ṣamad ibn Isma'īl al-Bukhārī—may God keep him alive and spare him—in his court of administration and justice, in the province of Yārkand, of which he was then the Qāḍī and the administrator of its inhabitants and [the inhabitants] of its districts, appointed by the most glorious Khāqān, the chief, the king aided [by God], the victorious, the triumphant, the glory of the faith, the fortifier of the powerful monarchy [i.e. the dynasty of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs], the proof of the excellent congregation, the asylum of refuge of the pure community, the help of Muslims, the king of the East and China, Tafghāch Bughrā Qarā Khāqān Abu 'Alī al-Ḥasan, son of Sulaymān Arslān Qarā Khāqān, the favourite of the representative of God [the 'Abbāsid Caliph], the friend of the commander of the faithful [the same], and [appointed also] by the most glorious Tagīn [prince], the chief, the pillar of the monarchy, the strength of the congregation, Chaghrī Tagīn Abu Mūsā Hārūn, the son of the king of the East Ṭafghāch Bughrā Qarā Khāqān,[2] the client of the commander of the faithful—may God spare both of them for a long time and honour them with his help. [The Qāḍī attests] that on the first of Dhū 'l-Ḥijja 474 [or 494] the [man] named Ḥājī Ināl, the son of Pūlād Sūbāshi Qara Band [or Yund] Ināl, appeared before him in the court of administration. He was [a man] yet beardless: his mustachios were just sprouting: was very hairy [about the body], possessed lank hair, had a perfect stature, dusky colour, bulky frame, eyes with a mixture of blueness with the eyebrows wide apart. He brought with him to his [the Qāḍī's] presence [a man] called Hārūn, son of Taghchakh. The Qāḍī already knew them both well by face, by name, and by parentage. [The man] who first appeared claimed against

[1] I have made use, with the permission of the translator himself, of the translation made by Sir E. Denison Ross.

[2] The *tagīn* was most probably the immediate ruler of Yārkand, under the supreme rule of his father, the Khāqān.

[the man] whom he had brought with him a single piece of land which was situated in the district called Rabul, one of the districts of the Yārkand province, facing the mosque ascribed to Ishāq al-Jallāb, producing thirty ass-loads of wheat and consisting both of barren tracts and tracts fit for agriculture, within its four boundaries: on the first side it touched the land of Yūsuf Ināl, on the second side the water-row ascribed to Sūkmān Beg, on the third side [again] the land of Yūsuf Ināl, on the fourth side the public road, the land of Jūbarz Ināl, and the canal called Azāk. He mentioned in the words of his petition that the whole of that land with the boundaries indicated above had been the property of his father named in the request: he [the father] died and left it as a heritage to him and other heirs, and now it was their property by right: [but] that man [the defendant] had taken possession of it by injustice and violence. It was obligatory to him [the defendant] to take his hand off from it and to deliver it to them [the heirs], but he refused to do so: he [the plaintiff] asked that he [the defendant] should be interrogated. He was interrogated: he wholly denied the charge, maintained a persistent denial, and pretended that it was his lawful property, which he had bought from another [person] at a known sum and had paid it in cash. The plaintiff was ordered to produce evidence, if he had any, to prove the soundness of his claim and the truth of his story. He produced three male witnesses, and they gave witness for the soundness of his claim: and he asked him [the Qāḍī] to hear their evidence and to listen to their words. They were: Abd al-Jalīl Chaghrī Sūbāshī, son of Mūsā, son of Amlūk: Abu Bekr ash-Shalājī, son of Burāq, son of Yarbā: Jibrail the military officer [*artuāq bashī*], son of Mūsā, son of Baghchār. He [the Qāḍī] let them give evidence after the claim and the denying had been repeated: every one of them gave evidence, one after another, in accordance with the claim, in presence of the two parties: it was a sound evidence, a right one, agreeing in words and meaning, with no contradictions whatever concerning that [the claim]. He [the Qāḍī] made inquiries concerning their characters: they proved to be competent and righteous [persons], and their competency as witnesses was demonstrated. The judgment was directed against the defendant: he [the Qāḍī] made it known to him [the defendant] and ordered him to produce a reply or a proof against the evidence if he was able to do so. His inability to do so became apparent, after the same time [as the plaintiff] had been allowed to him. At this stage the plaintiff prayed him [the Qāḍī] to deliver a judgment in accordance with his

claim. He [the Qāḍī] implored the aid of God, the most High, and asked of him protection from deviation and stumbling, and delivered judgment that the land with the boundaries indicated above should belong to the man in whose favour evidence had been given and to the other heirs of his father; and he ordered the man against whom judgment had been made to take his hand off from it [the land] and to deliver it over to the man for whom judgment had been made: and he gave him [the defendant] the right to claim from the seller of the land the return of the money which he had paid him. Afterwards the man for whom judgment had been made prayed him [the Qāḍī] to make a record of what appeared to be correct in his estimation and was demonstrated in his presence. He assented to his demand, and gave an order for the transcription of this record so that it might be a proof in case of need. This [was accomplished] on the date mentioned above.

In different hand and ink:—

Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu 's-Samad ibn Ismā'īl says: the judgment noted above has been delivered by me; the copy was written down by my order; the line with the signature are in my handwriting.

Note

The original of the document which is dealt with by Professor Barthold forms part of a collection of Arabic and Uighur legal papers which were discovered under a tree in a garden outside Yarkand in 1911. They were taken to the then Consul-General in Kashghar, Sir George Macartney, who forwarded them to the Government of India. The documents are now in the keeping of the Director-General of Archæology in India. I have, however, a set of photographs in my possession.

There are fifteen documents or fragments in all. Seven are in Arabic, five are in Turki in Arabic character, and three are in Turki in Uighur character.

The Arabic documents are signed or witnessed in Arabic with the exception of one, which bears witnesses' signatures in Uighur script. Most of the documents are dated, the earliest being A.H. 474 and the latest A.H. 529, that is to say, they all belong to the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century of our era. Special interest attaches to the Turki documents, in that they represent the period at which both the Uighur and the Arabic alphabets were being used interchangeably for writing Turki.—E. Denison Ross.

THE "ARTE DE LINGOA CANARI", THE "DOUTRINA CHRISTAM", AND THE "ADI" AND "DEVA PURAN" OF THOMAS STEVENS

By JUSTIN E. ABBOTT

AMONG the manuscripts of the William Marsden Collection, to which Sir E. Denison Ross has called the attention of scholars, by reproducing the entries of William Marsden (see the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. II, Pt. III, "The Manuscripts collected by William Marsden"), there are five with titles indicating their language as "Canari", "Canarim", or "Canarin" (p. 537), one as "Bramana Canarim" (p. 537), one as "Hindustani", and two as "Mahratta" (p. 535).

In the *Bulletin* (Vol. II, Part IV, p. 682) I have called attention to the language of these manuscripts, and pointed out that by "Canarim" and "Hindustani" the Marāṭhi, or the Konkaṇi dialect of the Marāṭhi, is probably meant, but a more detailed discussion of the subject seems desirable, as I have had another opportunity of examining these MSS.

From all evidences that have now become available, it seems clear that Thomas Stevens, the first Englishman to make his home in India, was also the first European to have taken a scholarly interest in any of the vernaculars of India. Fransiscan Friars had accompanied the Portuguese Commander, Cabral, in his expedition to India in 1500, two years after Vasco da Gama had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and discovered the Eastern passage to India (1498). I find no evidence that these Friars had any scholarly interest in the vernaculars of the people along the western coast. In 1542 St. Francis Xavier arrived in India, and the labours of the "Companhia de Iesus" began in Goa and vicinity. In 1560 the inquisition was established at Goa. Portuguese interest in the vernaculars of India was a destructive interest, and vernacular literature is said to have been burnt as the "work of the devil". Up to the time, therefore, of Thomas Stevens' arrival in Goa, in 1579, there appears no evidence of any interest whatever in the language of the people among whom the Jesuit missionaries worked. To Thomas Stevens, an Englishman, belongs, then, the honour of being the first European to exhibit a scholarly interest in the vernaculars, and to successfully inspire his fellow missionaries to follow in his footsteps.

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I would again call special attention to a work that appears to be

little known to present-day scholars, but which evidently is the original fountain-head of information regarding Thomas Stevens and his literary contemporaries. I refer to the Latin work *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Iesu*, which passed through three editions. It was first printed by Petro Rebadeneira in 1602: continued in 1642 by Philippo Alegambe, and again in 1675 by Nathanaele Satvello. A copy of the edition printed in 1675 I found in the Bibliotheca de Ajuda at Lisbon. It is on this work that the *Bibliotheca Lusitana* by Diogo Barbosa Michado, 1752, is founded, and directly or indirectly the *Diccionario Bibliographico Portuguez*, by I. F. Da Silva, published in Lisbon, 1872, and also the more recent catalogue, in French, of Jesuit literature, which has also passed through several editions. The title of the last edition of 1891 is as follows: "Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus, Première Partie Bibliographie par les Pères Augustin et Aloys de Backer. Seconde Partie, Histoire par le Père Auguste Carayon. Nouvelle edition par Carlos Sommervogel S. J. Strasbourgeois, Publie par la Province de Belgique, MDCCCXCI." [1]

It is from these later compilations that the modern biographical encyclopedias seem to obtain their information of Thomas Stevens, but the fountain-head, recognized or unrecognized, is the above-mentioned Latin work, the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Iesu*, Rome, 1602, 1642, 1675. This work is the earliest authority both for the chief facts in Thomas Stevens' life, and for his authorship of the "*Grammaticam Linguade Canarinæ*", the "*Doctrinam Christianam*", and the "*Puran*".

(*A*) THE USE OF THE TERMS "CANARI, CANARIM, AND CANARIN"

I turn first to the discussion of the terms "Canari", "Canarim", "Canarin", "Bramana-Canarim", "Hindustani", and "Mahratta", as used in William Marsden's list to designate the language of Thomas Stevens' works and those of his contemporaries, Antoine Saldanha and Gaspar de Miguel, exemplars of whose works I discovered in the library of the School of Oriental Studies.

In the British Museum there is a copy of a book in Portuguese entitled:—

> Grammatica da Lingua Concani Composta pelo Padre Thomaz Estevao e accrescentada par outros Padres da Companhia de

[1] In this and other French biographical dictionaries Thomas Stevens is not to be looked for under the name "Stevens" but "Buston", as he was apparently once known as Thomas Stevens de Busten, de Buston, and even de Bubsten, from some town in Wiltshire, England where he is believed to have been born

Jesus Secunda Impressao correcta e annotada a que Precede como Introduccão Geographica das Principaes Linguas da India par Sir Erskine Perry e o Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concani Pelo Editor, Nova Goa na Impressa Nacional 1857.

The editor of this second edition of 1857 was J. H. da Cunha Rivara. The contents of this second edition are :—

(*a*) Introduccão Geographica das Principaes Linguas da India par Sir Erskine Perry. (Geographical Introduction to the Principal Languages of India, by Sir Erskine Perry.)

(*b*) Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concani Pelo Editor. (Historical Essay on the Konkani Language by the Editor, J. H. Cunha Rivara.)

(*c*) A reprint of the first edition of Thomas Stevens' "Arte da Lingoa Canarim" of 1640.

The title of this third section (*c*) is the same as that of the 1640 edition of the "Arte da Lingoa Canarim", with slight verbal changes. It reads :—

"Arte da Lingoa Canarim composta pelo Padre Thomaz Estevao da Companhia de Jesus e acrescentada pelo Padre Ribeiro da mesma Companhia e novamente revista par quatro Padres da Companhia."

The title page of the first printed edition of 1640, a copy of which exists in the library of the School of Oriental Studies, in the Bibliotheca National Lisbon, and in the Bibliotheca Publica de Evora, is, however, as follows :—

"Jesus Maria Arte da Lingoa Canarim composta pelo Padre Thomaz Estevao da Companhia de Iesus & acrecentada pello Padre Diogo Ribeiro da mesma Companhia e novamente revista & emendada par outros quatro Padres da mesma Companhia

I. H. S. Com Licenca da S. Inquisicam & Ordinario em Rachol no Collegio de S. Ignacio da Companhia de Iesu. Anno de 1640."

A manuscript copy of Thomas Stevens' *Arte da Lingoa Canari*, of which this 1640 edition is the enlargement by Padre Ribeiro, is in the library of the School of Oriental Studies.

It is to be noticed that in the title page of the 1857 edition, the work is called "Grammatica da Lingua Concani Composta pelo Padre Thomaz Estevao", etc. The title to section (*c*) is "Arte da Lingoa Canarim composta pelo Padre Thomaz Estevao", etc. It is thus evident that the editor of the 1857 edition designedly

used the word "Concani" instead of "Canarim" to designate the same language, because the use of the name "Canarim" no longer signified the dialect of the Marāthi which we now call the "Konkani". When Thomas Stevens wrote his *Arte da Lingoa Canari*, it is evident he meant by "Canari" what we now term "Konkaṇi".

To have the above fact understood is important, because the other MSS. and books in the possession of the School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, London, catalogued by William Marsden, as in the "Canari" or "Canarim" language, are not to be mistaken as being in what we now call the "Kānarese", i.e. the Dravidian language to the south of Goa. They are all in the Marāṭhi, with doubtless more or less "Konkaṇi" elements.

These manuscripts which Sir E. Denison Ross has made available to scholars by his publication in the *Bulletin* (Vol. II, Pt. III, pp. 535 and 537) of the entries made on them by Wm. Marsden are the following:—

1. "Vocabulario da lingoa Canarim de Norte conertade e acrecentade en 1664" (p. 537). This is a Portuguese-Marāṭhi vocabulary.

2. "Vocabulario Canarin Vertido en Portuguesa" (p. 537).

3. "Grammatica Lingoa Bramana que corre na Ilha de Goa e sua comarca" (p. 537) (see p. 682 of my article in *Bulletin*, Vol. II, Part IV).

4. "Arte da Lingoa Canari" (p. 537). This grammar of Marāthi, composed by Thomas Stevens, is the one I believe to have been enlarged by Diogo Ribeiro, and printed in 1640.

5. "Arte da Lingoa Canarin. Doutrina Christam en lingoa Bramana Canarin" (p. 537).

In all of the above titles the words "Canari", "Canarim", or "Bramana" are to be understood as Marāthi, with doubtless "Konkaṇi" elements.

The following list of manuscripts designated as either in "Marāṭhi" or "Hindustāni" are also in Marāṭhi or Konkaṇi-Marāṭhi:—

1. The "Adi or First Puran, a Christian work in the Mahratta language and Nagri character" (p. 535). This appears to be in the pure Marāṭhi of that date.

2. The "Deva Puran, or Divine History, a Christian work in the Mahratta language and Nagri character" (p. 535). This appears to be in the pure Marāṭhi of that date.

3. "A Christian work in the Mahratta language and Nagri character, containing instructions for the knowledge of the Universal Lord, prayers, invocations, and a catechism." This is in Marāṭhi, and the manuscript is in the very same handwriting as that of the MS. of the Adi Purāna.

4. "Fruitos de Arvore da Vida. Traduzido e composto pello P. Antonio de Saldanha, in the 'Hindustani' language and European character" (p. 535). This is in Marāthi.

5. The MS. entitled "A Book in the Kanari language and character, commencing with a salutation to Iswara, and proceeding in the form of a dialogue between a Guru or religious teacher and his disciple" (p. 537). Being in the Kanarese character, with which I am not familiar, I do not know whether the language is in the Dravidian Kanarese or whether the "Kanari" is equivalent to the "Canari" or Konkani. It would appear to be the same work as that given above (No. 3), "A Christian work in the Mahratta language and Nagri character, containing instructions, etc.," but in Kanarese character instead of Roman or Devanāgari.

(*B*) The Relation of the MS. "Arte da Lingoa Canari" to the First Printed Edition of 1640

Returning now to the first edition of 1640, of "Arte da Lingoa Canarim, by Thomas Stevens", it is evident from the title of this edition that it was the "Arte da Lingoa Canari", composed by Thomas Stevens, that was enlarged (acrecentada) by Padre Diogo Ribeiro, and newly revised (revista) and amended (emendada) by other four padres of the same "Companhia de Jesus". A comparison of the MS. copy of "Arte da Lingoa Canari" (No. 1 above, p. 162) in the possession of the School of Oriental Studies, with the printed copy of 1640, makes this quite clear. The same nouns are used to illustrate declensions, and the same verbs to illustrate conjugations, and often the same descriptive words are used, so that in all probability in this MS. we have the original text of Thomas Stevens' "Arte da Lingoa Canari".

(*C*) The Original Texts of Thomas Stevens' Three Works

If I am correct in my theory, the following, then, are the original texts of Thomas Stevens' works, and they are without doubt the works referred to in the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Iesu*, Rome, 1642, 1675:

(1) The text of the MS. "Doutrina Christam" in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. (724 Indien 78, Doctrine chrétienne in canarin de Goa et en portuguese.)

(2) The text of the MS. "Arte da Lingoa Canari", in the School of Oriental Studies, which was made the foundation of Padre Diogo Ribeiro's enlarged printed edition of 1640.

(3) The text of the "Adi Puran" and "Deva Puran in the Devanāgari character", also in the School of Oriental Studies. This manuscript is in two volumes. The handwritings are of different scribes. The scribes were expert copyists, Indian, not European. The language, as I have already shown in the *Bulletin* (Vol. II, Part IV, p. 680), is a superior Marāthi to that of the text of the "Christian Puranna", Mangalore edition of 1907.

The possession of this original Devanāgari text makes it evident why Thomas Stevens speaks of his Purāṇa as composed in "Marathi", and not "Canari", as he does of his other works. J. L. Saldanha (*Christian Puranna*, p. lxxvii) has already called attention to this use of terms in Thomas Stevens' works. He says: "It only remains to be added that Fr. Stephens never once makes use of the term 'Canarin' in speaking of the language of the Puranna, while his grammar of the Konkani language is distinctly entitled by him 'Arte da Lingua Canarim'. The Devanāgari text now makes it clear that in the 'Adi' and 'Deva Puran' he employed the pure Marāṭhi, and not the dialect of the Konkaṇi. Thomas Stevens knew pure Marāṭhi. He must have known Sanskṛit more or less. His Purāṇa shows intimate acquaintance with Marāṭhi literature, on which he has modelled it. He was a contemporary of Eknāth (1548–1609), and the *Dnyāneswari* of Dnyānadeva (1290) and the works of other poet-saints, past and contemporary, were available. A critical study of the Devanāgari text of his Purāṇa would perhaps yield some evidence of familiarity with special Marāṭhi poets. He knew not only pure Marāṭhi, he knew also the common form of the language, spoken in Goa and vicinity, and called 'Canari' or 'Canarim'. His 'Arte da lingoa Canari' seems to be that of the Konkaṇi form of Marāṭhi, and therefore called by him 'Canari'. His Purāṇa is in the Marāṭhi, learned of Brahman Pandits, and in speaking of the language he uses in it, he calls it therefore 'Marāthi', and not 'Canari'" (see *Christian Puranna*, Anusaru 59, 118, and the same verse in the Devanāgari MS., Deva Purāṇa, 58, 118).

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

HINDU GODS AND HEROES: STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE RELIGION OF INDIA. By LIONEL D. BARNETT. The Wisdom of the East Series. 120 pp. London: John Murray, 1922.

This little volume sums up the main contents of the Forlong Bequest lectures delivered by its author at the School of Oriental Studies during March, 1922. Despite its rather unpretentious proportions, it deserves, on account of the entirely new ideas laid down in it and the remarkable amount of learning and ability with which they are propounded, the greatest attention from all students who take an interest in the vast and fascinating problems presented by Hindu religion in its various aspects.

The author lays down in the preface, as his general view, "that the religion of the Aryans of India was essentially a worship of spirits," and that he is himself "a heretic in relation to both the Solar Theory and the Vegetation Theory, as everyone must be who takes the trouble to study Hindu nature without prejudice". The present writer wishes to take this early opportunity of expressing his adherence in the main—though, perhaps, not quite unreservedly—to this fundamental thesis of Dr. Barnett; but it may be easily premised that opposition to it will be both extensive and of a somewhat violent nature. A certain set of scholars will oppose themselves most vehemently to any infringement on the Solar Theory—or rather the Lunar, seeing that to some minds the moon may form the basis of any religious conception, however far-fetched such a derivation may appear to the uninitiated—and moreover the Vegetation Theory, although the extension of it to India has ever rested on a somewhat tottering foundation, has proved a great lure even to the most clear-sighted and scholarly minds, as has recently been shown by some rather amazing theories on the origin of Hindu drama. But in spite of this, the present writer has little doubt that the point of view advocated by Dr. Barnett will, perhaps, prove more of a clue for solving the riddles of the Hindu pantheon than any one hitherto proposed.

Dr. Barnett leads us through the various stages of development of Hindu religion, from the oldest one to the formation of religious ideas in our own days, and it may well be said at once that he through-

out proves himself to be the most reliable and illuminative of guides. One cannot withhold the greatest admiration in following the very clear and instructive outlines drawn up by a singularly clear-reasoning mind, and extricated with the help of a most profound learning from the bewildering mass of available documents, most of them presenting great difficulties in interpretation, and apparently teeming with abstruse and contradictory statements.

Vedic religion seems hitherto to have presented the greatest attraction to European scholars, the difficult and often enigmatic language of its textbooks opening a wide field for more or less bold and ingenious conjectures. But though the Brahmin authors of these texts were mainly Aryan and less tainted by an infusion of aboriginal blood than the following generations of Hindu saints and scholars, and though the oldest of those venerable documents do undoubtedly belong to the extreme North-West, it cannot be strongly enough emphasized that they are the results of Indian thought, not Indo-European or something else as vague and hazy as that, and that Vedic religion cannot be treated as an isolated phenomenon with little or no connexion with the subsequent religious development of the Indian continent. Nor must the Rigveda remain our single or even our main source of information, however important this "Bible of India" may prove to be: for its authors and their audience belonged almost exclusively to the upper classes, who seem to have consciously neglected more popular religious conceptions, even if they were, to some degree at least, familiar with them.

It appears to the present writer that scarcely anywhere has the notion of this connexion of the past with the future in Hindu religion been more clearly emphasized than in this excellent little book. When one considers the entire development of this religion as it presents itself to the author, one feels convinced that he has succeeded in establishing a series of uninterrupted religious ideas, continuously changing in their exterior forms, but internally remaining practically the same. And this, if anything, would make us believe that his success is, if not a final, at least a very remarkable one.

Lack of space forbids one to enter into details, and I shall only try to point out quite perfunctorily some of the questions which seem to be of the greatest interest and sometimes also, perhaps, in need of further discussion. The subject being such an extremely vast one, it goes without saying that no discussion whatsoever of these absorbingly interesting problems can be entered upon here.

In the middle of the pantheon of the Vedas, some gods stand out in overwhelming greatness: Mitra and Varuṇa, the upholders of right and justice, the protectors of the established order of the Cosmos: Indra, the burly warrior-god and representative of the Kshattriyas, whose drinking bouts and intrepid assaults on the demons are alike famous: Agni and Soma, the special gods of the Brahmin ritualists; the Aśvins, the mighty helpers in need and physicians of gods and men. Besides them, a rather unimportant place is assigned in the Rigveda to the gods who are destined later on to become the all-absorbing head-figures of Hindu religion, Vishṇu and Rudra-Śiva: but already in the later Vedic texts they have risen to a dominant position, and they may well have been mighty enough earlier, though perhaps not considered quite fashionable by the Brahmin poets of old.

Of all these figures, Mitra and Varuṇa present perhaps the greatest difficulties of interpretation, and the author willingly admits that he has not succeeded in solving their riddle. It may be that a solution will never be found: anyhow, it seems to me essentially correct to think, as the author does, that nothing in the line of natural phenomena can reasonably be claimed as the basis of their complicate and mysterious nature. The author says nothing about their supposed foreign origin: whether that theory is to be wholly discarded perhaps remains a matter of doubt: anyhow, it has scarcely proved to be of any essential help for obtaining a clearer view into their secret.

As for Indra, the boisterous and finally successful rival of Varuṇa, there seems to be no essential difficulty in the way of accepting the theory propounded here that he was originally a warrior-king of famous exploits who later on became deified. A similar hypothesis has recently been put forward by Professor Konow,[1] who even tries to localize some of the warlike deeds of the great Soma-drinker. Future investigation may invalidate or, as I rather believe, corroborate this theory: but it certainly gives us a somewhat more substantial substratum for this exceptionally human figure, the hero of innumerable battles, revelries, and amorous adventures, than the somewhat hazy conception of a deified thunderstorm or the personified heat of the Indian summer. As for the Aśvins, already the Aitihāsikas, the Indian forerunners of Euhemeros, believed them to have been two kings of yore, and it appears to the present writer that they were

[1] Cf. *Royal Frederik University, Christiania, Publications of the Indian Institute*, 1, 1. *The Aryan Gods of the Mitani People* (1921).

mainly right. They certainly present features closely parallel to those of the Dioskouroi, and perhaps also some other twin deities of European nations: but if the somewhat enigmatic expression of Dr. Barnett (on p. 37) should really mean that they were of common origin, I shall venture for once to disagree, as we had perhaps better abstain from suggesting the existence of these gods in a still earlier period.

When Dr. Barnett thinks Vishṇu to be the spirit of sacrifice, I can only heartily agree with him,[1] though there may, perhaps, be still other constituents to be found in the nature of this mysterious god already at a very early stage of his existence.

It would be most tempting to follow the author through his extremely fascinating exposition of Hindu religion in later ages, his masterly treatment of the origin and growth of the worship of Kṛishṇa and Rāma, etc., but this cannot be done here. I may only be allowed once more to emphasize that this book should be read and carefully taken into consideration by every student who busies himself with Hindu religion; and it will certainly prove to be of great interest and value also to all readers who have a general interest in the development of human thought and creed.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

YORUBA GRAMMAR. By DE GAYE & BEECROFT. YORUBA COMPOSITION. By DE GAYE & BEECROFT. Kegan Paul, London. C.M.S. Bookshop, Lagos. 3*s*. 6*d*. net each.

These two little books are admirably designed, and it can safely be said that the student who masters the details set out will have a satisfactory idea of the written language. How it will fare with him when, having studied his book, he finds himself face to face with the spoken language, we do not know. The writing of Yoruba is not a satisfactory business, and it is time that Yoruba scholars should apply modern scientific methods of linguistic analysis to the language and modify the orthography in accordance with their discoveries. All early instruction in Yoruba, as in any other language, should be carried out on phonetic lines, for it is the spoken language that is of importance. It is easy to *see* the difference between bá and bà; what is difficult is to *hear* the difference, and to *make* the difference so that there can be

[1] A similar theory was put forward by Johansson already some years ago (cf. *Solfågeln i Indien*, Upsala, 1910).

no doubt in the native Yoruba's mind as to which word we intend to say.

But in these two little books, which contain so much that is valuable and which give evidence of so much trouble, the spoken language is dismissed in a page. The description of the vowel sounds is not accurate; *e* in Yoruba is a pure vowel, whereas "*a* in *hay*" (outside parts of Scotland and Wales) is a diphthong. Yoruba *i* has the value of the sound known to phoneticians as cardinal *i* (i.e. of French *i*), not the value of *i* in English *famine*. Nowhere is it made clear that Yoruba possesses four nasalized vowels, and that every vowel in the vicinity of a nasalized consonant becomes nasalized by assimilation. Possibly, it is the idea of the nasalized vowel that leads the authors to say that "all verbs end in a vowel or the nasal *n*". No words in the spoken language end in the *n* sound; those that are written as ending in *n* are pronounced as ending in a nasalized vowel. The remarks upon the long vowels do not coincide with recent observations carried out in this department. There is no inherent length in the low tone; *bí* is as long as *bà*. For the relationship of tone and length see the article on Tones of Yoruba in the present number of the *Bulletin*.

It is hardly correct to say that the vowels when used as direct objects are always short. The vowels are not used as direct objects, but the 3rd person singular pronoun direct object is expressed by lengthening the vowel of the verb. The tone that the verb bears when thus lengthened depends upon its inherent tone. More information would be welcome on the tones. It is not clear what is meant by saying that "the circumflex accent is placed on a vowel to represent a double sound". The accent seems to be used indiscriminately in the written language for any tone that does not coincide with the three tones generally recognized. The truth, of course, is that there are more than three tones in Yoruba.

In conclusion, we must repeat, in justice to the authors, that they have done a good work on orthodox lines. Recent investigations into the phonetic structure of Yoruba have brought new features to light, and Yoruba scholars should consider the question of modifying their orthography accordingly. Whatever knowledge is to be gained from the study of African languages will come, not from the study of the European orthography of those languages, but from the study of the living tongues.

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ISLAMISME CONTRE "NATURISME" AU SOUDAN FRANÇAIS. ESSAI DE PSYCHOLOGIE POLITIQUE COLONIALE. Par J. BRÉVIÉ. Administrateur en Chef des Colonies, Directeur des Affaires Politiques et Administratives du Gouvernement Général de l'Afrique Occidentale française. Préface de Maurice Delafosse, Ancien Gouverneur des Colonies, Professeur à l'École coloniale et à l'École des langues orientales vivantes. Paris: Éditions Ernest Leroux, 1923.

M. Brévié uses the term "Naturisme" to denote the type of culture which M. Delafosse (as he points out in his preface) prefers to call "animisme", and which gives rise to such phenomena as totemism and what is covered by the different interpretations given to the term "fetishism". The latter, indeed, appears to be used by M. Brévié as a synonym for "naturisme", and it is, perhaps, as convenient a term as any other for designating the beliefs of the non-Islamic population in the Sudan. As here employed, it might be understood to suggest a coherent body of doctrine, as opposed to Islam on the one hand and Christianity on the other, but a little attention to the context will suffice to guard against any such implication.

The Introduction contains numerous illustrations, largely first-hand matter, of totemistic and other beliefs and practices among the Malinke, Bambara, Lobi, etc. M. Brévié's main thesis is that Islam, except where imposed by force, has made very little way among the West African populations, and that everywhere its hold over them is but slight. He appears to have made out his case as far as these are concerned: but the theory of *l'imperméabilité des religions*, which his arguments go to support, is certainly ridden to death. He is at some pains to show that Christianity and Islam are only apparent exceptions to the rule that no people ever really adopts a religion introduced from outside: and he takes no notice of Buddhism beyond a bare mention in the preamble to his survey.

M. Brévié maintains that by far the greater number of West African natives who call themselves Moslems have very little notion of what is really involved in the creed they profess, and that where outside pressure is removed, or no social advantages are involved, they readily revert to "naturist" practices. The influence of the *marabouts* is said to be declining, even in avowedly Moslem areas, and the attendance at the Koran schools is steadily decreasing: though it must be owned that the figures given on p. 215 do not in all cases seem to support the author's conclusions. He argues that the educational policy pursued for many years by the French authorities—based on the mistaken

assumption that conditions in Senegal, Guinea, and the Sudan were similar to those in Algeria—involved a grave injustice to the non-Moslem population, and advocates the recognition of "fetishist" institutions, i.e. native customary law and the jurisdiction of the chiefs and their councils. This principle is thoroughly sound, and is receiving increased recognition in our own colonial administration. He sketches out an educational policy on similar lines, following rather than running counter to the tendencies of native tradition :—

"Les rites et les mythes eux-mêmes devront être respectés ; loin de les discréditer nos instituteurs en dégageront les concepts moraux et civiques qu'ils contiennent. Ne serait-ce pas un crime de détruire nos vieilles légendes françaises si naïves et si fraîches ? Protégeons de même le vieux folk-lore africain. Il procurera à notre enseignement d'étonnantes ressources. La religion du foyer fournira de touchants exemples de vertu familiale, d'attachement à la patrie, de respect aux vieillards. Le totémisme fera apparaître l'idée d'entr'aide mutuelle, de solidarité ; la société mystique celle d'obéissance nécessaire aux lois, de discipline acceptée, de désintéressement, de sacrifice consenti par l'individu au profit de la société. N'y a-t-il pas là tous les éléments nécessaires à une morale sociale ? Ne seront-ils pas mieux adaptés à la mentalité des élèves que ceux qui proviennent de manuels composés pour de jeunes Français ?"

The hints here given (see especially pp. 299-306) with regard to technical education and other matters are well worth consideration in other regions besides those to which they immediately apply. M. Brévié's remarks on the value of the alphabet as an instrument of culture, however, seem to us (though just, on the whole) to overstate his case and ignore the very real influence of tribal tradition. A more important ground of controversy arises from the fact that the author is disposed to undervalue the force of the religious instinct in human nature. He regards it as a kind of disease, incident to adolescence, which can be avoided by a judicious system of education : "il faut lui éviter cette maladie de jeunesse qu'est, pour tout organisme social en voie de formation, la phase religieuse."

One criticism which might occur to the unbiassed reader, as regards the main thesis of the book, is that—while it is no doubt true that *collective* adhesions to Islam have been the result of *force majeure* and other material considerations—this religion has certainly in many cases appealed to the more thoughtful and developed native mind. And M. Brévié seems to admit as much : "L'objectif est de supprimer

radicalement dans le naturisme la propension mystique par quoi il se rapprochera toujours davantage de l'Islam lorsqu'il aura rompu les fortes attaches ethniques qui le retiennent encore à ses traditions."

It will be seen that M. Brévié's 314 pages contain no small amount of controversial matter, which is not only extremely interesting in itself but suggestive of much fruitful discussion.

A. WERNER.

SRI HARSHA OF KANAUJ. By K. M. PANIKKAR, B.A. (Oxon.). 8vo, pp. i + i + 82. Bombay, 1922.

KṢATRIYA CLANS IN BUDDHIST INDIA. By BIMALA CHARAN LAW, M.A., B.L. 8vo, pp. ii + viii + 218, 3 plates. Calcutta, 1922.

Most of us have met matrons whose virtue we readily admit, but who inspire us with a vague feeling of wonderment that any men could admire them enough to marry them. Without wishing to press the analogy too closely, we must confess that the merits of Professor Panikkar's work, which bears the ambitious sub-title of "A monograph on the history of India in the first half of the seventh century A.D.", do not seem to us sufficient to justify its publication. The author has certainly made full use of the slender materials available for the history of Harṣa, and his account is on main points orthodox and unsensational. But of real research or original thinking there is no trace, and the only novelty in the book is a swarm of misprints, such as "Bnir Kampa", "Nittanta", "Samdhi Vigrahadhikula", and "Kumara Malivas", while the statement that Harṣa "seems to have been unmarried" (p. 28) shows a singular defect of vision. It is perhaps not too harsh a judgment on the book to say that it is thin and slipshod.

Mr. Law's work, more modest in scope, is technically better, and will prove much more useful. He has collected all the available references to the Licchavis, Vidēhas, Mallas, Śākyas, and minor clans, and endeavoured to combine them into coherent pictures of their culture and political condition. Sometimes, it must be confessed, his pictures seem to us to lack something of historical reality, and he occasionally repeats himself needlessly. The work is that of a young man who has still to learn something of historical criticism and technique; but it is promising.

L. D. B.

HISTORY OF JAHANGIR. By BENI PRASAD, M.A. With foreword by SHAFAAT AHMAD KHAN, Litt.D. (Allahabad University Studies in History, Vol. I.) 8vo, pp. xviii + ii + 501, 2 plates. Oxford University Press: Madras printed, 1922.

A history of Jahāngīr is a story without a hero. For, in spite of his handsome face and fine person, there was nothing heroic about him. He was an abject drunkard and sensualist. His conduct towards Akbar was abominable: and the justice of history decreed that as he had dealt with his father, so his son should deal with him. Naturally infirm of purpose, he sank through vice and sensuality into a state of mental paralysis that repeatedly threatened his empire with grave peril. Even his love for Nūr Jahān, one of the best traits in his character, often wrought harm to the state, leading him to surrender himself to her will and to allow full play to her bold and dangerous policies. He utterly failed to secure the empire on the side of the North-West, and of his long series of campaigns against his rivals in the Dekhan Mr. Beni Prasad truly says that "with the exception of two or three brilliant interludes associated with the names of Shah Jahan and Mahabat Khan, they had on the whole been grossly mismanaged. The most distressing and disreputable features were the corruption and the mutual dissensions of the Mughal officers. The struggle cost thousands of lives and millions of rupees, and brought at last no accession of territory or prestige to the empire". But withal Jahāngīr was something more than a magnificent and extravagant *roi fainéant*. He had considerable native good sense and a genuine love of justice, and, on the whole, he was fairly successful in making the clumsy and inefficient machinery of government work for the welfare of the people at large, except when it was paralysed by his own errors or the faults of his subordinates. He was not devoid of personal courage, though he usually preferred to remain at a safe distance from the scene of war. In religion he showed a broad tolerance. His execution of Guru Arjun Singh was due simply to political motives: he could admire and appreciate the Hindu ideal embodied in the Yōgī Cidrūp.[1] He was bountiful even to a fault; he had a certain natural generosity of soul which, though often outweighed by stronger passions, seldom allowed him to fall into petty spite. He had received and assimilated a fine culture, and he stimulated art and literature with a liberal and many-sided patronage, though his personal taste inclined somewhat to the

[1] Such is the correct spelling of this name. The monstrous form *Jadrūp* has, however, crept into books.

florid and exotic. Lastly, he had a capacity for deep and abiding love, which, though it might be perverted to evil counsel, never suffered him to sink to the depths in which a Louis Quinze could wallow.

To do Mr. Beni Prasad justice, he has not endeavoured to hide Jahāngīr's weaknesses and crimes. He gives us a picture of the man in the setting of his age, in which every line is drawn with painstaking labour from the best sources, both native and European. The result is a presentation of Jahāngīr's character and rule which is considerably more favourable, and on the whole probably more just, than that which appears in most English histories. This is notably the case in his treatment of the death of Shēr Afgan, Nūr Jahān's first husband, and of the character and working of Mughal government. In the first, the evidence set forth by him suggests a strong probability of Jahāngīr's innocence. As to the second, his views, as he admits, "may not command universal assent." Certainly a government system of *manṣabdārs* nominally "required to equip and furnish a stated number of foot and horse and to maintain a prescribed establishment", while "the salaries were disbursed according to the nominal number and left annual margins of lakhs upon lakhs to the higher officers", was necessarily extravagant unmethodical, and inefficient, as the results here chronicled proved again and again. The costs of the army were, as he admits, heavy, the salaries of the officers "stupendous", the expenditure of the court "wasteful". Navy there was none. Many campaigns were blighted by harem influences and court intrigues in the capital and by the jealousies and quarrels of the grandees on the field of war. Yet, in spite of all these weaknesses, in which it presents such a startling contrast to the splendid system of Candragupta Maurya, the administration of the Mughal emperors down to Aurangzēb was in great measure a national one, based upon "the willing acquiescence of the people at large", seeking their common weal in a spirit of broad tolerance and justice, and fostering art and literature with little regard to language and creed. Here, however, we must admit some important reservations, especially in view of the recalcitrance of Mewar and the whole of peninsular India south of the Vindhya.

In the eloquent prelude which he has contributed to this book, Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan ignores these limitations, and asserts that "the Mughal Government was a national government solely because it summed up the hopes, the beliefs, and the ideals of our race". This claim, which might perhaps be more justly made for Śivājī, is surely

too wide for the Mughals, even for such broad-minded rulers as Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, and it certainly cannot be said of Aurangzēb. And when he tells us that "the Mughals were probably the first to conceive—they were undoubtedly the first to apply—the principle of toleration", we gasp with astonishment. Not to speak of Asōka, with his loudly expressed claims to respect all creeds, we see through all the brightest periods of Hindu history wide religious tolerance in practice. The inscriptions bear eloquent testimony to this fact.

There remains a small matter to note, and that is the frequent irregularity and inconsistency with which our author transliterates proper names. Thus we find the unfortunate Shēr Afgan's name spelt "Afgun" on p. xiv, and "Afkun" elsewhere; "Afzal" on pp. 106 and 282, but wrongly "Afzul" on pp. 167 and 283; "Ranshanara" on p. 179; "Shajaat" on p. 135, elsewhere rightly "Shujaat"; "Rattan" on pp. 389 and 498, and more correctly "Ratan" on p. 392; and several other slips. The index, too, might be better; we find in it, for instance, entries such as *Rana Kunbha* and *Rana Pratap*, which should be under *Kumbha* and *Pratap*. But these are minor matters: the main thing is that Mr. Beni Prasad has produced a very good book, which bears testimony to the quality of the work done in the Historical Department of his University.

L. D. B.

KITĀB AL-KUTTĀB. By ABŪ MUḤAMMAD 'ABD ALLĀH IBN JA'FAR IBN MUḤAMMAD, known as IBN DURUSTŌEH. Edited by Father Louis Cheikho. Beirūt, 1921.

The author of this little book for the instruction of scribes and officials was a native of the small Persian town Fasā, where he was born in the year 258 (A.D. 871), and died in Baghdād in the year 346 (A.D. 957). He followed principally the teachings of the Basrian school of grammarians, but studied also under the Kūfi Tha'lab. Of his numerous works quoted in the introduction of the book under notice, so far have appeared in print only his recension of the Dīwān of as-Samau'al and the extracts from his commentary on the Faṣīh of Tha'lab quoted by Suyūti in his Muzhir. It is therefore welcome to have one of his original works to judge him as a scholar. In my opinion the verdict can only be that he was a moderate compiler, the interest in his book lying principally in his instruction as to correct orthography, which, however, differs at times from that now generally approved, and

which can be confirmed by very ancient manuscripts which have come down to us. The instructions as regards to addressing, dating, and concluding letters are also interesting, but for completeness of information the work stands far behind the exhaustive work of Qalqashandi.

F. KRENKOW.

ZWEI GEDICHTE VON AL-A'SÂ HERAUSGEGEBEN VON R. GEYER. Wien, 1921.

In 1914 I announced the appearance of the first part of this work,[1] of which the above is the continuation and completion. The war and the consequent depreciation of Austrian money would have made the publication impossible, but for a generous donation to the Vienna Academy. The text of the poem had been edited with the commentary of Tibrīzī by Sir Charles Lyall in the Bibliotheca Indica, but Professor Geyer had at his disposal for establishing the text the two recensions of the Diwan of al-A'shā and a rather appalling number of manuscripts of the Mo'allaqāt which contain the text with the commentaries of an-Naḥḥās and Tibrīzī. The author has again, as in his edition of the first part, brought an enormous quantity of verse from other poets and al-A'shā himself to illustrate the meaning of words and thoughts found in this poem, which is considered by Arab critics as a masterpiece, and the two parts of Professor Geyer's work form a mine for the correct understanding of the earliest Arabic poetry preserved. I must again find fault with the author for giving too much; and I believe the laborious work of collating so many MSS., some perhaps by very indifferent scribes, was not worth the trouble. Al-A'shā is, in my opinion, perhaps the best of all the ancient poets, and it is gratifying to know that the author is engaged in publishing the complete collection of his poems, nearly 100 pages having passed so far through the hands of the printers.

In reading through the volume I have noted a few printer's errors, and in the index, p. 300, the poet named should read الأَسْعَرُ instead of الأَعْسَرُ. On p. 65 the second hemistich should read قَدْ أُشْرِبَتْ مِثْلَ مَاءِ الخ, and the translation altered as أُشْرِبَتْ means "was

[1] *JRAS.* 1904, pp 220 ff.

infused" of a colour, and occurs in this meaning fairly frequently in ancient verse.

p. 105, Abraq al-'Azzāf is the name of a place, and must be in the accusative: (The thunder-cloud) enveloped A. while its main portion was thundering, groaning like mother-camels groan towards the call of the young which follow them. F. KRENKOW.

THE SELECTIONS FROM AVESTA AND OLD PERSIAN. (First Series.) Part I. Edited with translations and notes by IRACH JEHANGIR SORABJI TARAPOREWALA, B.A., Ph.D., Barrister-at-Law. Calcutta, 1922.

The selections form a valuable contribution to the Avesta selections given in the Avesta-readers of Bartholomae, Jackson, and Reichelt. They are very judiciously made, as they represent nearly all the phases of the Avesta language, and give a concise description of the chief aspects of the Zoroastrian religion. The author further elucidates these aspects sufficiently in the beginning of the notes pertaining to every selection. The interpretation of the legend of the enclosure of *Yima* forms an interesting part of the book. The author attaches a historical importance to this legend, and sees in it a reference to a gigantic catastrophe following an extremely heavy snowfall. He agrees here with Tilak in fixing the home of the Aryas in the Arctic regions, and connects Vd. i with Vd. ii. He considers these chapters as not only mythological and geographical remnants of the Iranian race, but as strictly historical ones. There is no doubt that Tilak has used the word "Aryas" for the Indo-Europeans, and not for the Indo-Iranians, whom it should properly designate. The author gives in the notes various interpretations attached by European and Parsi scholars to Avesta words, and sometimes discusses them at length, often comparing them with Sanskrit words. Thus the work becomes a useful book of reference for the students of Avesta.

It is regrettable to note that the work has some technical faults. The list of abbreviations is defective. No dates and places of the publication of books mentioned in this work are given in the list. Further, the footnotes are not marked with Arabic figures or Roman letters, but with signs like asterisks, etc., which are very inconvenient for the eye.

Again, the work as it is seems to be incomplete, as a glossary and index of Avesta words are missing in it, without which it loses much of its value as a work of reference. J. M. UNVALA.

THE COPTIC THEOTOKIA. With Introduction by DE LACY O'LEARY, D.D. 4to, xii + 80 pp. Luzac, 1923. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

This is a useful piece of work. If a visitor to Egypt were to spend £20 in buying a miscellaneous lot of modern and mediaeval Coptic manuscripts, probably half of them would be whole or fragmentary Theotokias, and the examination and description of this class of service-book has hitherto been very troublesome. Tuki's edition (which is the only one found in Western libraries) dates from 1764 and is not produced on very scientific principles; and the structure of the service has hitherto been obscured by its "farsings" of long hymns.

Further, Dr. O'Leary has had the advantage of the use of the Dêr Abû Makâr fragments, discovered and elucidated by Mr. Evelyn White, the property of the Metropolitan Museum of New York. He does not, unfortunately, give any indication of the date of these—presumably a guess might have been made on palæographical indications—but it is clear that they are of a far earlier date than the ordinary complete Bohairic MSS. accessible to us in European libraries, and we have only some other fragments (many of them brought home by Tischendorf) of the same age. Their orthography is more correct than that of the complete MSS. and of Tuki's edition, and from a strictly grammatical point of view they are worthy of study.

Dr. O'Leary's prefatory matter describes the structure of the Theotokia, which is simple, but generally obscured by the insertion of long hymns, acrostical and otherwise. Its history is a little analogous to that of the "Little Hours" of the Virgin in the West, which in the fifteenth century had become the layman's principal devotion outside Mass. The full divine office, which is of enormous length, has never been said by the secular Coptic clergy, and the Theotokia supplies the want that is felt of something besides the "Prayers of the Evening and Morning Incense", which are essentially Sunday services. In particular, the Theotokia is felt to be suitable as a preparation for Christmas, and is recited during the month of Kihak, which immediately precedes that festival. Dr. O'Leary tells us that in order to get a congregation it is now usual to use the whole weekly series on Saturday night, thus forming another Eastern parallel to the coalescence in the West of the seven canonical hours into two main services.

The text is well edited, and a reasonable system of word-division is adopted. Perhaps the MSS. are sometimes almost too closely followed; the opening words of the Monday Theotokia, here given as

ⲁⲁⲁⲁ ⲉⲁⲓⲉϥⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲁⲁⲕⲁϩⲛϩⲏⲧ, would seem difficult to a beginner not realizing that the second word should be divided ⲉⲁⲓ (ⲉⲧⲓ = ἔτι) ⲉϥⲟⲓ. (Dr. O'Leary is here printing from Cod. Vat. Copt. xxxviii. which agrees, he says, "with other texts and with the printed editions save only in some orthographical variants." But Tuki has quite a different fourth line in the opening stanza, which Dr. O'Leary rightly gives as—

ⲁⲁⲁⲁ ⲉⲁⲓ ⲉϥⲟⲓ
ⲛⲉⲁⲁⲕⲁϩⲛϩⲏⲧ
ⲁϥⲧⲁⲁⲁⲧ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅
ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲑⲟϥ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲁⲣⲭⲏ,

substituting ⲉϥⲭⲉⲁⲁⲡⲅⲓⲓⲓ ⲁⲁⲁⲁⲟϥ ϩⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥϩⲁⲁⲟⲧ for the last line.) Again, in the second stanza of the second section of the Wednesday Theotokia, the line—taken from the same Vatican MS.—ⲱ ⲁⲁⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲟⲁⲁⲁⲧ† (if indeed it is not a mere misprint) has no meaning: it should be, with all good MSS. and Tuki, ⲱ ⲁⲁⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲟⲁⲁⲁⲧ ⲁⲁϕ†.

These are not serious blemishes, for anyone working at the Theotokia will have Tuki and probably an odd MS. or two before him. On the other hand, the analysis of this service-book here presented for the first time cannot but be of certain and lasting value to Coptic scholars and liturgiologists alike.

S. Gaselee.

Gipsy Languages. By Sten Konow. Christiania: being Vol. XI of the Linguistic Survey of India, edited by Sir George Grierson, K.C.I.E. 11 10¼, viii, 213 pp. Calcutta: Government Press, 1922.

Dr. Konow is already favourably known to students of the Linguistic Survey by the volume on Dravidian Languages, and by what he has written on Bhīlī and Khāndeśī. Now we have this monograph on such "Gipsy" languages as have not already been discussed in connexion with the languages just mentioned. The word "Gipsy" has been used without prejudice, for the author well knows that much has yet to be done before it can be stated definitely that the Indian nomads do or do not belong to the Romani race. He inclines to think that they do, although this is contrary to what he calls the "prevailing opinion of scholars". I do not think he need be afraid of

hazarding an opinion of his own. We are not in a position to speak of a "prevailing opinion". A certain amount of spade work has been done, but no foundations have been laid, no conclusions have been reached. There is, of course, no lack of conjectures, but before we draw inferences we must ascertain whether those who have described Romani dialects and sounds have received that phonetic training which alone could render their statements trustworthy. It is obvious that only precarious conclusions can be based on data furnished by scholars whose phonetic equipment is unscientific.

We may summarize Dr. Konow's opinion in three sentences: (i) probably all the "Gipsy" tribes of India have the same origin and are derived from Dravidian stock, though now most of them speak Aryan languages; (ii) not improbably European Gipsies are of the same race; (iii) all Gipsies, whether Armenian or European, are wholly Indian. This last point is in agreement with an article of great value written by Professor Woolner, a Sanskritist who has long made a study of Romani dialects. In the article referred to he discussed four theories of the origin of the Romani race, and decided strongly against that one which relegated the early home of this people to some region outside India.

Professor Konow gives details of six Gipsy dialects and a number of mere argots. Much the most important is Sãsī-cum-Kolhāṭī, which alone has a complete dialect with a criminal argot derived from it. Kolhāṭī is a kind of appendage to Sãsī. The other five dialects have no secret argot depending upon them. To me the important position thus attained by Sãsī is a source of much pleasure, for it is many years since I first met Sãsīs and began studying their speech. Of one man and woman in particular I retain not a few happy memories. It will not be out of place to indicate in a few words the nature of their language. It is allied to Rājputānī, Western Pahārī, Hindī, and Panjābī, and varies to some extent with the district in which it is spoken. It is a tone language possessing three tones (or four if we include a tone compounded of two others). These tones are, unfortunately, not indicated, but, to tell the truth, it is only quite recently that tones have been recognized in India outside of Burma. The secret argot founded upon Sãsī is much more elaborate than such argots usually are. Apart from special words there are numerous methods of disguising the words of the ordinary dialect.

There is something wonderful in the thought of this race, if it is really one, separated in early times from the other aborigines of India,

split up into numerous divisions, speaking diverse dialects, and yet retaining many characteristics which distinguish it from other Indians. Who these people were, why they left their fellows, why they were divided into further sections, at what time they became criminals —all these things are, alas! unknown. The author has not been able to lift the veil, but he has at least opened the doors of the ante-room, and he deserves our hearty gratitude.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

GYPSY LORE SOCIETY JOURNAL. Editor, E. O. WINSTEDT, 181 Iffley Road, Oxford.

Two numbers of this Journal have appeared since the last *Bulletin*. In both Dr. Sampson continues his Welsh Gipsy Tales. In the former there is a good article by Bernard Gilliat Smith on the Gipsies of Petrograd. In the latter there is a valuable article by Professor Woolner, Professor of Sanskrit in the Oriental College, Lahore, on the linguistic affinities of Romani. I earnestly echo his suggestion that Professor Jules Bloch should take up the question and deal with it adequately, or, I would add, why not Professor R. L. Turner? I commend the idea to these two scholars.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

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1. STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF SANSKRIT POETICS. By SUSHIL KUMAR DE, M.A., D.Litt. Vol. i, pp. xx, 376, 8vo. London: Calcutta printed, 1923.

The nucleus of these studies was the dissertation prepared by the author for the degree of Doctor of Letters while a student at the School of Oriental Studies, and it is therefore with especial pleasure that we welcome in these columns the appearance, in an enlarged and revised form, of the first half of it, which presents a full survey of the chronology and sources of Sanskrit literature treating of the Art of Poetry, and which is to be followed—shortly, we hope—by a second and concluding volume, that will set forth the doctrines of the diverse schools of the art in their historical development.

The work, thoroughly critical and scholarly in method, is based upon deep and wide research, and when concluded will furnish a history of *alaṃkāra* as complete as the materials permit. Hitherto, though some individual works and authors have been critically studied, no attempt has been made to present a systematic survey of *alaṃkāra* literature. Dr. De, with the enthusiasm of a young man and the

ability of riper years, has greatly dared and notably succeeded. The task has been a peculiarly difficult one, for not only is the literature beset with scholastic subtleties, but also the relations between the various works have to be determined by bringing into mutual connexion a vast number of passages in different books and tracing innumerable quotations in diverse books. But Dr. De has triumphantly surmounted all the obstacles in his path, and the only criticism that can be raised against his work is that it contains a rather large number of small misprints, as is inevitable in a book printed in a country where authors have to perform the functions discharged in Europe by press proof-readers.

The *Ars Poetica* of India arose in the schools of the grammarians from the study of the grammatical forms in which metaphors were expressed. This in course of time was enlarged by the logical theories which were added to formal grammar and by reflexion upon the *Gradus ad Parnassum* in current use: and thus arose independent systems of doctrine, notably the *alaṃkāra* schools mainly represented by Bharata and Bhāmaha, the *rīti* teachings of Daṇḍin and still more of Vāmana, and the theory of *dhvani* first expounded in the Kārikās forming the basis of Ānandavardhana's Dhvanyāloka, from which has issued an innumerable swarm of later theorists and their commentators. Dr. De has reserved for his second volume the detailed exposition of this fecund intellectual evolution, and readers of the present book will await this sequel with keen interest.

L. D. B.

2. Les Théories Diplomatiques de l'Inde Ancienne et l'Arthaçâstra. Par Kâlidâs Nâg, Docteur en Lettres. 8vo, pp. 143, i, i, 1. Paris, 1923.

Diplomacy is defined in the Dictionary of the Académie Française as "science of the mutual relations of the respective interests of States and sovereigns between one another". Judged by this criterion, the present work must be pronounced to be wrongly labelled. If the title is to be understood in the natural sense, it means that Dr. Nâg intended to write about Indian theories of diplomacy with special reference to those conveyed in the Kauṭilīya: but at the outset he tells us that he means to trace the outlines of the political evolution of India down to the approximate era of Kauṭilya, to examine the latter's views, and to show the continuity of tradition in later documents. This signifies that he has tried to write a survey of the

principles of Indian polity in general, apparently to pad out the rather scanty diplomatic documents at his disposal; and, not unnaturally, his survey is inadequate, even as regards the department of diplomacy (e.g. he seems to be unaware of Mr. N. N. Law's *Inter-State Relations in Ancient India*). Apart, however, from this structural weakness, the book has considerable merit. The author, though he makes no original contributions to his subject, has read a good deal and read intelligently: and his judgment on the date of the Kauṭilīya, in which he follows Messrs. Hillebrandt, Jolly, and Finot, is sound. But we must enter a humble demurrer against his concluding verdict that India "a rejetté la vie montrée par Kauṭilya-Cânakya pour entrer dans celle de Dharmâçoka". Our historical documents tell a very different tale, and the corollary drawn by Dr. Nâg from his theory to explain the disappearance of the Kautilīya is therefore erroneous.

L. D. B.

THE LANGO: A NILOTIC TRIBE OF UGANDA. By J. H. DRIBERG (Uganda Civil Service). With a Foreword by Sir Robert Thorne Coryndon, K.C.M.G., Governor of the Uganda Protectorate. London: T. Fisher Unwin & Co.

This is, I believe, the first detailed account of a most interesting and important tribe belonging to a group for which the name "Nilotic" seems now to be pretty generally accepted. The Lango occupy the country to the north of Lakes Kyoga and Kwanya, in the northern part of the Uganda Protectorate. They do not appear to have been settled there for more than about thirty years, and are probably an offshoot of the stock whence the Shilluk, the Gang (Acholi), the Lur, and the so-called "Nilotic Kavirondo", also originated. The languages of these peoples are closely allied, and clearly belong to Westermann's "Sudanic family", whatever may be thought of this classification with regard to some other idioms.

The book is a most conscientious and valuable piece of work containing, first, a very full account of the Lango and their tribal life under the headings of "Physical and Psychical Characteristics", "Mode of Life", "Social Organization", "Religion and Magic", and secondly, an excellent grammar, followed by two vocabularies and a small collection of folk-tales (text and translation in parallel columns). Phonetically, this language appears to be remarkable for the absence of the sibilants, the labial fricatives, and the aspirate; a mono-

syllabic basis is clearly discernible; and words otherwise similar are distinguished by *tone*, though this feature is not so marked as in Shilluk.

The Lango are a vigorous people of fine physical development and comparatively immune from disease. "The children, though numerous, are nearly always healthy in appearance and well nurtured." The author is fully alive to their many good qualities. "Ideas of morality are high . . . love for their children is unusually noticeable": they are cheerful and good-natured, and it is unusual for them to harbour a grudge for any length of time. "So a lengthy blood-feud is not due to malice or personal ill-feeling, but is the pious fulfilment of a sacred duty devolving on him, and as such is accepted and executed remorselessly when opportunity offers: the feeling uppermost in the mind, however, is not one of personal revenge, but a just recompense or honour done to his murdered kinsman."

Women have "considerable freedom of action and customary rights", and the men do the heavy work of clearing and breaking up the ground for cultivation, while the women remove the grass and rubbish and help in the weeding while the crops are growing. This is, Mr. Driberg states, "in contrast with the Bantu practice," but the statement requires some qualification. In Nyasaland, at any rate, the men usually do the rough work of clearing the ground, and I have seen a man and his wife sharing the work of sowing: while the co-operative husbandry of the Lango (p. 97) is quite common among the Anyanja, where such a party is called *dima* (from *lima* "to hoe"), and, if not exclusively consisting of men, certainly includes both sexes. It has been pointed out elsewhere, however, that the fact of agriculture being wholly or chiefly practised by women does not necessarily imply their inferior status, as is evidenced by their control, in a great measure, of the food supply. On another point which has given rise to a good deal of misunderstanding, we may quote Mr. Driberg, premising that his words will apply to other people besides the Lango:—

"It is often urged against polygamy and the payment of dowries that it results in the degradation of the women to the position of being mere property . . . This . . . is very far from the truth among the Lango, whose womenfolk are treated with remarkable courtesy and consideration, and though invested by custom with the right of vetoing . . . a second marriage [on the part of the husband] would be the first to resent the institution of monogamy. Nor does the payment of a bride-price or dowry carry with it the rights and authority of a slave-

owner . . . The bride-price has no bearing on the woman's station (except in so far as the possession of the dowry enables her brother to punish any infringement of her rights) and does not affect her freedom, but is the outward and visible sign that she has passed from the clan of her relations to that of her husband . . . and, just as she has been willing to throw in her lot with her husband's clan with the consent of her family and clansmen, so her husband, who has gained for his clan a new member and a prospective mother of warriors, is willing . . . to make good the numerical loss to her family's clan by the payment of a substantial dowry, from which the family will subsequently restore their numbers by a similar process. There is nothing of the degrading here, no compact of servitude, but an equitable social arrangement for the preservation of clan equilibrium" (p. 67).

Much the same might be said of the severely reprobated Zulu *lobola* custom—at any rate, before its real nature was obscured by European-made legislation.

The chapter on "Religion and Magic" is of unusual interest, though the writer modestly deprecates criticism on account of "regrettable lacunæ, an absence of coherence and apparent contradictions"—due to the difficulty of obtaining information on these very intimate matters. The actual content of the chapter, however, is far greater than the above would lead one to expect, and the reader will appreciate both the scientific caution with which the statements are put forward and the tact and consideration which were evidently shown in making the inquiries. *Jok*, as a designation for a spiritual power, or powers, is used in as many different ways as *Mulungu* by the Anyanja and Yao, "probably, indeed, it is but vaguely comprehended even by the Lango themselves." *Jok* appears to be specially associated with the air, and "is most visible in whirlwinds and circular eddies of air (*ajoru*)". The conception of a "heaven" or "sky" sometimes accessible to earth-dwellers, which appears in Zulu folk-tales and is found also among the Baronga, Wachaga, Baganda, and elsewhere, is here a little more clearly defined.

"The Lango notion of the universe is the inside of a sphere, the bottom concavity of which is this world, while the top concavity is another inhabited world. The top half is called *polo*[1] (sky, clouds, atmosphere), because owing to the great distance of the other world a kind of mirage prevents it being seen clearly, and gives it the appearance which is popularly known as *polo* or sky . . . That the other

[1] πόλος—an invaluable find for a certain school of etymologists!

world is inhabited is well known, as very occasionally *Jok* has taken up inhabitants of this world to that other, just as he occasionally brings an inhabitant of the other world down here, and one such visitor is known in the past to have returned after a stay of four days."

Two points in the account which follows are noteworthy: the man refused to taste the food of the sky-dwellers, but not for the reason usually given in such tales, viz. that it would prevent his return to earth: and the *polo* people all had tails. This curious touch occurs in the folk-lore of the Chaga and the Pare peoples of the Kilimanjaro region (where it may possibly be due to Hamitic influence compare Kidongoi of the Masai) and among the Ewe of the Gold Coast.

The ritual of rain-making—of which, being a public one, knowledge is more easily acquired is given at some length, and there is an interesting account of divination by throwing up a pair of sandals. It only remains to add that the book is illustrated with some excellent photographs and careful drawings of weapons, implements, the ground-plan of a hut, etc.

ALICE WERNER.

THE FOLK-LITERATURE OF THE GALLA OF SOUTHERN ABYSSINIA. By ENRICO CERULLI. Reprinted from the Harvard African Studies, Vol. III.

So little has been published with regard to the Galla that any further information about this interesting people is more than welcome. Dr. Cerulli did not collect the texts here printed *in situ*, but—what, after all, is the next best method—from three members of the tribe resident for some time at Naples. His principal informant, Loransiyos Walda Iyasus, seems to be a remarkable man of long and varied experience, who was able to report at first hand many outstanding events of the last thirty or forty years, including the destruction of the ill-fated Bottego expedition. It is much to be regretted that Loransiyos had to return to Africa, by order of the Italian military authorities, before the collection of prose texts dictated by him was complete. But enough has been obtained to make a very valuable addition to Galla literature. We have sixty-four historical songs, with full explanations of all the allusions, a number of songs dealing with love, war, and religion, ninety-three proverbs and a few riddles, and the prose texts already referred to, comprising part of the Chronicle of Guma, the narratives of "The Holy War of Hasan

Injamo" and of the death of Captain Bottego, and accounts of the initiation ceremony, the investiture of a chief, etc. The discussion appended to this last is particularly interesting, and contains some ingenious diagrams illustrating the succession of the *gada* groups (called *luya* by Abarea, my informant in 1913). The prophecies given under the heading "Texts of Magic and Prophetic Literature" are remarkable as showing how carefully these oracles are preserved and handed down. An appendix, "The Watta: a Low Caste of Hunters," deserves attention as throwing considerable light on the origin of the East African hunting tribes, the Wasanye, Waboni, Ariangulo—who are all called *Wat* by the Galla—and perhaps the Dorobo.

It would be easy to quote at great length from various parts of this volume, but we must confine ourselves to a few proverbs as illustrating the Galla mode of thought:—

"'We have none, and we do not shave,' said the bald-headed man."

"'If they cut my throat they could not kill me, but with boiling water I am destroyed,' said the flea."

"The poor man, after having ploughed, carries the plough on his back up the slope." (Compare the Swahili: "The poor man's hen does not lay, and if she lays she does not hatch, and if she does hatch the hawk gets the chicks.")

"For one who has no house it is a good thing to bring lawsuits."

"'Take it,' we said to him, and he refused; we put it back, and he stole it."

"'Do not come to me: I will not come to thee,' said the malaria."

ALICE WERNER.

NAQĀ'ID DE GARĪR ET DE AḤṬAL. Texte arabe publié . . . et annoté par le P. A. SALHANI, S.J. xvi + 250 pp. Beyrouth, 1922.

Abū Temmām Habīb ibn Aus is best known by his celebrated anthology, the Hamāsa, but he also composed, in addition to his Dīwān, other works which did not attain the same reputation. Among them is his selection made from the book of the poets of the various Arab tribes of the renowned Kufi grammarian Abū 'Amr Isḥāq ibn Mirār ash-Shaibānī, of which a manuscript is preserved in Constantinople: and which, according to a note at the beginning of the manuscript, was found among his papers at his death. On the same more ambitious scale is the present work under notice, which has survived in a very

old manuscript to which the Jesuit Father Salhani first drew attention in the Mashriq some years ago (Mashriq, 1905, vol. viii, pp. 97 to 107). An excellent edition of this manuscript with copious notes is one of the first works issued by the Jesuit Press since its re-establishment since the war.

The author does not tell us whence he has derived his material, but many of the poems of the rival poets are found in their Dīwāns: however, they differ at times very considerably, both in the length and the sequence of verses. These differences are clearly set out in the ample notes with which the editor has enriched his edition. The work of Abū Temmām commences with an exposition of the events which, after the death of the caliph Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiya, led to the Qaisite troubles in Mesopotamia and Syria. These particulars supplement our knowledge as derived from Tabari in details.

Unfortunately, at the very beginning, some leaves have been lost from the manuscript which would have contained the account of the origin of the poetical quarrel of the two poets, of which a very short account is given in the Kitāb al-Aghāni.[1] The first poem[2] of al-Akhṭal is not directed against Jarīr at all, but against the Qaisite enemies of the poet's tribe, the Taghlib, and is duly answered by Nufai' ibn Saffār al-Muhāribi. The following numbers,[3] however, appear rather to be quotations from some historical account which is lost, as we find among them a poem by the elder Muraqqish, who lived about two centuries before the time of al-Akhṭal and the events which evoked the quarrel. The real contest begins abruptly in the middle of a poem by Jarir, the first verse being the tenth of the 38th poem of the Dīwān of Jarīr, as handed down in manuscripts claiming to contain the text of this poet as edited by the Kufi grammarian Ibn al-A'rābī. From this point the text appears to go on without interruption between the two poets and concludes with a poem by al-Akhṭal. Only once a poem of al-Farazdaq is inserted, in which he comes to the assistance of al-Akhṭal. This poem is also found in the Naqā'id of Jarīr and al-Akhṭal.

The language is generally easy, but abounds in terms of the grossest nature, and perhaps Jarīr can be more obscene, though in this respect he would probably have to hand the palm to al-Farazdaq. The invectives are often childish and Jarīr delights in deriding his Christian

[1] Vol. x. pp. 2–5.
[2] No. 25.
[3] Nos. 28–32.

opponent with the cross, the rearing of pigs and the eating of pork, while the latter has to be more guarded, and probably thus had not the chance to fully exhaust his store of bad language.

The text is admirably printed and edited with great care. At the end the editor has given some extracts from a manuscript of the Dīwān of Jarīr dealing with accounts of days of fighting, the basis being the copy preserved at Cairo: and as this text contains several errors, which I am able to correct from a copy of the same Dīwān in my possession written by the late Rizq Allāh Hassūn, I am submitting these corrections herewith :—

p. 226. l. 9, after حشدهم my MS. adds

اى جمعهم وعرّفهم ما ذهب منهم من عُمَيْر وسوددہ وبمكان عُمَيْر

p. 226. l.	11	فى ذلك الحواء . . . حُمَيْدَة
	25	زياد بن سُلَيْمان
	26–7	فرّت الجعراء
	32	مِنْ يَمَنٍ
227.	23	ابن غُوَيَّة
	24	فإنّه كانت
	26	فدفع اليهم شَبِيباً
	paen.	اذا ما دعا
228.	9	حَيَّاط
	10	مُعْرِساً بها
	19	حُسَيْنَة
	20	الى لُجَيْمٍ

سُمِعَ الدُعَاءُ	21	p. 228, l.
الأَسَلُ الظِماءُ	22	
تكا فأت قيس	ult.	
بَاجَرْوَان vocalized	5	229,
فأعفاه	3	230.
ولها جُمَةٌ	11	
وابنى لَأْيٍ و ابن عبد محمّر	20	
اذا خرَّ	24	
ذِبْحًا	5	231,
يوم العُظَالَى	14	
قيس بن الأصمّ	15	
قُرْط بن عاصِمٍ	18	
مُلَيْحَةَ vocalized	20	
قال نعم [قال افيهم ابنا عِصمةَ قَعْنَبٌ	21 adds	
ومَعْدَ انُ قال نعم		
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F. KRENKOW.

THE COMMENTARY OF FATHER MONSERRATE, S.J., ON HIS JOURNEY TO THE COURT OF AKBAR. Translated from the Original Latin by J. S. HOYLAND, M.A., Hislop College, Nagpur, and annotated by S. N. BANERJEE, M.A., Professor of History, Mahindra College, Patiala. xxi — 240 — xlvii pp. Oxford University Press, 1922.

The rediscovery (in 1906) of Father A. Monserrate's *Mongolica Legationis Commentarius* and its subsequent publication, in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. iii, 518 sqq. (1914), by Father H. Hosten, S.J., was quite a sensational event in the annals of Indian history. As a contribu-

tion to the knowledge of Akbar's character and his interest in religious discussions it is of paramount importance, and it is the most reliable source for the history of his campaign against Mīrzā Hakim of Kabul; it consequently formed one of the chief authorities from which the late Dr. Vincent Smith drew his materials in composing his brilliant biography of Akbar. On a number of other questions it gives most valuable information: to quote one instance only, Monserrate seems to be the first European writer to mention Lake Manasarowar, a fact that has been duly appreciated by Dr. Sven Hedin in his monumental work on *Southern Tibet*, vol. vii (1922).[1] Unfortunately, the second volume of Monserrate's manuscript, which must be chiefly geographical, is still missing, but may perhaps some day be brought to light by the unceasing efforts of Father Hosten.

Considering the great importance of the *Commentarius*, it seems quite appropriate that the text should be made accessible in an English translation to readers who would perhaps find it a somewhat strenuous task to cope with the Latin of Father Monserrate, which is, in places, a rather difficult one. Also that such a translation should be provided with a commentary, dealing at some length with the various passages where the average reader is in urgent need of somewhat detailed information. In trying to furnish us with such a translation, Mr. Hoyland and Professor Banerjee have, no doubt, set themselves a very laudable enterprise and have placed us greatly under obligation for undertaking this far from easy task. The style of the translation is a fluent and agreeable one, and the notes seem to give the chief items required for a better understanding of the original.

A somewhat closer inspection will, however, reveal several drawbacks, especially in what concerns the translation. Mr. Hoyland, in the Editor's introduction, p. xiii, remarks that "Father Monserrate's Latin style is frequently exceedingly involved and obscure", and that he himself is quite willing to admit "the doubtful authenticity of his interpretation of a large number of passages". These precautionary remarks ought undoubtedly to disarm criticism to a certain degree, and it will certainly have to be admitted that the Latin text presents quite a series of riddles—not infrequently owing to its own corrupt state. But one may well express wonder at the fact that a classical scholar should stumble over quite a number of passages which, though sometimes of a rather puzzling nature, will, notwithstanding, allow of a very probable solution. Some few instances will be given below: they are, unfortunately, apt to show that this translation must be used with a good amount of caution.

[1] Cf. Charpentier, *Geografiska Annaler*, i, 269 sqq; Hedin, ibid., p. 299 sqq.

An important passage—p. 548 sqq. of the Latin text—deals with the Pārsis whom Father Monserrate saw at Navsāri. Amongst other things he speaks of their dress in the following words: "Eorum nota, quæ illis mutuo conuenit ut a reliquis gentibus distinguerentur, quasi quodam religionis signo, linthea vel gossipina xylinaque vestis est, ad fœmur usque demissa, circum oram consuta, cui ante pectus, *qua caput inducitur*, utraque extremitas suta nectitur, et sinus quidam relinquitur quadratus, latitudine quatuor digitorum . . . in quod inferre quippiam susceptis religionibus prohibentur." Not to speak of minor slips, the words quoted in italics are rendered "it covers the head": it may be suggested that a Latin scholar would not easily translate *inducitur* as if it were *induitur*, and, besides, a slight acquaintance with the real facts absolutely prohibit a rendering like that of Mr. Hoyland.[1] The words "*qua caput inducitur*", of course, mean: "where the head is put through."

Nor does the translation of the passage concerning the homage rendered to the moon by the Mohammadans (p. 550 of the text) betray any very correct knowledge of rather obvious facts.

On p. 552, l. 6, *cucurbita* is rendered by "coco-nut shell" instead of "pumpkin".

In the description of the Holi on p. 557 the words "*tandem ad sordida sacra sordidati . . . accedunt*" do not, of course, mean: "having thus degraded themselves they come at length . . . to the most abominable part of the whole festival", but "finally, smirched with dirt,[2] they arrive at their filthy ceremonies".

A rather obvious slip occurs in the translation of the passage concerning Bābā Kapūr on p. 557 sq.: "Opinabatur homo perditus, in eo beatitudinem esse positam, si omni sensu quis careat, nec corporis morbos, nec animi ægritudinis patiatur, *quin magis, quodam sensuum lenocinio semisopitus delinatur*": the words in italics are rendered thus: "though in reality one is more liable to be tortured by the incitements of the senses when in a state of semi-insensibility." There can be no doubt that they really mean: "lest, half-lulled by the blandishments of the senses, one might be still more captivated."

Several slips occur in the translation of the passage dealing with elephants (especially p. 585 of the text). Nor does the translation of the sentences about the Manichæans on p. 587 inspire much confidence in the

[1] This knowledge may be gathered from e g Anquetil Du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, ii. 529, and Menant, *Les Parsis*, i. 134.

[2] The author has just mentioned how the Hindus plaster their bodies with mud and squirt red dye over each other.

translator's acquaintance with that subject: to mention nothing else the words: "qui elementa quinque rerum, *a se conficta*, deos dicebant" could not possibly mean "declared that the gods were in reality the five elements *mixing together by their own action*". It seems scarcely necessary to mention that the words "a se conficta" mean something like "falsely invented by themselves", and even a perfunctory perusal of the article "Manichæans" in Hastings's *Encyclopædia* might have furnished the materials for a less incorrect translation.

On p. 588 Father Monserrate gives some information concerning Hanumān, and tells us that: "Maessuris, Crustni et Bramæ frater, filius vero Para Maessuris, dicitur, mulierem quandam . . . adamasse": this is rendered thus: "He[1] is said to have been the brother of Maessur, Crustnu, and Brama, and the son of Para maessur, who had visited his mother," etc. Apart from the absurd rendering of the simple Latin sentence, there is no tradition to be found of Hanumān having been the brother of the three highest gods, but it is well known that he is often said to be the son of Śiva. Consequently, the meaning is: "Maheśvara, the brother of Kṛṣṇa and Brahmā, and the son of Paramaheśvara, is said to have had intercourse with a woman," etc.

The incorrectness of the translation of ll. 1–2 of p. 592 is so obvious that it must certainly be ascribed to a *lapsus calami*: and on p. 592 the apparent slip of Father Monserrate in mixing up *Prometheus* with *Proteus*—who is well known "sese variis formis ostendere"—has apparently escaped the translator.

On p. 612 the words: "tantamque loco sanctitatem inesse prædicant, ut propter eius loci sanctitudinem mundi opifex Deus, reliquum mundum finxerit et fabricarit" cannot possibly mean "and that place is so holy that God, the Creator of the Universe, modelled the rest of the universe upon it". The meaning is too obvious to be further dealt with here.

Several other slips of more or less consequence have been noticed by the present writer, but cannot, for want of space, be dealt with here. Some of them—as seems clear also from those already noticed—seem to imply that the translator has worked upon his text in a rather perfunctory way, and has not always availed himself of all the materials at hand for interpreting it.

The commentary, fortunately, invites less criticism from the reader. One might have wished that Professor Banerjee had not, e.g. thought *Birbiteremas* [*Vīra Vikrama*] to have been meant for Chandragupta II Vikramāditya (n. 42), or that he had given in n. 104 the probably correct

[1] Viz. Hanumān.

date of Chingiz Khān (as he has done in the Appendix, n. 5).[1] On p. 91 sq. some information concerning Father Monserrate's interesting passage on Viṣṇu and his *avatāras* might have been welcome: the notes on the rather muddled history of the Mongols in the Appendix are scarcely up to date, nor does the mention of an author called "St. Antoninus"[2] in n. 3 on p. xxxix or the translation of *Abii* (viz. *Scythæ*) as "lifeless people" inspire confidence in the acquaintance of the commentator with classical literature. But on the whole, Professor Banerjee may be said to have solved his often difficult task with at least some amount of skill and learning.

A thoroughly revised edition of the work would undoubtedly be of great use to students of Mogul history, and it is only fair to admit that the difficulties of the undertaking have perhaps been too great to be coped with during the amount of time which may possibly have been at the disposal of the editors.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

[1] When quoting literature concerning Chingiz Khān the standard work of d'Ohsson should not have been left out; the work of Curtin (*The Mongols*, 1907)—a shameless plagiarism of d'Ohsson—has fortunately been left aside.

[2] The entry "D. Anthonius Florentiæ Archiepiscopus in 3a parte Summæ Historiarum" on p. 533 of Father Hosten's edition gives the easy solution of this riddle.

NOTES AND QUERIES

JAGAJ-JHAMPA

As a supplement to the late Dr. Fleet's observations on the word *tyāga-jagaj-jhampin* in the Bhāṇḍūp Plates (*Epigr. Ind.* xii, p. 251), I offer the following remarks on the meaning of *jagaj-jhampa* and its variations mentioned by him.

The Sanskrit dictionary gives us *jhampa*, "leap, swoop," and its derivative *jhampin*. These may be ruled out, as they give no sense in this connexion. We may therefore look for a Prakrit root, with the more confidence as heralds, from whose *praśastis* the compound is probably derived, enjoyed the privilege of coining *ari-samāsas*, compounds of Sanskrit with Prakrit words (Kittel, *Gram. of Kann. Lang.*, p. 215). Now Hēmacandra in his Prakrit Grammar, iv, 161, and his *Dēśī-nāma-mālā* iii, 55 (comm.), gives *jhampai* as equivalent to the Sanskrit *bhramati*: with this Pischel (*G.P.S.*, § 326) rightly connects OMg. *jhamputtā* (*Samar.* 83, where it is glossed *aniṣṭa-vacanâvakāśaṃ kṛtvā*, "taking the opportunity for reviling"), *jhampia*, glossed *truṭitaṃ ghaṭṭitaṃ ca* in *Dēśī-n.* iii, 61, and rendered by Jacobi as "extinguished" in the glossary to his *Erz. Māhārāṣṭrī*, p. 112 (*pāṇiṇo jhampio jhatti*, p. 85), and *jhampaṇī*, "eyelash" (*Dēśī-n.* iii, 54, *Pāṇya-l.*, 250). The fundamental idea in all these words seems to be that of covering over so as to darken, obscuration, whether natural (as in the case of the eyelash, the "darkener" of the eye) or adventitious: thence come, on the one hand, the idea of abusive misrepresentation, as in *Samar.* (cf. Latin *denigrare*), and on the other that of forcible extinction, as in *Erz. Māhār.*, of which sense the gloss *truṭitaṃ ghaṭṭitaṃ ca* is a later and probably not very accurate derivative. This explanation enables us to connect the root with the Vedic *kṣáp* and *kṣapā*, "night," primarily "time of darkness".[1] Compare the Hindi *jhāpnā*, "to cover," with its cognates in many of the I.A. vernaculars. It explains, further, the Gujarati *jhāṗ*, "dimness," and Marathi *jhāṗ*, *jhāpaṇ*, "sealed state of the eyes, drowsiness, stupor," as, for instance, under demoniac possession,

[1] Pischel, G.P.S., § 326, suggests a derivation of *jhampa* from *kṣap* in the sense of "to let loose", "to abandon".

jhāpaḍ, meaning the same as *jhāp* and also a muffling of the face, *jhāpaḍī* and *jhāpaṇī*, muffling of the face and a blind for covering the eyes of animals. Probably the Marathi *jhōp*, "sleep," Kannada *jampu* and *jompa*, "drowsiness," *jompu*,[1] "inebriation or stupor," and Mar. *jhōpī*, *jhōpaḍī*, *jhōpaḍē*, "hut" (orig. "covert"?), and *jhōpaṇ*, "blind for a bullock's eyes," may come from the same source;[2] so, too, the Hindi *jhōpṛī*, "hut." We may thus from the idea of obscuration trace the meaning of "stupefying", "causing fuddlement". The next step is to find for the root, as a derivative from the last meaning, the sense of "bewitching", "charming", just as we find Sanskrit *mōhana* and Tamil *mayakkam* proceeding from the idea of stupefaction to that of fascination and charm: and apparently this is to be found in the phrase *tyāga-jagaj-jhampa-jhampaḷâcārya*. Here *jagaj-jhampa* will mean something like "a bewitchment of the world"; *jhampaḷa* and *jhampaṇa* will be the corresponding verbal adjective; and the whole phrase may be translated "a wizard (literally, a master skilled in enchantment) in the bewitchment of the world with his bounty". This idea is further suggested in v. 32 of Udayaprabha's *Sukṛta-kīrtti-kallōlinī* (in the Gaekwad's Sanskrit Series, No. X), where it is said of Vallabha-rāja that "this *jagaj-jhampana* covered up the abyss with the earth that had been bent down by (the weight of his) elephants, the earth with the floods of his warriors, and the heavens with the mass of dust thrown up by his horses":—

śvabhraṃ sindhura-bhugnayā vasudhayā bhūmiṃ bhaṭâughâir divaṃ
sapti-kṣipta-rajō-bharēṇa pidadhē sō 'yaṃ jagaj-jhampanaḥ.

L. D. BARNETT.

HINDI AND AVADHI NOTES

India has recently lost two distinguished authors. Paṇḍit Rāmeśvar Bhaṭṭ, of Agra, passed away on the 18th of January, at the age of 65. He wrote in Hindi, but he was best known as a profound student of Avadhī, and his most valuable work is probably to be found in his commentaries on Tulsī Dās's Rām Charit Mānas (Rāmāyaṇ) and Vinay Patrikā. He was at one time in railway service, but he loved his home and was glad when he obtained a position in Agra as Pandit in a boys' school. A few years later he succeeded Paṇḍit Bāl Mukund

[1] Kittel, *Dict.*, p. 637, quotes *śambaḷa* and *śombal* as Tamil analogues; they are not in Winslow's Dictionary.

[2] Possibly the Telugu *jōmu*, "torpor, stupefaction," may be referred to the same source, through an intermediate **jōmpu*.

as senior Sanskrit teacher in the Agra College. He was a very approachable man of simple tastes, always glad to help others. He leaves three sons, all University graduates and all writers of good Hindi.

Paṇḍit Badrī Nārāyaṇ, born in 1855, died on the 14th of February. He was elected president of the third annual conference of the Hindī Sāhitya Sammelan. Unlike most Hindi poets of the present day, this well-known poet preferred to write in the Braj dialect, though he wrote two books in *khaṛī bolī*. There must be some who regret the passing of Braj as the vehicle of Hindi poetry, but it is not natural for anyone to write prose in one dialect and verse in another. While delighting in Avadhī, which has nearly gone, and Braj which is going, we may give a welcome to the *khaṛī* which has come to take their place.

T. Grahame Bailey.

THE ARABIC STANDARDS OF TIPU SAHIB

The interest of these standards is not yet exhausted. In a recent letter Mr. C. A. Storey writes that further research has led him to give up his former opinion (which I quoted in the *Bulletin*, Vol. II, Pt. III, p. 550), and he now holds that not the spiritual birth but the actual birth of Muḥammad Ṣāḥib was intended. "Ṭipū's era," he adds, "consisted of solar years. 1,215 of these are enough to take one back to Muḥammad's birth or rather to the year A.D. 572 in which Ṭipū seems to have supposed that Muḥammad was born." The double peculiarity of the era is noteworthy. Solar years are used instead of lunar, and the era dates not from the hijra, but from Muḥammad Ṣāḥib's birth.

T. Grahame Bailey.

OBITUARY

Professor T. W. Rhys Davids

On 20th January, 1922, died one well known at the School of Oriental Studies both for her work in Pali and her personal charm, Mrs. Rode; and on 27th December of the same year died Professor Rhys Davids, not only a great Oriental scholar, but a man who deserved the gratitude of the School as an earnest advocate of its foundation and as an unwearied promoter of schemes for the wise direction of its efforts.

Professor Rhys Davids was born on 12th May, 1843, at Colchester. His father was a leading Congregational Minister, and he showed in his book, *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex*, that gift of patient enthusiasm, illuminating what would otherwise be dry details, which was a leading characteristic of his son.

Professor Rhys Davids was at school at Brighton, and gave up a good opening in the legal profession to go to the University of Breslau, where he learnt Sanskrit under Professor Stenzler, to whom, in 1880, he dedicated his *Buddhist Birth Stories*. At Breslau he learnt to value the German system of training students by research almost from the beginning of their study: whereas the system of the older English universities makes research the crown and reward of patient and thorough preparation. Each system has its merits and drawbacks: the training of Breslau prepared Professor Rhys Davids for that noble pioneer work in which the best are of necessity always beginners. In 1864 he entered the Ceylon Civil Service: and as Sanskrit had made Tamil and Simhalese easy to him, he was able to understand the natives and their views. The production, as evidence in a trial, of a Pali sacred text that no one present could read led to the work of his life by making him resolve to master the unknown language. Pali was, however, not entirely unknown to the world. Its study by Europeans began, as Professor Rhys Davids said later (in his contribution to the Presidential Address to the Philological Society in 1875, pp. 60–79), with an "Essai sur le Pali", 1826, by Eugène Burnouf & Professor Lassen, and was carried on by Turnour in his edition of the

Mahāvaṃsa (of which only Vol. I was published), 1837—a work which Professor Rhys Davids called " the foundation of all Pali scholarship ". Gogerly and others had used its documents. R. C. Childers, who left Ceylon in 1864, had begun his Dictionary (published 1872–5). Fausböll, at Copenhagen, had published the Dhammapada in Pali and Latin, and was editing the text of the Jātaka. Scholars here and there were doing some work, but it was reserved for Professor Rhys Davids to make Buddhism a household word, and to make it not only a valuable part of special knowledge, but a necessary link in the mental history of mankind. In the *Hibbert Lectures*, 1881 (p. 187), Professor Rhys Davids gave a memorable picture of the dying monk, Yātrāmullē Unnānsē, who came often some distance on foot to use his last strength in teaching his eager European pupil the Pali language, and in seeking, not in vain, to inspire him with a love of Buddhist ideas and zeal for making them known to the world. " There was an indescribable attraction about him, a simplicity, a high-mindedness, that filled me with reverence." Rhys Davids often spoke of him as " the best man I ever knew ". In 1877 a difference with the authorities on a question concerning native rights led him to resign his post in the Ceylon Civil Service. He returned to England and, entering the Middle Temple, read for the Bar, but never practised. His legal training was, however, not wasted: it had taught him to weigh evidence and to suspend judgment in the difficult questions of scholarship. A friend says of him at this time: " He was then vigorous both in body and mind, sitting up very late at night working and playing tennis in the Temple garden in the afternoon. He knew everybody and was a charming companion, witty, humorous, and most kind. It was the same at the club: I used to dine with him almost every night, and the party was not complete without him."

Vigorous he doubtless was, but it took some years to recover morally from the enmity that upset his career and physically from the malaria left by the climate of Ceylon, and he often had to work through much pain.

In the *Hibbert Lectures*, 1881, he was able to announce the founding of the Pali Text Society, of which the first committee contained the honoured names of Professor Fausböll, Dr. Oldenberg, Dr. Morris, and M. Senart, with himself as chairman. With his usual practical genius, he had reckoned that in so many volumes of a certain size and type the sacred texts could be published; and his power of seeing quite clearly what he aimed at brought both workers and money in

unfailing support for forty years, in which time, after carrying out the original plan, he was able to enlarge the sphere of publication. A friend remarks his genius for finance and his power of interesting rich people. This came from the clearness of his aims, which showed givers that their money would not be wasted, and also from the instinctive sense that he himself shrank from no sacrifice for the things for which he asked the help of others. He had now definitely given himself to Oriental work. In 1882 (till 1904) he became Professor of Pali in University College, London—an honorary post; and soon afterwards, as Secretary and Librarian of the Royal Asiatic Society (1885 to 1904), he had full scope for his energies; he filled the Society with new life, gave freshness to its debates, and a purpose to its energies. Under his auspices it published its series of Translations and of Monographs, and shared in the planning of the Indian Text Series. His labours were added to by his share in founding the British Academy. At the same time his own scholarly work was continued. He had already published, besides several papers, his manual on *Buddhism*, 1878, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, 1880, *Buddhist Suttas* (Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi); and in 1881 he published in the same series three volumes of *Vinaya Texts* with the collaboration of Professor Oldenberg. His friendship with the latter began with an act of generosity. Professor Oldenberg came to consult him about an edition of the Dīpavaṃsa he was wishing to make, and Professor Rhys Davids at once handed over to him all the material he had himself amassed for the same purpose. In *The Questions of King Milinda* (S.B.E., 1890–4) he translated a text which was, in his estimation, "the masterpiece of Indian prose" and (as a book of apologetic controversy) "the best in point of style that had then been written in any country." He edited with Dr. J. E. Carpenter the Dīgha-Nikāya, i and ii (1890–1911), with the first volume of its commentary, the Sumangala Vilāsinī (1886).

He had in the Asiatic Society an invaluable helper in Miss C. Hughes, the Assistant Secretary (Mrs. W. Frazer), who succeeded him in 1904 as Secretary; and he had loyal support and co-operation from many distinguished scholars and friends: yet the toils he had undertaken might well have overwhelmed him if it had not been that in 1894 his power was doubled by his marriage with Caroline Augusta Foley, whose largeness of heart and brain and highly disciplined intellect made her a fit partner in so full a life. Three children were born to them; two daughters and a son, Arthur, whose brilliant promise

as Captain of Eton and as a fighter of distinction in the Air Force met in 1917 its fulfilment in the noble sacrifice of his young life. Mrs. Rhys Davids' great labours in the field of Buddhist Psychology and Ethics, which she made her own, did not hinder her helping her husband in all departments of his work, especially the Pali Text Society: and all her own work in like manner bears the impress of their united minds.

Their marriage was soon followed by his journey to America, 1894–5, to give lectures, which were published under the title *Buddhism: Its History and Literature* (New York, 1896). A journey to India, in 1899, gave him the delight not only of visiting the scenes of Buddha's life, but of getting into touch with those who by authority, high position, or intellect could help in his cherished scheme of bringing the mental force of India to bear on its own history. As usual, he had a definite aim, the publishing of texts which throw light on Indian history; but, though he brought the plan into being, he left its carrying out in other hands. The immediate result of the journey was *Buddhist India*, written "from the point of view not so much of the Brahmin as of the Rajput", with evidence collected, a good deal of it, for the first time and necessarily imperfect, yet so suggestive and light-bringing that if the advocates of Brahmanic views refuse to weigh it, "there is but one course open, and that is to declare war, always with the deepest respect for those who hold them, against such views. They are not compatible with historical methods."

To his books must be added many papers in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, and those read before Oriental Congresses and other meetings. As another paper in this number of the *Bulletin* deals with the result of his work, no attempt has been made here to describe or discuss any of his writings, fascinating as the theme would be.

The Hibbert lectures and the American lectures show his gift as a lecturer, of making knowledge clear and delightful, and of rising to high powers of thought and moral dignity, and of carrying his hearers with him in a quickened life. "I went, never having heard of Pali before, and went away almost persuaded to take up the study of Pali at once," said one who was by no means disposed to listen to lectures gladly.

A great change in his life followed in 1904 on his appointment as Professor of Comparative Religion in the Victoria University, Manchester, and he lectured on almost the whole field of the history of religion. In 1908 *Early Buddhism* expressed concisely some of the results to which he held most firmly in Buddhist thought. In 1910

and 1921 he completed, with the help of Mrs. Rhys Davids, the translation of *The Dialogues of the Buddha* (Dīgha-Nikāya) in the *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, of which he had published the first volume in 1899. It was largely due to his unselfish activities that some of his ripest scholarship now sees the light, not in any single work but scattered through the volumes of *Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. He kept in touch with London by frequent and fatiguing visits to do his duty as President of the India Society and Member of the Council of the British Academy.

In 1915 he resigned his chair, and settled at Chipstead, in Surrey, where he lived a quiet scholar's life, suffering much pain, but working through it; and not, till near the end, giving up the games that had been his refreshment for so long and the quiet intercourse with friends in which the flow of his kindly humour and the flame of his enthusiasm had lost nothing of their strength.

He wrote reviews for the *Manchester Guardian*, and it would be happy if some of these could be collected: but the great work of his last years, with the help of Dr. W. Stede, was the final arranging of the material for the new Pali Dictionary. He lived to see nearly half the work issued, when hypostatic pneumonia, after two days' suffering, ended in a peaceful death on the 27th December, 1922.

There was never anything official or conventional in his dealings, and while he was working hard in the interests of scholarship he was not less interested in caring for all who had what he considered less than a fair chance in life—whether they were working men, or women suffering disabilities political or educational—he wished all to have their best possible development, and never failed to do his own part in giving it to them. He had a remarkable gift of sympathy. He could express himself vigorously, but would enter eagerly into the perhaps limited views of an objector, or even the reported views of a friend of the objector, and would treat them with a gentle courtesy not unmixed with humour. He could not be hard on any opinion where he felt the human being behind it, but his sympathetic understanding did not affect his own judgment. As was said of him, "he has the heart of a mountaineer," undauntedly pursuing his own course over all obstacles. "We work that others may do better than we" was his thought from the time when he praised Childers' Pali Dictionary, saying it was sure to be superseded ("for it was the foundation of the subsequent work . . . which has rendered it inadequate"), to his utterance about the new Pali Dictionary in which his high self-

effacing spirit works to practical ends when he proposes not to wait for perfection, but to publish it as rapidly as possible, so as to preserve the proceeds of the sale of the first edition for the eventual issue of a second edition "which shall come nearer to our ideals of what a Pali dictionary should be". This was always his idea, that we should give our best to enable others to pass beyond us.

In his sharing his knowledge with his pupils and subordinating his own part in order to give value to their efforts he resembled another great English scholar, Professor Cowell: and the śloka in which Professor Cowell summed his life's work would be true of Professor Rhys Davids also:—

Gurur viciṣyaḥ saralo yathā girau
Asevitaḥ pānthajanena tiṣthati
Varam sa jīryen navaśiṣyasaṃśrito
Vṛtaḥ svatantrair viṭapair vaṭo yathā ||[1]

He gave help freely both to individuals and to causes, and started the great works which cost so much, giving unsparingly of his own strength and time and effort. Yet his disinterestedness sprang from no unworldly indifference to wealth. He well knew what it meant in freedom and opportunity, and always advocated earnestly that scholars should not be expected to work for nothing, but should receive the due reward of their labours. Of all pleasures that give health to body or mind (excepting, perhaps, such as involved death to creatures) he had keen appreciation, though he could do without them. He played golf, tennis, and billiards, and enjoyed social intercourse, of which he was the life.

Knowledge for him was not merely an accumulation of facts or of theories, but a living bond of union with the living, and a bringing back to consciousness the long fibres of life through which, though unrecognized by us, the past still speaks. For that reason it was never an effort to give up a theory or correct the statement of a fact. What he desired was the true living voice of all ages. "For," he said, "that knowledge of what man has been in distant times, in far-off lands, under the influence of ideas which at first sight seem to us so strange, will strengthen within us that reverence, sympathy, and love which must follow on a realization of the mysterious complexity

[1] Translated by Professor Cowell:—
"High on his rock the lonely scholar stands,
A mountain pine that spreads no sheltering shade;
Rather grow old amid fresh student bands,
A banyan with its native colonnade."

of being, past, present, and to come, that is wrapped up in every human life." That reverence, sympathy, and love was the centre of his being and the inspiration of his work.

" He was the proper friend-making, everywhere friend-finding soul ;
Fit for the sunshine, so it followed him :
A happy tempered bringer of the best out of the worst."

C. MARY RIDDING.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS : THE SCHOLAR

Professor T. W. Rhys Davids' career as a Pali scholar may be studied under the three heads of Philology, Translation, and History.

His writings on the Inscriptions of Ceylon (*JRAS.* 1875), the *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon* (1877), and his paper on Pali and Sinhalese to the Philological Society (1875) announced the coming of a scholar, well equipped with the necessary training for research involving much labour and examination of minute details. The work of the Pali Text Society, which he founded on the lines of the Early English Text Society, is a monument of his scholarship and philological attainments. With characteristic foresight he had realized that critical editions of texts were needed if he was to succeed in convincing the West that the Buddhist movement was as instructive a study as Christianity in the history of religious thought. They would, moreover, form a basis for further study and progress in the interpretation of Buddhism. In this undertaking he displayed great powers of organization and a tremendous capacity for taking pains. Funds were collected and manuscripts acquired on loan or by purchase from Ceylon, Burma, and Siam ; the services of editors, Occidental and Oriental, monks and laymen, men and women, were enlisted, and the collated texts printed off with unfailing regularity. The result shows that during forty years sixty-four texts in ninety-four volumes, extending over 26,000 pages, were issued by the Society. True, the actual number of edited works that bear his name on the title-page is small, and some may have wished that he could have edited more. But the extent of his work is to be estimated not only in figures, but also by the influence that he exercised on other editors, for he supplied many of them with the necessary materials and advice. Thus it may be said that a certain number of the texts which do not bear his name are the outcome of his own editing, whether his help is explicitly acknowledged or not. His own editions are a model of what edited texts should

be. There are at least one or two texts in the Pali Text Society series that show that the editor is not familiar with his text, but has, as it were, mechanically followed the order of the words without much attention to punctuation. Sometimes essential phrases and even whole sentences are omitted, and, what is still worse, the better readings are often to be found in the footnotes—unmistakable evidence of the editor's incompetence. Rhys Davids was far too conscientious a scholar to edit his texts in this way. His method was this: The various readings are selected with judicious care, references to parallel passages are registered in footnotes, and main words and expressions collected in indices. And the completed text bears witness that he has digested, or at least has done his best to digest, the subject-matter. And he never fails to discuss somewhere or other the various rare forms and phrases and doubtful passages that he has met with. Excellent as would undoubtedly have been his work if he had edited more of the texts than he has actually done, it was well that he did not. His philological training and organizing powers were wanted for another big undertaking.

Childers had realized the importance of compiling a dictionary for the proper study of the texts that were being issued by Fausböll and a few others. His Pali Dictionary, a monument of learning and scholarship, was completed in 1875. Rhys Davids welcomed it as "the most valuable contribution that had yet been made to the study of that language, but it was the indispensable means by which further progress could be made. Like Wilson's (Sanskrit Dictionary), it was sure to be superseded, for it made possible that rapid advance in the publication of Pali texts which has been the most marked feature in Oriental studies since its appearance". His own undertaking of the Pali Text Society is proof of the progress that has been made in the publication of texts. And in the spirit of progress he, too, realized that a dictionary more comprehensive than Childers's was needed to do justice to the newly published texts. He had made an immense store of new material, and formed a scheme of co-operation on international lines. The war put an end to the scheme, and, after "many cruel rebuffs and disappointments", Rhys Davids, assisted by Dr. Stede, brought out the first instalment in 1921. The amount of labour that Rhys Davids must have bestowed on the work can only be realized by those who know what it is to find adequate English terms and expressions for many of the elusive Buddhist words. The best criticism is offered by Rhys Davids himself: "This work is essentially

preliminary. There is a large number of words of which we do not know the derivation. There is a still larger number of which the derivation does not give the meaning, but rather the reverse. It is so in every living language. Who could guess, from the derivation, the complicated meaning of such words as 'conscience', 'emotion', 'disposition'? The derivation would be as likely to mislead as to guide. We have made much progress. No one needs now to use the one English word 'desire' as a translation of sixteen distinct Pali words not one of which means precisely desire. Yet this was done in vol. x of the *Sacred Books of the East*, by Max Müller and Fausböll. The same argument applies to as many concrete words as abstract ones. Here, again, we claim to have made much advance." It is comforting to be assured of the progress and advance made, and the editors will earn the gratitude of every student, to whom the Dictionary will be a boon. Those words which are left unsolved will continue to defy solution for some time to come, when we consider that two such scholars as the present editors have done their best to solve them.

The treasures of thought buried in these old Pali texts would be of no avail without adequate translations. From the outset Rhys Davids was busy making translations. His aim was to educate the public, as well as to convince the scholar. He possessed the gift of producing scholarly translations in an attractive form. He infused the glow of life into the dry bones of Buddhist studies. He never overloaded his translations with superfluous notes. He always captured the reader's interest, if not his opinion. These merits were discerned in his earliest translation, *Buddhist Birth Stories* (1880), in which he appealed to the general public by his treatment of such interesting topics as the migration of the Buddhist stories to the West, the origin of Æsop's fables, and the various problems connected with the original text. The same method was applied in his *Questions of Milinda* (1890–4), which, besides being an excellent translation, added much to our knowledge on such points as the date and authorship of the text, its value as a work of art, and the identity of Milinda and Menander. But his masterpiece was his last work of translation, *The Dialogues of the Buddha*, the first volume of which was published in 1899. Here he was at his best as a sympathetic exponent of the various phases of Indian beliefs. In his masterly introductions to the Suttas he translated, he made us familiar with the importance and age of the Nikayas, the differing views of the soul-theory, and the origin of the caste-system. He gave us an insight into the character of each and every type of men

under the vow of religion. Let us not forget, to his credit, that such varied and competent information was given at a time when scholars held not very clear notions on these points. In the later volumes of the *Dialogues* Rhys Davids had the assistance of his accomplished wife.

These undertakings – the Pali Text Society and the translations, together with the numerous articles in various Oriental Journals – would have been sufficient to do credit to any man. But Rhys Davids has done more: he was a historian. His attitude towards Buddhism may be defined in his own words: The story of Buddhism was to him the story "of the everyday beliefs and customs of a people nearly related to ourselves just as they were passing through the first stages of civilization . . . of that interesting system of religion so nearly allied to some of the latest speculations among ourselves, and which has influenced so powerfully and for so long a time so great a portion of the human race – the system of religion which we now call Buddhism . . . of the only religious movement in the world's history which bears any close resemblance to Christianity". Again, "This Buddhist idea of the perfect life has an analogy most instructive from an historical point of view with the ideals of the last pagan thinkers in Europe before the rise of Christianity and of the modern exponents of what has been called fervent atheism". In this spirit he wrote his *Buddhism* (1878), the success of which was attested by the issue of the twenty-third edition in 1914. His insight enabled him to prove that nirvana was not annihilation, but "a moral condition, to be reached here, in this world, and in this life", a view which has stood the test of later research. His *Hibbert* and *American Lectures* (1896) were written even in a more popular style.

Rhys Davids never lost sight of the close relation between the religion and the literature. In Buddhism, religion, it may be said, is literature, and literature religion. He treated both in *Buddhist India* (1903), his best work from the historical point of view. The chapters on the introduction of writing into India, the settling of the relative ages of the works composing the Canon, the priority of Pali over Sanskrit, are models of clear exposition and logical thinking. Those on the Brahman position, animism, and the Buddhist kings show the breadth of his outlook and the depth of his insight. His maturest views on the religion are given in *Early Buddhism* (1908).

PE MAUNG TIN.

EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD.

Hajji Abdul Majid Belshah

It is with profound regret that we have to report the untimely death of Hajji Abdul Majid Belshah, who died in hospital on 23rd June, 1923.

The Hajji, as he was universally known, was essentially a lovable man, and there are Englishmen all over the East who will feel they have lost a dear friend in him. The Hajji belonged to a respectable family of Kazimain, who for two or three generations had borne the curious surname of Belshah. He first came to England as a dealer in carpets and MSS., and with his business he combined the teaching of Arabic, preparing many young officers for their interpretership examinations. The Hajji, though not a profound scholar, had a good knowledge of Arabic and Persian, and a decided gift for imparting the spoken language. His notions of grammar were practical rather than theoretical; and though he was not versed in Moslem literature, he had a rare *flair* for picking up valuable manuscripts, and many a precious treasure of Arabic and Persian literature or caligraphy owe their inclusion in English public or private libraries to the Hajji's skill as a collector. Perhaps the most notable event in his life was his journey to Mekka in company with Major Wavell—in whose charming book, *A Modern Pilgrim in Mecca*, many references are made to the Hajji under the pseudonym of Abdul Wahid.

When in August, 1914, war was declared, the Hajji came to me in the War Office and offered his services in the Intelligence Department. He also got himself naturalized as a British subject. Down to the end of 1916 he worked in my office, and was very useful in the censoring of Arabic and Persian letters. It is in my view a matter of regret that his familiarity with the Near and Middle East was not made use of. As events have since shown, he had very valuable suggestions to offer. But it was in connexion with the illustrated paper called *al-Haqiqat*, which appeared twice a month, that the Hajji was most useful. The captions beneath the pictures in the earliest numbers were reproduced in photo-lithography, and as the topical illustrations were often slow in coming in, the captions had to be translated into Arabic, Persian, and Turkish at very short notice, and then to be written out in a clear hand. The Hajji was untiring in his execution of this arduous task.

When the School of Oriental Studies was opened in February, 1917, the Hajji joined the staff and worked regularly till within two days of his death.

He had a great fund of anecdote, and enjoyed nothing so much as a joke at his own expense.

He married in 1920 and leaves a widow and two children. He was buried in Brookwood Moslem Cemetery and his wreath-covered coffin was followed by Moslems, Christians, and Hindus.

EDITOR.

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PAPERS CONTRIBUTED

IBN MUQLAH

By A. H. HARLEY

ABŪ 'Alī Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Muqlah, better known as Ibn Muqlah, was born in Baghdad in A.H. 272 (I. Kh.).[1] It has been said that "the details of the childhood of great men are apt to be petty and cloying"; the historians have not provided an opportunity of judging of the truth of this generalization in his case, for their notices only begin when he had already set about earning a livelihood. He worked in one of the *dīwāns* or administrative departments on a salary of six dīnārs per mensem (*Fakh.*, 318).[2] Fortune favoured him, and while yet very young he came to enjoy intimacy with and a share in the counsels of Ibnu'l-Furāt during the first term of his wazirate, which extended from 296, the year following the accession of the Khalīfah al-Muqtadir, to 299. He had a turn for composition both in prose and verse, and well illustrated the Arab adage: "the pen is one of the two tongues" (*al-'Iqdu'l-Farīd*, ii, 153, Cairo, 1316). Specimens of his verses will be given later: Ibn Miskawayh quotes his prose-account of the circumstances in which news of the murder in 296 of Md. b. Dā'ūd b. al-Jarrāḥ, after

[1] Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayātu'l-A'yān*, ed. Wustenfeld, No. 708.

[2] *Al-Fakhrī*, ed. Ahlwardt.

he had been enticed from the place where he had concealed himself when his intrigue on behalf of Ibnu'l-Mu'tazz miscarried, was secretly communicated to Ibnu'l-Furāt; he there states that on this occasion he was a companion of the wazir's privacy (*TU.*, 66).[1]

From the account in the last-mentioned work of the closing scene of al-Muktafī's reign (r. 289–95) some knowledge is acquired of certain *personae*, his friendship with or animosity towards whom influenced the major portion of his almost melodramatic career. When this khalifah lay dying his wazir, al-'Abbās b. al-Ḥasan, looked round for one whom he might propose for the succession. He separately consulted three of his four *'aṣḥābu'd-dawāwīn*—a ministry of many talents, but also of some incongruities, for they were, or became during the subsequent insurrection, divided amongst themselves. Of these Md. b. Dā'ūd suggested the name of 'Abdu'l-lāh b. al-Mu'tazz; Ibnu'l-Furāt, after much reluctance to taking part in these deliberations, named Ja'far b. al-Mu'taḍid on the ground that his general inexperience would be an advantage; while 'Alī b. 'Īsā contented himself with stipulating that a religiously minded man should be appointed. The wazir inclined to the view of Ibnu'l-Furāt, though he had at first protested against him on the score of his youthfulness, and obtained the supreme sanction in favour of Ja'far, who, at the tender age of 13 years, in due course succeeded, taking as his *laqab* or familiar name the designation al-Muqtadir bi'l-lāh.

The wazir apparently very early realized that his apprehensions on the score of al-Muqtadir's youthfulness were justified, and intrigued against him, until in 296 he himself was murdered by al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān, likewise scheming for the deposition of the khalifah, but in favour of a different candidate, Ibnu'l-Mu'tazz, the choice of Md. b. Dā'ūd. This new claimant had considerable, as also influential, support, and was actually proclaimed khalifah, with the *laqab* of al-Murtaḍā bi'l-lāh, by his partisans, from among whom he proceeded to appoint his officials; Md. b. Dā'ūd was declared wazir; 'Alī b. 'Īsā and Md. b. 'Abdūn, the fourth member of the last ministry, were given portfolios. Ibnu'l-Furāt had held aloof, and had gone into hiding, whence he had to be fetched when al-Muqtadir later offered him the premiership. Of the military leaders, Mūnis al-Muẓaffar and a few others rallied what strength they could against the usurper and his

[1] *Tajāribu'l-'Umam* (Gibb Mem. Ser.), vol. v: this sketch of Ibn Muqlah is based mainly on the account of him in this volume.

followers, who being seized with fear scattered without an engagement. 'Alī b. 'Īsā and Md. b. 'Abdūn were forced out of their place of concealment, and brought to the capital, being exposed to rough handling from the populace on the way: through the generous mediation of Ibnu'l-Furāt, now the wazir, they escaped the extreme penalty of the law meted out to a number of the insurgents; 'Alī was banished to Wāsit (*TU.*, 57–66).

For three years and eight months Ibnu'l-Furāt remained in office, when by a sudden reversal of fortune he was cast into prison and his home destituted in 299. Ibn Muqlah was one of his associates who thereupon went into hiding, where he stayed during the fortunately brief wazirates of Ibn Khāqān and Ibn Thawābah. By 300 state-affairs had become badly disorganized, and al-Muqtadir consulted Mūnis al-Muẓaffar regarding the reinstatement of Ibnu'l-Furāt whom the khalifah had rescued from Ibn Khāqān's barbarous treatment (*TU.*, 84), and restored to favour. Mūnis, still smarting under Ibnu'l-Furāt's resentment at his dealings with Subkarī, then governor of Fārs (*TU.*, 77–9), represented that the recall of one who had been dismissed but a few months before could only leave an impression of the khalifah's venality, and recommended instead the " reliable, upright, and religious " 'Alī b. 'Īsā (*TU.*, 89), now in quiet retirement in Mecca. The latter came into office in 301, and extended his protection to Ibn Muqlah, permitting him to live at home in Baghdad, an act of grace which Ibnu'l-Furāt was pleased to acknowledge (*TU.*, 113).

The age was not prolific in great statesmen. From among the frequently changing wazirs 'Alī b. 'Īsā and Ibnu'l-Furāt stand out pre-eminent, and it was fitting that on the deposition and arrest of the former in 304 the latter should have been called on to succeed him. He soon raised his henchman Ibn Muqlah to secretarial rank. " But the devil set them at variance, and each distrusted the other." is how *al-Fakhrī* gloses over a particularly human dissension (*o.c.*, 318), and is less than fair, it would seem, to one of the parties. Unmindful of his patron's favour, Ibn Muqlah took umbrage at a certain appointment he made, and lent his ear to the crafty designs of Naṣr al-Ḥājib and Ibnu'l-Ḥawārī, now grown disaffected by reason of the wazir's settlement with Ibn Abi's-Sāj (*TU.*, 116), and who to further their own ulterior end of injuring Ibnu'l-Furāt urged the ambitious youth to make a bid for the premiership. The wazir is reputed for his munificence; his action on this occasion was an earnest

of his magnanimity. When his nephew brought to his hearing the rumour of his protégé's secession he exclaimed: "Were I to doubt Abū 'Alī b. Muqlah after patronizing and promoting him, I would doubt you or mine own son." Even when the rumour had verified itself as a bitter fact he made a considerate effort to turn him back from his course, but Ibn Muqlah was recalcitrant, and fearing reprisals resorted to Naṣr for aid in prosecuting his now serious purpose (*TU.*, 120–1: I. Ath., viii, 102[1]).

The breach with Ibnu'l-Furāt must have widened when Ḥāmid b. al-'Abbās, taking advantage of the former's inability to meet the expenses of the cavalry from a depleted exchequer, and refusing to pay into it for the purpose a sum from the surplus revenue of Wāsiṭ, managed to supplant him as wazir in 306. Ḥāmid proved unfit for the burden of office. Ibnu'l-Ḥawārī, who had evidently recommended his candidature to the khalifah, thereupon advised the wazir to ask that 'Alī b. 'Īsā be released and allowed to take charge of the departments of the administration. The wazir's request for the services of 'Alī provides here a humorous interlude, the while it shows his lack of finer sensibility. The khalifah replied to his request: "I do not think that 'Alī b. 'Īsā would favourably consider it, nor consent to follow after he had been followed and chief in rank." Whereupon Ḥāmid remarked in presence of the people: "Why should he not give a favourable answer? A *kātib* is like a tailor, who sews now a robe worth a thousand dīnārs, now one for ten dirhams." Whereat the people laughed. 'Alī did accept the task, and was a controlling influence during his wazirate (*TU.*, 126–9). Ibn Muqlah sought and won Ḥāmid's favour, only to lose it when the latter in his persistent prosecution of his purpose of humiliating Ibnu'l-Furāt desired him to confront him with the charge of having misappropriated certain trust-money, in abuse of the powers of office. But he would only consent to framing the charge in writing, and thereby incurred the premier's displeasure (*TU.*, 135). During this wazirate, however, he administered the Sawād on behalf of 'Alī b. 'Īsā.

When his erstwhile patron assumed his third term of the premiership in 311, Ibn Muqlah did not go into hiding, but vainly sought an interview with him. His friendship with Ibnu'l-Ḥawārī, whom the wazir at first treated with marked favour before issuing the order of his seizure, alone saved him from arrest during the short time that the latter was free (*TU.*, 172). A fine was imposed on him (ib., 202).

[1] Ibnu'l-'Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg.

From his place of confinement he wrote to his friend Zanjī, formerly Ḥāmid's *kātib*, who from fear of the resentment of his present superior, the wazir, was deliberately holding aloof from the unhappy captive at this juncture; the letter contained these lines of his own composing :—

Think you missives banned twixt friends,
Or is it, pray, that paper's grown too dear ?
Well you might have asked me of my plight,
Since mishap dire and sudden on me is fallen !
Thy friend is he who cares for thee in any woe,
—All the world's a friend in weal.
If not a friend, suppose thyself my foe,
—Sure, foes I've known to pity foes. (*Fakh.*, 319.)

They were presumably the same lines of whose merit Ibn Miskawayh speaks disparagingly (*TU.*, 202). He also wrote a letter to Ibnu'l-Furāt reminding him of his past services, and seeking to incline him towards him, and enclosed it in the letter to Zanjī, and asked him to forward it. Ibnu'l-Furāt on receipt of it remitted the balance of the sum in which he had been mulcted—according to *al-Fakhrī* (loc. cit.) he was obliged to pay a hundred thousand dīnārs, which amount his wife, a lady of great means, found for him : he also released him, " a president and proofe of his clemencie." Apparently he deemed it expedient to have one of such " nimble stratagem " at a distance from Baghdad, for he was living under surveillance in Shiraz when news reached him in 312 of Ibnu'l-Furāt's arrest, and with it the termination of his third tenure of office. The new premier, al-Khāqānī, ameliorated the circumstances of his exile, and permitted him to go to Ahwaz : later at the intercession of a number of persons he allowed him to return to Baghdad (*TU.*, 239–41). He appears to have continued without office until 315, when 'Alī b. 'Īsā, who the year before had entered on another term of the wazirate, appointed him to one of the bureaus of landed estates.

His public service, though not unbroken, had been of sufficient duration and adequate note to entitle him to consideration as a possible candidate for the premiership. His opportunity was now not long delayed, for 'Alī b. 'Īsā, whose gravest defect is said to have been that often he " could not see the wood for the trees " (*Fakh.*, 315), observing the increasing burden of expenditure on the troops and the shortage of revenue, and finding that Naṣr al-Ḥājib, resenting his leanings towards his opponent Mūnis al-Muẓaffar, was turned against

him, besought al-Muqtadir in 316 to relieve him of his office on the plea of advancing years and infirmity. On the advice of Mūnis the khalifah did not at once consent to this. Ibn Muqlah now saw reason for renewing his efforts, and looked to Naṣr to promote his candidature. His chances became favourable only by contrast with the serious objections to his competitors. Al-Muqtadir took counsel of Mūnis, who stated that three names had been mooted in this connexion; Mūnis expressed himself as of opinion that the selection of al-Faḍl b. Ja'far b. al-Furāt would be inadvisable because of his kinship with the late wazir, whose family had so recently and so sorely been afflicted by the khalifah, and would be tantamount therefore to investing an enemy with power: that the choice of Ibn Muqlah would be ill-advised by reason of his youth and inexperience, whereas the weal of the realm required a senior of repute and merit; while Md. b. Khalaf's ignorance, so gross that he could scarce spell his own name, and his temerity effectually ruled him out. In the circumstances he could propose none other than 'Alī b. 'Īsā. Al-Muqtadir next took the opinion of Naṣr al-Ḥājib on the three: his friendship with Md. b. Khalaf prejudiced him in his favour; Ibn Muqlah he rejected for his lack of experience and capacity, and for that none stood in awe of him. But the khalifah could not approve of Md. b. Khalaf after what he had heard of him. Ibn Muqlah now plied Naṣr with attentions, and even backed his importunities with presents, till at length he spoke on his behalf and urged that he be given a trial. The scale was inclined in his favour by the service he had rendered in sending one of his own men to Anbār with carrier-pigeons, which conveyed to him in Baghdad reports of the movements there of the hostile Carmathian force, and this information he had given to Naṣr, who communicated it to the khalifah. For this Naṣr praised him to al-Muqtadir, and said that if he had thus comported himself without official status his devotion to his royal master's interest would be so much the keener with it (*TU.*, 304–6; I. Ath., viii, 133). His selection was doubtless influenced also by the fact that popular opinion was for him, and against Md. b. Khalaf.

It is to his discredit that he supported Naṣr in his vengeful allegation that the goodly 'Alī b. 'Īsā had privily communicated with the Carmathian leader (*TU.*, 308), and seized on all his wealth and brought him to an evil hour. His elevation to rank held by Ibnu'l-Furāt and 'Alī calls to mind the savage irony of Hogarth's engraving, *Masquerades and Operas*, in which the versatile but moderately endowed Wm. Kent

is featured over the gateway, having as supporters Michael Angelo and Raphael.

The situation promised well, but was suddenly convulsed. A rumour gained ground that al-Muqtadir intended to appoint Hārūn b. Gharīb 'Amīru'l-'Umarā'. Mūnis, then absent in Raqqah, sped towards the capital on hearing of it ; his troops entered the city, took possession of the palace, and made the khalifah captive in the beginning of 317. Mūnis proceeded to set up in his place al-Qāhir bi'l-lāh, with Ibn Muqlah as wazir ; 'Alī b. 'Īsā he liberated from his confinement in the palace. The insurrection was short-lived ; when al-Muqtadir returned to power after his two days' deposition, Ibn Muqlah was retained as wazir, but the altered relationships threatened his security of tenure. In 318, al-Muqtadir became uneasy on account of his friendship with Mūnis, and taking advantage of the temporary absence of the latter, whom he distrusted, resorted to arrest, the *ultima ratio* of a despot, and had him seized when he waited upon him one day in the palace. He intended to replace him with al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim. To add to his discomfiture, his house was burned by Md. b. Yaqūt, a sinister influence in his life. Mūnis on his return wrote to the khalifah expressing his dislike of his nominee, and requesting the restoration of Ibn Muqlah. This naturally incensed the khalifah ; he even resolved to have the latter put to death. 'Alī b. 'Īsā intervened on his behalf, and pertinently inquired how this intercession of Mūnis could be interpreted as a crime on the part of Ibn Muqlah ; he did not leave off until he had saved him from his extremity, but failed to produce any abatement in his aversion from restoring him to office. He refused the post for himself, but nominated his brother, 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān, and Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan, and the latter, whose enmity to the fallen wazir was apparently his strongest commendation to al-Muqtadir, was chosen (*TU.*, 333). The transaction of public affairs, however, was in the hands of 'Alī b. 'Īsā, and he at Ibn Muqlah's request conducted the official investigation into the late administration. Details are not given, but the wazir inveighed against Ibn Muqlah harshly and contemptuously for wrongdoing and setting the ruler and his friends at variance ; a penalty of two hundred thousand dīnārs was fixed by 'Alī. His staunch friend Mūnisu'l-Muẓaffar again interceded for him with al-Muqtadir, and secured for him certain concessions (*TU.*, 339).

The political situation altered very quickly, and the fortunes of 'Alī b. 'Īsā and Mūnis became much impaired in 319. In the course

of this year no less than three appointments to the wazirate were made. The second of these wazirs took from Ibn Muqlah his signature for another two hundred thousand dīnārs to be exacted from him, but this sum was reduced by a fourth through the kindly offices of Hārūn b. Gharīb on solemn condition of his not holding communication with Mūnis, who had fled for safety to Mosul, or with the latter's relations. He is reputed to have stated during his wazirate in the time of ar-Rāḍī (r. 322–9) that to pay this sum he took gifts from people, and with the surplus of twenty thousand dīnārs purchased estates and settled them on the descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib (*TU.*, 363). Hārūn's friendly interest had its limitations, however. When he heard that al-Muqtadir purposed the restoration of Ibn Muqlah, from fear of his intimacy with Mūnis he concerted with the wazir Abu'l-Fatḥ al-Faḍl b. Ja'far to have him removed to Shīrāz (*TU.*, 368 ; I. Kh., loc. cit.).

The history of this period is one of kaleidoscopic changes in officialdom. Long before the close of 320 Mūnis defeated an insurgent army in Mosul, and led his forces against Baghdad. His Berber troops, apparently to his consternation (*TU.*, 385). murdered the spendthrift and wily al-Muqtadir. Sending for Md. b. al-Mu'taḍid and Md. b. al-Muktafī, he approached the latter regarding the vacant throne. He declined it in favour of the other, his paternal uncle, the above-mentioned khalifah of two days, al-Qāhir, who after oath and covenant received the sworn allegiance of Mūnis, Yalbaq, 'Alī b. Yalbaq, and others. Mūnis next proceeded to suggest 'Alī b. 'Īsā for the premiership, making reference to his fitness physical, practical, and religious. But others had as little need of a chief of this stamp as the Revolutionists of philosophers in Paris. Yalbaq, and in this he was supported by his son, was of opinion that the times would not brook a man of his character ; a more complaisant nature and a less austere morality than his were needed ; he recommended Ibn Muqlah, and the appointment of al-Kalwadhānī to officiate for him till his arrival. The latter proposals were approved by al-Qāhir, and by Mūnis too, for he wrote to him to return with all speed from Shīrāz, the city of his banishment (*TU.*, 386–7). He reached Baghdad on 10th Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, the first day of the great Festival of the Sacrifice of the year 320. He had prearranged by letter that al-Qāhir should await him at a certain time and hour which he deemed auspicious, for, as it appears from this and a later incident (inf., p. 227), he was not superior to the common superstitious belief that

the stars in their courses guided or controlled the destinies of men. In his unfortunate case there were indubitably cross-influences, apparent even now in this hour of triumph, for popular felicitations became tinged with censure for the lack of a token of courtesy in his reception of 'Alī b. 'Īsā (*TU.*, 391).

Political corruption was the everyday life and atmosphere of the age, and the new régime was as little salutary as any of its recent predecessors. Domestic politics are the story of personal ambitions and vengeance, and the maintenance of position by imprisonment and exaction. Al-Kalwadhānī, for instance, was arrested for reasons entirely or mainly personal to the wazir (*TU.*, 392); and private vengeance was apparently the motive of his seizure of Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb, nephew of his first patron, Ibnu'l-Furāt (*TU.*, 399–402). The cunning insinuations of Abu 'Abdu'l-lāh al-Barīdī before each of the two persons concerned in turn that Md. b. Khalaf desired the wazirate, and that the wazir suspected him of this design, led to an order of arrest of the too credulous Md., and greater confusion in the nervous wazir's relationships (396–7).

Firm in his confidence in the support of his military leaders, Mūnis, Yalbaq, and 'Alī b. Yalbaq, Ibn Muqlah espoused their cause when they learned that al-Qāhir was holding clandestine communication with Md. b. Yāqūt, a rebel whom Yalbaq had reduced to surrender at Ahwaz earlier in the year (321), but who having since come to the capital had gained the confidence of the khalifah, and was turning him against this confidential band. 'Alī proceeded to attack Md. b. Yāqūt, who, however, concealed himself in the city, while his soldiers scattered and fled. He then set a close guard on the royal palace, and so strict was the surveillance that even the milk-supply was searched in case it might convey a written message. The wazir, Yalbaq, 'Alī b. Yalbaq, and his *kātib*, al-Ḥasan b. Hārūn, became party to a covenant with Abū 'Ahmad b. al-Muktafī to enthrone him in place of al-Qāhir. When they reported this proceeding to Mūnis he reproved their impetuous excess, and advised delay, though entertaining no doubt as to the ill-doing of the khalifah. But 'Alī's assurance that they were virtually masters of the situation, al-Qāhir being already "a caged bird", and his majority in council over the "greybeards" Mūnis and Yalbaq eventually obtained their assent. The conspirators had still to secure the person of the khalifah, and for this purpose 'Alī must gain admission into the palace. To this end Ibn Muqlah wrote a letter to al-Qāhir, infamous for its net of falsehood to be cast

over its recipient. He represented that news had been transmitted in two missives brought by carrier-pigeons that the Carmathians had reached Kūfah, and he was consequently dispatching 'Alī to take the field against them, and desired al-Qāhir to admit him and speed him on his way. The khalifah at once wrote expressing approval of his action and project, but the wazir in his impatience after a short interval, and before receipt of the reply, sent a second of similar import to the first. "The best laid schemes . . . gang aft agley," and this was of the number of such, for the khalifah's suspicions were awakened by the arrival of the second, and confirmed by the report of as-Subkarī, at that time disaffected towards Yalbaq and his son, whom he aimed at replacing (*TU.*, 413–14), concerning 'Alī's design on his person. Despite the guard on the palace, al-Qāhir had managed to win over the Sājīyah section of the troops on whom Mūnis and Yalbaq were mainly relying, and to whom recently when in Mosul they had given a promise of better terms. The khalifah traded on this unfulfilled promise, and offered the same amelioration in their terms. Having thus gained them to his side he summoned them when the wazir's plan was now near to completion. 'Alī managed to escape, but shortly after was ignominiously removed from an oven, where but for an unlucky chance he would have eluded search. Ibn Muqlah and al-Ḥasan, on hearing of the miscarriage of their plan, went into hiding. Yalbaq betook himself to the palace to smooth over the matter with al-Qāhir, but was arrested with those who accompanied him. Mūnis excused himself on the ground of physical inability from attending on the khalifah to offer his "paternal" counsel, but the latter persisted till he went to comply with the request, only to be imprisoned within the palace. The clamour of his men for Mūnis satisfied al-Qāhir of the inadvisability of allowing longer respite to Yalbaq and him, Ibn Muqlah's friends of long standing, and to Yalbaq's son, and he personally saw to it that they were done to death with harrowing circumstance. That a similar fate would have overtaken Ibn Muqlah is probable; measures were taken to discover his whereabouts; his brother was arrested and searched, but the trail yielded nothing (*TU.*, 411–25).

From his place of hiding he continued his machinations against the head of the state; by correspondence he tampered with the loyalty of the Sājīyah and Ḥujarīyah troops. Al-Ḥasan b. Hārūn aided and abetted him with novel and clever resourcefulness; venturing forth by night disguised at times as a beggar, seeking an alms for his chanting,

and sometimes as a woman, he met them and incited them to violence against al-Qāhir. He bribed an astrologer to inspire Sīmā with fear for his safety, till at length at the head of these two corps he attacked the palace, and seized the cruel and pleasure-loving khalifah, who was soon after deprived of his eyesight, and so by the dictate of tradition rendered incapable of further exercise of imperial authority (*TU.*, 448 ff.). He is said to have survived his affliction full sixteen years (*Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda*, Gibb M. Ser., 344). From time to time during this period he was allowed his liberty, then again imprisoned; on one occasion (cf. *Haft Iqlīm*: "for long") he begged at the mosque of al-Manṣūr in Baghdad, his object being to bring opprobrium on al-Mustakfī (r. 333–4; *Fakh.*, p. 324).

Abu'l-'Abbās Md. b. al-Muqtadir, with the *laqab* ar-Rāḍī bi'l-lāh, succeeded. When 'Alī b. 'Īsā declined the wazirate, Sīmā proposed Ibn Muqlah, who was again chosen for the high office. 'Alī, too, considered him the most suitable for the times. This his third premiership began in 322. He entered on it with good resolutions: "I swore to God in my concealment to do harm to none, and made vows." His first act was one of clemency in releasing the secretarial and military prisoners in the palace-keep, and certain other persons (*TU.*, 457). But his supremacy was soon challenged and his powers usurped by Md. b. Yāqūt, who not content with his rôle of military chief, extended his direction to the other departments of the administration, until Ibn Muqlah was left a mere nominal head. With this semblance of authority he was forced to be content, till he induced the khalifah to have him and his wine-bibbing brother, al-Muẓaffar b. Yāqūt, arrested in the year 323 (*TU.*, 490). For the specious purpose of setting at rest the mind of their anxious father, then on military duty in Wāsiṭ, he sent through Abū 'Abdi'l-lāh al-Barīdī a message to him that their confinement had been necessitated by the repeated clamour of the troops, who threatened serious measures unless this action was taken (*TU.*, 493).

When this successful coup restored to him authority, he made his son, Abu'l-Ḥusayn 'Alī, a son in the art of government as well, associating him with him in the administration: by royal mandate the acting powers of wazir were delegated to him in this same year, his nineteenth. The son operating under the ægis of an experienced father, and for a khalifah of recent enthronement, had thus an opportunity that might well have been coveted. The situation was admittedly not without drawbacks, but possibly none that could not

have been removed by a capable control of the finances. Al-Muqtadir had been spendthrift (*TU.*, 384): al-Qāhir, too, had been prodigal of state-resources. By reason of this and other drains, not all for honest ends, and the occasional withholding of provincial revenues by rebellious governors, the treasury was frequently unable to pay the mercenaries regularly, with the result that they sometimes weakened the authority they had been employed to strengthen, and even assumed the rôle of "king makers". Financial straitness beset the new régime under ar-Rāḍī: when Abū 'Abdi'l-lāh al-Barīdī, for instance, stopped the payment into the imperial treasury of the revenues of Ahwaz, Ibn Muqlah wrote to him an impassioned appeal: "... I hope you will not persist in returning ingratitude for my favours and kindness to you, ... and that you will help me in my sore plight, to the like of which none has ever been reduced that has sat in the seat of power, and will protect me with material aid from what is impending" (*TU.*, 504–5). That the faults of the father were reproduced in the son may be gathered from the incident narrated in the following paragraph; that they were magnified in him was the opinion of 'Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Kūfī, an authority possibly prejudiced against both, however, who declared that the son was the worse, and that whatever effrontery, hardness, and meanness characterized the untrustworthy father were also characteristic of the son (*TU.*, 504).

Ibn Muqlah, under the khalifah's instructions, set out in 323 for Mosul with a punitive force against al-Ḥasan b. 'Abdi'l-lāh b. Ḥamdān, with whose connivance Sa'īd b. Ḥamdān, his uncle, had been murdered. Al-Ḥasan further had not remitted the dues of the revenue to the capital, having, it is said, been instigated thereto by 'Alī b. 'Īsā. 'Alī was arrested and fined, but soon released on his oath neither to create nor to promote disaffection (*TU.*, 498–9). That al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamdān had reliance on 'Alī, and none whatever on the premier's fidelity, was made very clear in his reply to the messenger whom Ibn Muqlah during his stay at Mosul sent to him asking him to renew his allegiance, and promising him security (*TU.*, 501).

The premier set out for Mosul: after pursuit of the now fugitive al-Ḥasan, he stayed in the city for a time collecting the revenue and negotiating a loan from the grain-dealers. Sahl b. Hāshim, al-Ḥasan's kātib and an adroit intriguer to boot, paved the way for his master's return; by means of a gift of money he induced the acting wazir to write to his father urging his speedy return on the ground

that relations with the khalifah were embarassed. His father came back, to be received by ar-Rāḍī with honour and presents!

The annalistic method of Ibn Miskawayh affords a grateful source of court-records, but this fifth volume at least of his history leaves the impression that statecraft was then a gladiatorial art, not a disciplined hegemony. A Hogarth might well have placed over the hall of pageant of this epoch of the Abbaside dynasty a clock having inscribed on the pendulum "intrigue", on the minute hand "revenge", and on the hour hand "government" (cf. his Large Masquerade Ticket, 1727). Yet a little and an enemy's conspiring was to outwit Ibn Muqlah's cunning, and his vengeance to overthrow him. The two sons of Yāqūt, Md. and al-Muẓaffar, had been cast into prison (sup., p. 223), where the former died. In 324 the latter was released by the premier, who swore to befriend him and to molest him no more (*TU.*, 508). But feeling certain that Ibn Muqlah was the cause of their ill-fortune, and of his brother's death, he straightway employed his freedom in the quest of revenge, and to this end got into touch with the Ḥujarīyah troops. In this atmosphere of suspicion and espionage nothing could long remain secret. The wazir came to hear of his purpose, and concerted with Badr, the Prefect of Police, counter-measures, himself remaining astutely aloof from all connexion with their fulfilment. The no less astute al-Muẓaffar then advised the Ḥujarīyah to make every show of obedience and loyalty to the wazir, until by this ruse they lulled his suspicions and induced him to remove Badr and his men, and the Sājīyah troops from the palace, which they promptly seized and secured possession of the khalifah. Al-Muẓaffar's cause was thereby greatly strengthened, but he himself continued to make profession of his loyalty to the wazir.

Danger was also imminent from another quarter. Md. b. Rā'iq withheld this year the revenues of Wāsiṭ and Baṣrah. Ibn Muqlah as a preliminary to coercive measures dispatched to him two envoys, but with their request he refused to comply, and sent by them a private letter to the khalifah, soliciting the wazirate and promising to meet all financial obligations. The khalifah did not, however, take action on this. Ibn Muqlah, pursuing a tortuous policy, prepared to send another agent to Ibn Rā'iq to assure him that the force, which was actually intended for coercive measures, would have as its objective Ahwaz, and not his sphere of administration. He accompanied this agent to the khalifah to obtain his sanction, but was waylaid in the antechamber of the palace by al-Muẓaffar and the Ḥujarīyah, who

sent him captive to the royal presence, denouncing him as the mischief-maker and instigator, and requesting a successor. Ar-Rāḍī approved their action, and left the selection to them, whereupon they nominated 'Alī b. 'Īsā. He declined the post in favour of his brother, 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān, whose policy, however, he influenced (*TU.*, 509-13).

The fallen wazir was made over to his successor, who scourged him with whips, and took his signature for a million dīnārs. He was next handed over to Abu'l-'Abbās al-Khaṣībī, al-Qāhir's last wazir, who had saved himself by donning woman's guise when his master was seized and deposed (*TU.*, 452), and whom Ibn Muqlah had the year before, in 323, banished to Omān, whence he secretly returned (*TU.*, 497, 513). Again he was scourged, and this time placed in the stocks, and a sum of over fifty thousand dīnārs had been extorted from him when his old friend Abu Bakr b. Qarābah interceded for him, and on declaring himself responsible for the balance due from him obtained his freedom. It appears that he spent the next year in the retirement of his home (I. Kh., loc. cit.). According to Thābit b. Sinān, however, he was in hiding at the time of the appointment of al-Faḍl b. Ja'far b. al-Furāt as wazir, in 325: he quotes the authority of one who met him and asked him why he did not go or write to congratulate him, to which he replied that he did not trust him sufficiently; probably apprehension lay nearer his heart than the bravado apparent in his lines:—

> Will spirit like mine consent
> To seem humble and suppliant? (*Fakh.*, 331.)

'Abdu'r-Raḥmān proving unfit for the premiership, gave place in 324 to the likewise incapable Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan, who in turn made way for Mḥ. b. Rā'iq, on whom the khalifah conferred the honorific title of 'Amīru'l-'Umarā'. The latter confiscated the estates of Ibn Muqlah and his son. When Ibn Muqlah humbly entreated their return, he was put off with repeated promises, till despairing of the dull delay, and satisfied that he would have to be content with words only, he instituted every manner of intrigue against him. His epistolary campaign began with a letter to the military chief Bajkam, then in Wāsiṭ, instigating him to seek Ibn Rā'iq's place: he wrote in similar strain to Washmgīr; he dictated to 'Alī b. Hārūn Ibn al-Munajjim (*sic*, *TU.*, 580; cf. I. Kh., loc. cit.) a letter addressed to ar-Rāḍī that was either a piece of egregious intrigue or a desperate throw, for he stood to gain all or lose it according to its reception. In it he advised him to seize Ibn Rā'iq and his relations, assuring him that he could be made to pay three million dīnārs, and counselled him

to summon Bajkam to replace him. The result showed that he had certainly made a foolish bid to oust the royal favourite. Decoyed by the khalifah's encouragement, the falsity of which he failed to discern in his stars (*TU.*, 581), he sought and was promised a secret audience in the palace, and was thus lured to his arrest and confinement in the palace-keep, where he was destined for the rest of his days to eat the bread of affliction. Ar-Rāḍī communicated the result of his stratagem to his favourite, and correspondence passed between them; probably it related to the nature of the punishment which should be inflicted, for Ibn Rā'iq is said to have requested that his right hand be cut off as being the one that had penned the representation which might have led to his downfall (I. Kh., loc. cit.): *al-Fakhrī* is less explicit, merely stating that his enemies calumniated him. Either because of these aspersions and fear of his animosity, or more likely at the instigation of Ibn Rā'iq, the khalifah caused his right hand to be amputated, and sent him back to prison. Superstition has traced the cruel affliction to an ulterior cause, the imprecation of Abu'l-Ḥasan Md. b. 'Aḥmad, known as Ibn Shanabūdh (I. Kh., loc. cit.). He was a reputed *Qāri'*, and was accused by a number of persons before Ibn Muqlah of having made slight alterations in words in his reading of the Qur'ān. The wazir imprisoned him, and ordered him seven lashes; in the course of their being inflicted he exclaimed: "May the hand of the wazir be cut off!" (*Haft Iqlīm*). The severed hand was preserved in a casket in the Treasury, a gruesome practice then observed, and was said to have been produced a few years later during the reign of al-Muttaqī (r. 329-33; *Fakh.*, 323).

Relenting somewhat the khalifah summoned Thābit b. Sinān, who narrates that he was sent at the close of the same day to tend him. He found him in a locked chamber, in sore plight, and was greeted with tears. The stump had been covered with a coarse garment, and was badly swollen from a hempen cord tightly fastened near the place of amputation; there was a crude application of dung. The physician dressed it anew, and tended him till he became convalescent. The patient would inquire at his entry for news of his son, Abu'l-Ḥusayn, and on hearing that he was in safe concealment would be composed. Then he would break into tears of lamentation that the hand which had rendered service to the state thrice, under three khalifahs, and with which he had twice (thrice, *Haft Iqlīm*) copied the Qur'ān, and written traditions of the Prophet (*Fakh.*, 320), had been submitted to the penalty meted out to the thief in Muslim law. When the

physician sought to sooth him, saying that no further misfortune would befall him, he would reply with true premonition of the end: "Not so, for tribulation besets me as a hectic fever the limbs, and will ne'er leave me till it deliver me over to death." Then he quoted these lines of his plight:—

If part of thee die, weep for its fellow,
For one part is fellow of another. (*TU*., 583.)

The physician's services, and possibly also his companionship, which may have had the beneficence ascribed by Josiah Wedgwood to "the influence of a good flow of spirits upon the whole animal economy", aided nature's healing efficacy. To beguile the tedium of his life in durance he turned his thoughts to the composition of poetry, in which he deplored the loss of his hand, and complained of the ungrateful return for his services. These lines are ascribed to him, and may well have been penned behind the prison bars:—

Time tried me with its changes,
But my heart ne'er weakly quailed,
I'm used to days both good and ill,- and oft
The thing most strange doth turn to use and wont.
(*Fakh*., 319.)

When he recovered he decided to put his fortune once more to the test; he corresponded from prison with ar-Rāḍī, promising to procure for him money, and urging his reinstatement seeing that his dismemberment would be no obstacle. He is said to have overcome this physical disability by fastening the *qalam* (reed-pen) to the stump of his right arm (*TU*., 583), to such good effect that one could not distinguish it from his earlier handwriting, and he had been noted for his calligraphy (*Fakh*., 321).

About this time Bajkam reached Baghdad, and his vicinity to the unfortunate prisoner being deemed dangerous, the latter was removed to a secret place, and the further precaution against a renewal of mischief on his part taken of cutting out his tongue, at the instance of Ibn Rā'iq (I. Kh., loc. cit.). He remained there a long time, till he was afflicted with a severe diarrhœa; there was none to cure him, and none even to tend him, so that perforce he had to draw water from the well himself, plying the rope with his left hand and his teeth alternately, until in 328 (327, *Haft Iqlīm*) death came to relieve him from his sore distress. He was buried in the palace precincts, but his body was later exhumed and made over to his family.

It has been observed that there were a number of triple coincidences connected with him; he thrice held the wazirate; thrice he journeyed,

being twice banished to Shiraz (sup., 217, 220), and once he travelled to Mosul (sup., 224); he was thrice interred, once as stated in the palace, once by his family, and a third time by his wife at her own house (*Fakh.*, 321). The list has been extended with the passage of time; Ibnu'l-'Athīr (viii, 260) contributes one more, that he had three servitors specially attached to his person, while the *Haft Iqlīm* states that he thrice copied the Qur'ān, and attributes to him the invention of the *Khaṭṭ-i thulth*, or *naskhī* in large hand, from the *Kūfī* (Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, art. "Writing").

He is best known to fame as the inventor of a style of writing called *Naskhī*, derived it is said from the stately and ornate Kūfī script, which originated in Kūfah in the time of the early khalifahs, and which it supplanted by reason of its being more cursive. With him is associated Ibnu'l-Bawwāb (e.g. in 'Awfī's *Lubābu'l-'Albāb*, i, 44, 122, Browne's Pers. Hist. Ser.; he died in A.H. 413), who developed and improved on his effort. But the discovery by the savant Silvestre de Sacy early in the nineteenth century of MSS. from Egypt written in *Naskhī*, and dating from a time almost contemporaneous with the *Kūfī* of the monuments, rendered the traditional view no longer tenable. The Phœnician alphabet was the parent of *naskhī*. Kūfī, the one-time script of Arabia, is in the opinion of P. Berger (*Hist. de l'ecriture dans l'antiquité*) a Nabatean alphabet, transformed by imitation of Syriac writing.

THOMAS STEPHENS, S.J., THE FIRST ENGLISHMAN IN INDIA

By James Southwood

[In view of the curiosity which has been aroused by the examination of the works of Father Thomas Stephens, S.J.,[1] preserved in the Marsden Collection—which has now been transferred from King's College to the School of Oriental Studies—the following biography of this first Englishman to visit India cannot fail to be of interest to our readers. The letter addressed by Thomas Stephens to his father, in which he recounts the incidents of his voyage to India, does not appear in print for the first time, but on account of its innate charm of style, and of the vivid picture it presents of a voyage round the Cape in the second half of the sixteenth century, it certainly deserves to be better known, and no excuse is required for its reproduction.—Editor.]

The bitter religious strife and persecution prevailing in England during the latter half of the sixteenth century is, more or less, responsible for the great dearth of facts concerning the lives of many of our eminent men of this period; and the records relating to Thomas Stephens unfortunately prove no exception to the rule. Therefore, little can be gleaned of his early days in this country, and although the chief authorities are Jesuit writers, they are not always reliable, particularly where dates are concerned. Even the date of his birth cannot be given with absolute certainty. The early Jesuit writers place it at 1549; but the painstaking inquiries of Mr. Herbert Chitty show it could not be earlier than 1550. In the *Wiltshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Magazine* (xxxii, p. 220) this writer identifies him with the Thomas Stevens who was elected on the Foundation of Winchester College in 1564 when he was thirteen years of age; *i.e.* 13–14 when admitted as a scholar, for the admittance usually took place within twelve months.

[1] See *Bulletin*, (*a*) Vol. II, Part IV, p. 679, Dr. Justin Abbott, "Discovery of the Original Devanāgari Text of the Christian Purāna of Thomas Stevens." (*b*) Vol. III, Part I, p. 159, Dr. Justin Abbott, "The 'Arte de Lingoa Canari', the 'Doutrina Christam', and the 'Adi' and 'Deva Puran' of Thomas Stevens." (*c*) Vol. III, Part I, p. 129, the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., "The Marsden MSS. and Indian Mission Bibliography."

In the original Register of the College he is described as of "Busheton"[1] in the diocese of Salisbury, which Mr. Chitty identifies with the modern Bushton, in the parish of Cliffe Pypard, Wiltshire, and which, at the period in question, formed part of the diocese of Salisbury. This authority also made two important discoveries at the Record Office as a result of his examination of the Assessment Rolls. In one of 1571 (13th Eliz.) he found a Thomas Stevens among those assessed at Bushton: and in another of 1576 (18th Eliz.) the same person was assessed on goods valued at £15. The latter entry bears the note: "exoneratur per billam residenciæ," which confirms the statement of Hakluyt that at the time when Stephens wrote his first letter home, from Goa, his father was a merchant in London; and there can, therefore, be no reasonable doubt that Mr. Chitty is right in his deduction that the Thomas Stevens here mentioned was the father of the Jesuit Missionary.

From Hakluyt's work one gleans that Thomas Stephens was sometime of New College, Oxford: and, according to the Douay Diaries, his brother Richard was also at the same college; but no trace can be found of either names in the registers at Oxford. Still, this proves nothing, one way or the other; for the names of other Catholics, said to have been at the University at this period, are likewise absent, which is in itself very significant.

The year 1572 was a memorable one in Stephens' career, for it was then that he formed his friendship with Thomas Pounde, who, after having previously been a great favourite at the Court of Queen Elizabeth, had become one of the many notable recusants; and the life-story of Pounde fills an eloquent page in the history of Roman Catholic martyrology. Together, the two friends travelled the country for some two years; and on one occasion, at Ludlow, in Shropshire, they were arrested as spies, but were released after a few hours' detention. No doubt the desire to escape the cruel persecution meted out to his co-religionists led Pounde, in 1574, to sell the greater part of his property, with a view to secretly setting out for Rome, and shortly afterwards the friends came to London. But persecution still dogged the recusant, and before he could finish his arrangements he was arrested by the Queen's Officers and committed to the Marshalsea.

This, the beginning of a long series of incarcerations, extending over thirty years, was responsible for Stephens' visit to Rome, which

[1] This name was variously spelt Bubton, Busten, Bubsten, and Buston, which accounts for the learned Father being sometimes known by these names.

he made in the following year, at Pounde's request, to lay before the Father-General his friend's humble petition to be admitted to the Society as one of his sons. The application, however, proved unsuccessful, and when Stephens renewed it, in 1578, Pounde was duly admitted.

The second petition, addressed by Stephens from the Roman College, of the 4th November, 1578, throws a side-light on his relations with Pounde: "I also, Thomas Stephens, your paternity's unworthy son, humbly beg this favour for my said master, conjointly with whom for two years, more or less, in the world, I entertained this same intention, of both of us going to Rome and giving ourselves up to the Society. Being well acquainted with his life and conversation, I have noted the following facts: When I first turned my thoughts to the Society of Jesus, Divine Providence so ordained it that I should become acquainted with the said Mr. Pound: and although when out of doors I assumed the character of his servant, a position better suited to my means, and chiefly useful as a blind to the inquisitive Protestants, yet indoors I lived on terms of equality as his guest."

As to the exact date when Stephens himself was admitted to the Society of Jesus, some confusion exists. Foley (*Records of the English Jesuits*, vol. vii, p. 1453) states that he entered the Society at Rome on the 20th October, 1575, at the age of 26, when he studied philosophy with Father Garnett, and afterwards theology with Fathers Parsons and Faunt. This date, too, is corroborated by Father Parsons in his "Domesticall Difficulties", written in 1600 (*Catholic Record Society, Miscellanea*, ii, p. 64). On the other hand, De Backer (*Bib. de la Compagnie de Jésus*, ii, col. 468) says that Stephens joined the Society on the 11th October, 1578, and his contention is supported by Oliver (*Collections*, p. 197) and other writers. A reasonable explanation for this difference in dates is, probably, that the first is that on which the future missionary entered the Novitiate of St. Andrew, and the second date that on which—after completing his probation—he was admitted as *Scholasticus* into one of the Colleges at Rome, when he would take the vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. Stephens left Rome, while still *Scholasticus*, and journeyed to Lisbon, where, on the 4th April, 1579, he embarked for Goa, in one of a fleet of five vessels which sailed under the command of João de Saldanha. He reached his destination some six months later—24th October—and apparently was ordained the following year. For convenience's sake he seems to have adopted the Portuguese form of his

name—Thomaz Estevam; but there was no attempt at hiding his nationality.

Despite the fact that the learned Father seems to have been a good correspondent, only two letters written by him are known. The earlier one was written to his father under the date of 10th November, 1579. In quaint old-time English it gives a graphic description of the perils and dangers of the voyage to India, *via* the Cape of Good Hope, in those early days, and incidentally sheds a vivid light upon the man himself. So piquant in style, so full of interest, and so illuminative is this remarkable document, that no excuse is made for reproducing it *in extenso* from Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations, Voyages, etc.*, 1904 (vi, pp. 377–85):—

After most humble commendations: These shall be to crave your dayly blessing, with like commendations unto my mother; and withall, to certifie you of my being: according to your will and my duety. I wrote unto you taking my journey from Italy to Portugall, which letters I thinke are come to your hands, so that presuming thereupon, I thinke I have the lesse need at this time to tell you the cause of my departing, which neverthelesse in one word I may conclude, if I do but name obedience. I came to Lisbon toward the end of March, eight dayes before the departure of the shippes, so late that if they had not bene stayed about some weighty matters, they had bene long gone before our comming: insomuch that there were others ordained to goe in our places, that the king's provision and ours also might not be in vaine. Neverthelesse our sudden comming tooke place, and the fourth of Aprill five ships departed for Goa, wherein besides shipmen and souldiers, there were a great number of children which in the seas beare out better then men, and no marvell, when that many women also passe very well. The setting foorth from the port I need not to tell how solemne it is with trumpets, and shooting of ordinance, you may easily imagine it, considering that they go in the maner of warre. The tenth of the foresayd moneth we came to the sight of Porto Santo neere unto Madera, where an English shippe set upon ours (which was then also alone) with a few shots, which did no harme, but after that our ship had layed out her greatest ordinance, they straight departed as they came. The English shippe was very faire and great, which I was sory to see so ill occupied, for she went roving about, so that we saw her againe at the Canarian Iles, unto the which we came the thirteenth of the sayd moneth, and good leisure we had to woonder at the high mountaine of the Iland Tenerif, for we wandred betweene that and great Canaria foure dayes by reason of contrary windes: and briefly, such evill weather we had untill the foureteenth of May, that they despaired, to compasse the Cape of Good Hope that yeere.

Neverthelesse, taking our voyage betweene Guinea and the Ilands of Capo Verde, without seeing of any land at all, we arrived at length unto the coast of Guinie, which the Portugals so call, chiefly that part of the burning Zone, which is from the sixt degree unto the Equinoctiall, in which parts they suffered so many inconveniences of heats, and lacke of windes, that they thinke themselves happy when they have passed it: for sometimes the ship standeth there almost by the space of many dayes, sometime she goeth, but in such order that it were almost as good to stand still. And the greatest part of this coast not cleare, but thicke and cloudy, full of thunder and lightening, and raine so unwholesome, that if the water stand a little while, all is full of wormes, and falling on the meat which is hanged up, it maketh it straight full of wormes. Along all that coast we often times saw a thing swimming upon the water like a cocks combe (which they call a ship of Guinea) but the colour much fairer: which combe standeth upon a thing almost like the swimmer of a fish in colour and bignesse, and beareth underneath in the water, strings, which save it from turning over. This thing is so poisonous, that a man cannot touch it without great perill. In this coast, that is to say, from the sixt degree unto the Equinoctiall, we spent no lesse then thirty dayes, partly with contrary windes, partly with calme. The thirtieth of May we passed the Equinoctiall with contentation, directing our course as well as we could to passe the promontory, but in all that gulfe, and in all the way beside, we found so often calmes, that the expertest mariners wondred at it. And in places where are alwayes woont to be most horrible tempests, we found most quiet calmes which was very troublesome to those ships which be the greatest of all other, and cannot go without good windes. Insomuch, that when it is tempest almost intollerable for other ships, and maketh them maine all their sailes, these hoise up, and saile excellent well, unlesse the waters be too furious, which seldome happened in our navigation. You shall understand, that being passed the line, they cannot straightway go the next way to the promontory: but according to the winde, they draw alwayes as neere South as they can to put themselves in the latitude of the point, which is 35 degrees and an halfe, and then they take their course towards the East, and so compasse the point. But the winde served us so, that at 33 degrees we did direct our course toward the point or promontory of Good Hope.

You know that it is hard to saile from East to West, or contrary, because there is no fixed point in all the skie, whereby they may direct their course, wherefore I shall tell you what helps God provided for these men. There is not a fowle that appereth, or signe in the aire, or in the sea, which they have not written, which have made the voyages heretofore. Wherfore, partly by their owne experience, and pondering withall what space the ship was able to make with such a winde, and such direction, and partly by the experience of others, whose books and navigations

they have, they gesse whereabouts they be, touching degrees of longitude, for of latitude they be alwayes sure: but the greatest and best industry of all is to marke the variations of the needle or compasse, which in the Meridian of the Iland of S. Michael, which is one of the Azores in the latitude of Lisbon, is just North, and thence swarveth towards the East so much, that betwixt the Meridian aforesayd, and the point of Africa it carneth three or foure quarters of 32. And againe in the point of Afrike, a little beyond the point that is called Cape das Agulhas (in English the needles) it returneth again unto the North, and that place passed, it swarveth againe toward the West, as it did before proportionally. As touching our first signes, the neerer we came to the people of Afrike, the more strange kindes of fowles appeared, insomuch that when we came within no lesse then thirty leagues (almost an hundred miles) and sixe hundred miles as we thought from any Iland, as good as three thousand fowles of sundry kindes followed our ship: some of them so great that their wings being opened from one point to the other, contained seven spannes, as the mariners sayd. A marvellous thing to see how God provided, so that in so wide a sea these fowles are all fat, and nothing wanteth them. The Portugals have named them all according to some propriety which they have: some they call Rushtailes, because their tailes be not proportionable to their bodies, but long and small like a rush, some forked tailes because they be very broad and forked, some velvet sleeves, because they have wings of the colour of velvet, and bowe them as a man boweth his elbow. This bird is alwayes welcome, for he appeareth neerest the Cape. I should never make an end if I should tell all particulars: but it shall suffice briefly to touch a few, which yet shall be sufficient, if you marke them, to give occasion to glorifie almighty God in his wonderful works, and such variety in his creatures. And to speake somewhat of fishes in all places of calme, especially in the burning Zone, neere the line (for without we never saw any) there waited on our ship fishes as long as a man, which they call Tuberones, they come to eat such things as from the shippe fall into the sea, not refusing men themselves if they light upon them. And if they finde any meat tied in the sea, they take it for theirs. These have waiting on them six or seven small fishes (which never depart) with gardes blew and greene round about their bodies, like comely serving men: and they go two or three before him, and some on every side. Moreover, they have other fishes which cleave alwayes unto their body, and seeme to take such superfluities as grow about them, and they are sayd to enter into their bodies also to purge them if they need. The mariners in time past have eaten of them, but since they have seene them eate men their stomacks abhorre them. Neverthelesse, they draw them up with great hooks, and kill of them as many as they can, thinking that they have made a great revenge. There is another kind of fish as bigge almost as a herring, which hath wings and

flieth, and they are together in great number. These have two enemies, the one in the sea, the other in the aire. In the sea the fish which is called Albocore, as big as a salmon, followeth them with great swiftnesse to take them. This poore fish not being able swim fast, for he hath no finnes, but swimmeth with mooving of his taile, shutting his wings, lifteth himselfe above the water, and flieth not very hie; the Albocore seeing that, although he have no wings, yet he giveth a great leape out of the water, and sometimes catcheth him, or els he keepeth himselfe under the water going that way on as fast as he flieth. And when the fish being weary of the aire, or thinking himselfe out of danger, returneth into the water, the Albocore meeteth with him: but sometimes his other enemy the sea-crow, catcheth him before he falleth. With these and like sights, but alwayes making our supplications to God for good weather and salvation of the ship, we came at length unto the point, so famous & feared of all men: but we found there no tempest, only great waves, where our Pilot was a little overseene: for whereas commonly al other never come within sight of land, but seeing signes ordinary, and finding bottome, go their way sure and safe, he thinking himselfe to have winde at will, shot so nigh the land that the winde turning into the South, and the waves being exceeding great, rolled us so nere the land, that the ship stood in lesse then 14 fadoms of water, no more then sixe miles from the Cape, which is called Das Agulias, and there we stood as utterly cast away: for under us were rocks of maine stone so sharpe, and cutting, that no ancre could hold the ship, the shore so evill, that nothing could take land, and the land itselfe so full of Tigers, and people that are savage, and killers of all strangers, that we had no hope of life nor comfort, but onely in God and a good conscience. Notwithstanding, after we had lost ancres, hoising up the sailes for to get the ship a coast in some safer place, or when it should please God, it pleased his mercy suddenly, where no man looked for helpe, to fill our sailes with wind from the land, & so we escaped, thanks be to God. And the day following, being in the place where they are alwayes wont to catch fish, we also fell a fishing, and so many they tooke, that they served all the ship for that day, and part of the next. And one of them pulled up a corall of great bignesse and price. For there they say (as we saw by experience) that the corals doe grow in the maner of stalks upon the rocks in the bottome, and waxe hard and red. The day of perill was the nine and twentieth of July. And you shall understand that, the Cape passed, there be two wayes to India: one within the Ile of S. Laurence, which they take willingly, because they refresh themselves at Mosambique a fortnight or a moneth, not without great need, and thence in a moneth more land in Goa. The other is without the Ile of S. Laurence, which they take when they set foorth so late, and come so late to the point, that they have no time to take the foresayd Mosambique, and then they goe heavily, because in this way

they take no port. And by reason of the long navigation, and want of food and water, they fall into sundry diseases, their gummes waxe great, and swell, and they are faine to cut them away, their legges swell, and all the body becommeth sore, and so benummed, that they can not stirre hand nor foot, and so they die for weaknesse, others fall into fluxes and agues, and die thereby. And this way it was our chance to make: yet though we had more then one hundred and fifty sicke, there died not past seven and twenty: which losse they esteemed not much in respect of other times. Though some of ours were diseased in this sort yet, thanks be to God, I had my health all the way, contrary to the expectation of many: God send me my health so well in the land, if it may be to his honour and service. This way is full of privy rockes and quicke-sands, so that sometimes we durst not saile by night, but by the providence of God we saw nothing, nor never found bottome untill we came to the coast of India. When we had passed againe the line, and were come to the third degree or somewhat more, we saw crabs swimming on the water that were red as though they had bene sodden: but this was no signe of land. After, about the eleventh degree, the space of many dayes, more then ten thousand fishes by estimation followed round about our ship, whereof we caught so many, that for fifteene dayes we did eate nothing els, and they served our turne very well: for at this time we had neither meat nor almost any thing els to eate, our navigation growing so long that it drew neere to seven moneths, where as commonly they goe it in five. I meane when they saile the inner way. But these fishes were not signe of land, but rather of deepe sea. At length we tooke a couple of birds, which were a kinde of Hawks, whereof they joyed much, thinking that they had bene of India, but indeed they were of Arabia, as we found afterward. And we that thought we had bene neere India, were in the same latitude neere Zocotoro, an Ile in the mouth of the Red Sea. But there God sent us great winds from the Northeast or Northnortheast, whereupon unwillingly they bare up toward the East, and thus we went tenne dayes without seeing signe of land, whereby they perceived their errour: for they had directed their course before alwayes Northeast, coveting to multiply degrees of latitude, but partly the difference of the Needle, and most of all the running seas, which at that time ran North-west, had drawen us to this other danger, had not God sent us this winde, which at length waxed larger, and restored us to our right course. These running seas be so perillous that they deceive the most part of the governours, and some be so little curious, contenting themselves with ordinary experience, that they care not to seeke out any meanes to know when they swarve, neither by the compasse, nor by any other triall. The first signe of land were certain fowles which they knew to be of India: the second, boughes of palmes and sedges: the third, snakes swimming on the water, and a substance which they call by the name of a conie

of money, as broad and as round as a groat, woonderfully printed and stamped of nature, like unto some coine. And these two last signes be so certaine, that the next day after, if the winde serve, they see land, which we did to our great joy, when all our water (for you know they make no beere in those parts) and victuals began to faile us. And to Goa we came the foure and twentieth day of October, there being received with passing great charity. The people be tawny, but not disfigured in their lips & noses, as the Moores and Cafres of Ethiopia. They that be not of reputation, or at least the most part, goe naked, saving an apron of a span long, and as much in bredth before them, and a lace two fingers broad before them, girded about with a string and no more: and thus they thinke them as well as we with all our trimming. Of the fruits and trees that be here I cannot now speake, for I should make another letter as long as this. For hitherto I have not seene a tree here, whose like I have seene in Europe, the vine excepted, which neverthelesse here is to no purpose, so that all the wines are brought out of Portugall. The drinke of this countrey is good water, or wine of the Palme tree, or of a fruit called Cocos. And this shall suffice for this time. If God send me my health, I shall have opportunity to write to you once againe. Now the length of my letter compelleth me to take my leave: and thus I wish your most prosperous health. From Goa the tenth of November, 1579.

Your loving sonne,
THOMAS STEVENS.

The only other letter extant—and this unfortunately is imperfect—is preserved in the National Library at Brussels. The original is written in Latin; but a translation is given in the biographical note to the new edition of Stephens' *Puranna*. The letter, dated the 24th October, 1583, is addressed to his brother Richard. This brother entered the English College at Douay in 1573, and afterwards became Doctor of Theology, dying there on the 19th April, 1586.

Like the letter to his father, this second letter is of surpassing interest; but want of space makes it impossible to give more than the most salient features. He speaks of a serious illness which overtook him during his first year at Goa. Shortly afterwards he was advanced to Holy Orders and sent to the Peninsula of Salsette, south of the Island of Goa "to help the Christians lately converted". Some interesting facts are disclosed relating to the martyrdom in the Peninsula of Jesuit Fathers, and the difficulties experienced in the conversion of the natives. Speaking of the many languages of the country, he tells us their pronunciation is not disagreeable, and that their structure is allied to Greek and Latin; describing the phrases

and constructions as being of a wonderful kind: and that "the letters in the syllables have their value, and are varied as many times as the consonants can be combined with the vowels and the mutes with the liquids". Then follow an account of the climate and a passing reference to Calvinism and Arianism: the letter ending with a prayer to God for them "to make headway in the face of adversity" and finally obtain salvation.

It is evident from this letter that the learned Father had commenced the study of native languages. Ribadaneira, in his *Bib. Script. S.J.* (p. 768), stated that he "primus Canarinum idioma in regulas ordinemque digessit. Indostanum etiam quo nobiliores utuntur perfecte calluit". Professor Pollard has inferred from this that Stephens was the first to make a scientific study of Canarese and Hindustani, and also to write manuals of piety and grammars in these languages (*Dict. Nat. Biog. Supp.*, iii, p. 355): but there can be no doubt that Konkani and Marathi are the languages referred to, for it was these he studied, and in which he wrote his works.

On the subject of Stephens' ecclesiastical appointments uncertainty prevails. He is said to have been for a time Minister of the Professed House at Goa, and undoubtedly for some years was Rector of the college at Margão in the district of Salsette, and was temporary Socius to the Visitor, and Spiritual Coadjutor; but the various authorities differ as to the dates when these appointments were held.

Thenceforward only fleeting glimpses of this eminent pioneer are obtainable. To those in trouble he was ever ready to hold out a helping hand: and it is only from the grateful acknowledgment of his kindness from some of those whom he had assisted in their hour of need, that we are able to glean the little we know of his latter-day life. In 1583, the enterprise of four bold English adventurers excited the jealousy of the Portuguese, who caused them to be arrested at Ormuz and deported to Goa for imprisonment. Two of the quartet, John Newberie and Ralph Fitch, in writing home, speak gratefully of the help rendered them by Father Stephens in their efforts to obtain release; and, in like manner again, in 1609, a certain French traveller, François Pyrard de Laval, who with some Englishmen had been cast into prison at Goa, speaks of the Father's kindly assistance.

In 1619 Father Stephens passed away, having spent forty years in the province of Goa. He is the first recorded Englishman in India, the precursor of a people destined to rule that country for some centuries.

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE OXUS-JAXARTES BASIN

By Professor ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE

I

THE PROBLEM

THE Basin of the Rivers Oxus and Jaxartes (which may be regarded as a single unit from the geographical as well as the historical point of view) has several times over played a particular part in the world's history. In conjunction with its complement, the Basin of the Tarim, it has served as a corridor or line of communication between the home-lands of several independent civilizations. By this route, the Middle Eastern World (and the Mediterranean World behind it) has communicated with India, and both India and the Middle East (sometimes alternately and, less often, simultaneously) with the Far Eastern World of China, Korea, and Japan.

Every historian must have noticed the similarity, in this respect, between the functions of the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin and of Syria, and the parallel does not appear to break down when it is pressed. Syria (with its annexe, North-Western Mesopotamia) has linked Anatolia with 'Iraq and both these regions with Egypt, at periods when these three regions were respectively the foci of civilizations: and there is a symmetry between the two routes not only in the character of their termini, but in that of the regions by which they are flanked on either hand. In both cases one flank is covered by an exceptionally inhospitable plateau (Arabia in the one instance, Tibet in the other): and when the corridor has been playing the part of a conductor between its termini, this flanking plateau has usually offered a blank wall, neither receiving nor exerting social or political influence upon the corridor to any appreciable extent. At certain critical moments of history, however, this general rule has been broken by startling and far-reaching exceptions. The most celebrated of these are the irruption of the Muslim Arabs into Syria, which began in A.D. 632, and the irruption of the Buddhist Tibetans into the Central Asian corridor a generation later.[1] These are examples of a phenomenon which,

[1] The Tibetans cut the Central Asian line in the Tarim Basin, which they first occupied *circa* A.D. 670–92, and then again from *circa* A.D. 790 until the middle of the ninth century, when the Uigurs broke into the corridor from the opposite flank and turned the Tibetans out of it.

though exceptional, has occurred on more than one known occasion in either area.

In both cases, again (to pursue the parallel), the other flank is skirted not by a normally quiescent and non-conducting plateau but by a highly sensitive coast-line. It is true that the sea which that coast-line delimits is not composed of identical elements in the two cases. Syria is flanked by the salt-water sea of the Mediterranean, the Central Asian corridor by an inland sea of grass and gravel—the Eurasian Steppe. Nevertheless, from the human (as distinct from the physiographical) point of view, there is a serious and not merely a fantastic analogy between these two flanking regions. Both water-surface and steppe-surface are accessible to Man, but only as a pilgrim and a sojourner. Neither offers him anywhere in its broad expanse (apart from the islands or oases) a place where he can rest the sole of his foot and settle down to a sedentary existence. Both provide strikingly greater facilities for travel and transport than those parts of the earth's surface upon which human communities are accustomed to live in permanence; but both exact (as the penalty for trespassing upon them) the necessity of constantly "moving on", or else of "moving off" their surface altogether, and finding some standing ground upon terra firma, somewhere beyond the coasts which respectively surround them. Thus there is a real similarity between the Nomadic horde which annually follows the same orbit of summer and winter pasture-grounds, and the fishing fleet which cruises from bank to bank according to the season; between the convoy of merchantmen which exchanges the products of the opposite shores of the sea, and the camel-caravan by which the opposite shores of the steppe are linked with one another; between the water-pirate and the desert raider; and between those mysterious, explosive movements of population which impel Minoans or Crusaders to take to their ships and to break like tidal waves upon the coasts of Syria, and those other movements which impel Sakas or Yue-Chi or Ephthalites or Turks or Mongols to swing out of their annual orbit on the steppe and to break, with equally mysterious suddenness, upon the settled lands of the Tarim Basin and Transoxania.

The history of Syria is so familiar that it would be superfluous to give historical chapter and verse for the phenomena in the Syrian theatre. On the other hand, it may be useful to recall the chief instances in which the Central Asian corridor has transmitted influences from one terminal civilization to another. Our earliest information, hitherto,

has been provided by the discoveries of the Pumpelly Expedition,[1] which prosecuted its most intensive studies in the oasis of Anau in Trans-caspia, at the south-western corner of the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin, where the basin impinges upon the Iranian plateau. Mr. Pumpelly and his collaborators have discovered clear affinities between prehistoric Anau and prehistoric Elam; and they have proved that the achievements of Anau (in material technique and still more in the domestication of animals) were carried westwards by migrations—presumably across the Eurasian Steppe—and so introduced into Europe.

In the much more recent period of the Achæmenid Empire (from the middle of the sixth century B.C. onwards), Professor Michael Rostovtzev has lately[2] traced how contemporary Middle Eastern art and culture were transmitted, via Transoxania, to the adjoining sector of the Steppe now occupied by the Kazaks and at that time by the Sarmatians; and how the Sarmatians, in their subsequent migrations westwards, carried these distinctive forms of technique and expressions of taste far beyond the boundaries of the Steppe—into the heart of early Mediaeval Europe.

The Central Asian corridor performed its historical function on a third occasion, after Alexander had destroyed the Achæmenid Empire, when Hellenism, following in the wake of his armies, temporarily submerged the indigenous civilization of the Middle Eastern World. In these circumstances, the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin became the route by which Hellenic art penetrated into North-Western India; a syncretistic Græco-Buddhist culture was generated thereby in the borderlands on either side of the Hindu Kush; and eventually the Central Asian corridor—exercising its function again—transmitted this fruitful offspring of two great civilizations to enrich a third. The discoveries of Stein, le Coq, and others in the Tarim Basin and the Turfan Depression have caught Græco-Buddhist culture in the act of transmission to the Far East, where it produced an æsthetic revolution as profound as that which distinguishes Byzantine art from the art of Ancient Greece herself.

This was not the last of the permutations and combinations in which Central Asia was to play the decisive rôle. From the third century

[1] Pumpelly, R.: *Explorations in Turkestan* (published at Washington, D.C., by the Carnegie Institution: I, Expedition of 1903 = Publication 26, 1905; II, Expedition of 1904 = Publication 73, 1908, 2 vols.).

[2] Rostovtzev, M.: *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (Oxford, 1922, Clarendon Press).

after Christ onwards, when the tide of Hellenism began to ebb from the Middle East and the indigenous local civilization began to reassert itself there, the corridor gradually ceased to transmit influences to the Far East from the Græco-Roman World and India, in order to place the Far East in contact with the new movements which were expanding concentrically from the Middle Eastern focus—principally through the vehicle of "Missionary Religions". In successive waves of influence Manichæism, Nestorianism, and Islam made their "Golden Journey" along the corridor—far past the longitude of Samarkand—until they seeded themselves in the north-western outskirts of China.[1]

Finally, during the last fifty years, Transoxania has been incorporated in the political system of Russia, and the introduction, via Westernized Russia, of Western mechanical technique has equipped the corridor with material means of playing its historical part which are immeasurably superior to any which it has ever possessed before. Three of the principal caravan routes have already been replaced by the Trans-siberian, the Tashkend-Orenburg, and the Trans-caspian Railways, and the experiments in motor tractors which are now being made in the French Sahara promise, if successful, to open routes across desert surfaces hitherto almost impracticable even for the camel. This latest scene in the drama is still very far from having reached its climax, and the Russian Revolution has recently added an incalculable factor to the problem; but it is safe to prophesy that if Russian diplomacy, arms, commerce, technique, art, and ideas do succeed in producing any permanent effect upon the histories of Persia, Afghanistan, India, Tibet, or China, the rôle of the Central Asian corridor in this modern process of transmission will be at least as important as it has been in similar processes in the past.

These are, perhaps, the principal cases in which the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin has played, or is playing, a transmissive part similar to that which has been played historically by Syria. Yet, even the most superficial survey of Central Asian history suggests a feature in which the destinies of the two corridors, so like in one respect, have been totally different. The transmission of other regions' achievements has not been all that Syria has achieved herself. At certain times, without prejudice to

[1] From the point of view of what follows, it is worth noting that the Islamic wave spread from the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin in another direction simultaneously. By the first quarter of the tenth century after Christ, Islamic influences from Transoxania, crossing the Steppe along the route of the present Tashkend-Orenburg Railway, had resulted in the conversion of the White Bulgarians, who held the key to the Volga Basin at the junction of the Volga with the Kama. The same wave gradually spread over the Bashkirs of the Ural region and the Tatars of Siberia.

her normal transmissive function, she has herself been an original creator. For example, during the six centuries which intervened between the *Völkerwanderung* of 1425–1125 B.C. and the foundation of the Achæmenid Empire, Syrians successively discovered the Alphabet, the Atlantic, and that particular conception of God which is common to Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity, and Islam, but not to the religious thought of Hellenism, of the Far East, or of India. In contrast to these stupendous creative achievements of the Syrian corridor, the Central Asian corridor has hardly any "original work" to show.[1] While perpetually transmitting the influences of other civilizations, the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin appears never to have succeeded in itself becoming a centre from which influence and energy have radiated outwards in different directions. Why did it fail (unlike Syria, its counterpart in other respects) to rise to that higher plane of activity? Perhaps the best approach towards finding some answer to this question will be to single out and examine the occasions on which the region came nearest to that achievement, and so to analyse, if possible, the causes which, in each case, produced failure in the end.

Two such occasions suggest themselves. The first presented itself about A.D. 651, when the Muslim Arabs, after destroying the Sasanian Empire, had made their occupation of its former territories effective up to the north-eastern edge of the Iranian Plateau, but had not yet attempted to conquer the independent states of the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin. This situation offered the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin an opportunity which will be discussed below: but this opportunity had been irrevocably lost by A.D. 741, the year which marks the definitive incorporation of Tukharistan and Transoxania in the Arab Empire.

A second occasion presented itself, in quite different circumstances, about the middle of the fourteenth century of the Christian era, when the Chagatai branch of the House of Chingis Khan[2] was finally converted to Islam. This second opportunity lasted for a century and a half, and was only lost in A.D. 1513, when Babur (then the principal surviving member of the House of Timur) finally abandoned his attempts to recover, from the Uzbegs, his ancestral possessions on the northern side of the Hindu Kush. It will be simplest to consider these two occasions separately, but in chronological order.

[1] Unless the Avesta and the Persian Epic originated among the Iranians of the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin and not among those of the Iranian Plateau.

[2] The Chagatai appanage included the Oxus-Jaxartes and the Tarim Basins (i.e. the whole of the Central Asian corridor) together with that sector of the Eurasian Steppe (then called Moghulistan) which lies immediately to the north of them.

II

The First Lost Opportunity (A.D. 651–741)

The axis of the Muslim Arab Empire under the Umayyad Dynasty lay within a zone running, in a direction slightly west of north, from the Indian Ocean to the Taurus Range, and including the sites of Mecca, Medina, and Damascus. From this axis, which had been established substantially by A.D. 636 with the occupation of Antioch, the Arab conquests spread laterally in either direction. One line of expansion led through Egypt round the southern and western shores of the Mediterranean, the other through 'Iraq and across the Iranian Plateau till it skirted the southern shore of the Eurasian Steppe. Both lines, as they extended, curved continually towards the north, until, by A.D. 721, they constituted an immense crescent, with Damascus at the centre-point of the arc, and with the two horns protruding respectively beyond the Pyrennees on the north-west and beyond the rim of the Iranian Plateau on the north-east.[1] At the beginning of A.D. 721 it was an open question whether the Arab advance on either front would proceed still further. On both fronts, the Arabs at that moment had not only reached but had just overshot a well-defined physical boundary, and thus found themselves on the verge of two new worlds to conquer. One of these worlds was the Trans-pyrennean and Trans-alpine region of Western Europe, in which the Romans had sown some precarious seeds of their civilization seven or eight centuries before. The other was the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin, which had retained certain elements of Middle Eastern culture (in the form of Zoroastrianism[2] and Nestorianism) in the course of transmitting them, during the previous five centuries, from the Middle East to China, as well as certain elements of Indian culture (in the form of Buddhism), which it had been transmitting to the same destination during the five centuries before that. In A.D. 721 it was equally uncertain whether the Arabs, starting from the narrow foothold which

[1] As early as A.D. 713 Musa had occupied Septimania (the strip of French coast between the Pyrennees and the Rhone which had previously belonged to the Visigothic kingdom of Spain), while Qutayba had penetrated far beyond the bounds of Khurasan, into Khwarizm and Farghana. It has been shown, however, by Mr. H. A. R. Gibb in *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia* (London, 1923, Royal Asiatic Society) that the campaigns of Qutayba in the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin, though brilliant and extensive, were superficial. Their results were almost entirely lost after his death, and, by the beginning of the year 721, the Arab holdings in Tukharistan and Transoxania beyond the Iranian Plateau were as small as the Arab holdings at the same date in Gaul beyond the Pyrennees.

[2] Assuming that Zoroastrianism originated in Media and not in Bactria (in which latter case it would have been a native product of the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin).

they had already secured in both of these fields, would proceed to conquer either or both of them completely; or whether in one field or in both they would be forced, after an unsuccessful offensive, to accept the *status quo*; or whether, again, they would eventually be driven out of adjoining territories, which had been incorporated in the Arab Empire successfully at an earlier date, by offensive movements on the part of hostile powers surviving in these two still unconquered regions.

Before examining the very different fortunes which, in fact, attended the further military enterprises of the Arabs at these two extremities of their Empire, it is worth drawing attention to the remarkable parallel between the two positions from the geographical point of view. While the home-base of the Umayyad power lay in Syria, it possessed two secondary bases, nearer to the respective fronts, in two rich lowlands—Andalusia in the one case and 'Iraq in the other—from which armies could draw abundant supplies. Beyond these friendly lowlands the Arab lines of communication had to traverse two comparatively arid and inhospitable plateaux—the plateau of Castile, in Spain, and the plateau of Iran in Persia—and, on either plateau, the Arab lines were dangerously flanked to the left by a long, narrow strip of unconquered territory. The previous Western Christian masters of Spain were still holding out in the narrow zone between the crest-line of the Asturian Mountains and the southern coast-line of the Bay of Biscay. The previous Zoroastrian masters of Persia were likewise still holding out in the almost equally narrow (though much longer and altogether more extensive) zone between the crest-line of the Elbruz Mountains and the southern coast-line of the Caspian Sea.[1] In both cases these unconquered zones were dangerous—partly because they threatened a long and exposed flank; partly because they were natural fastnesses which it would be extremely difficult to occupy and subdue effectively in the teeth of a hostile population, but, most of all, because both zones, in spite of being enclaves, were able to communicate by sea[2] with more powerful communities of co-religionists in friendly and still unconquered hinterlands.

[1] In climate and vegetation the Elbruz range may be considered as being a detached and remote enclave of Northern Europe, and the sub-tropical coastal belt between the Elbruz and the Caspian as a similar enclave of India. Compare the equally curious enclave of Mediterranean climate along the south-eastern littoral of the Black Sea, which also faces northward.

[2] At that time the main stream of the Oxus may possibly have flowed into the Caspian, and this would have afforded water transport all the way from Davlam to Sughd via Khwarism. But, in any case, there was always a caravan-route between Khwarism and the eastern coast of the Caspian.

These hinterlands were the two worlds of North-Western Europe and the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin, upon which the Arabs had as yet made no permanent impression. Physically, both were easier to invade and more tempting to seize than the two conquered plateaux behind them. They consisted mainly of lowlands, containing fertile areas of cultivation and considerable cities. The social and political factor, however, was more important than the environmental, and here, again, there was, up to a certain point,[1] a curious similarity in the conditions. In Gaul, a population which had been Latinized and half-civilized by Rome, and incidentally converted to Christianity, had been overrun, since the beginning of the fifth century after Christ, by barbarian backwoodsmen from Northern Europe—Burgundians and Franks. In the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin, a civilized Iranian or Iranized population had been penetrated by the diverse influences of Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, and Nestorianism, and had been overrun (again, since the beginning of the fifth Christian century) by successive parties of Nomads from the Eurasian Steppe—Ephthalites and Turks. What is more, the relations between the two layers of population in either case had developed in much the same way. In either case the indigenous element had been partly barbarized by its new barbarian masters, but had succeeded, on the whole, owing to its superiority in numbers and in civilization, in assimilating the barbarians to itself. Above all, it had converted them to its own religions and had thereby prepared their minds for making common cause against the Arab invaders, who were bringing with them a new "missionary religion" altogether.

Thus the two objectives of the Arabs in A.D. 721 were remarkably analogous to one another, and for the next dozen years the fortunes of war were correspondingly similar in either region. In both cases, the Arabs found themselves confronted with a more vigorous resistance than they had previously encountered. By the beginning of the year 733, in consequence of the disastrous Battle of the Pass in 731, they had lost all but three fortresses beyond the Oxus, and one or two in Tukharistan; while at the same date, owing to the (less serious) reverse at Tours, they had retreated again to the Septimanian extremity of Gaul. Ultimate success was not in either case out of the question, but experience seemed to show that in both areas it could only be purchased at the price of great and sustained military efforts. In both areas, however, the sequel falsified such expectations. The Battle of Tours was accepted as final, and from that time onwards the Arabs

[1] For the differences in this respect see pp. 257–62 below.

often lost, but practically never gained, ground on their north-western frontier. On the other hand, the seemingly not less serious situation on the north-east was so dramatically reversed during the next nine years that by A.D. 741 the whole of the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin had been incorporated definitively in the Arab Empire.

It is unnecessary to insist upon the momentous consequences of this difference in the local fortunes of Arab empire-builders for the subsequent history of mankind. On the north-western front (to quote one of Gibbon's most celebrated passages),[1] "a victorious line of march had been prolonged above a thousand miles from the rock of Gibraltar to the banks of the Loire; the repetition of an equal space would have carried the Saracens to the confines of Poland and the Highlands of Scotland; the Rhine is not more impassable than the Nile or Euphrates, and the Arabian fleet might have sailed without a naval combat into the mouth of the Thames. Perhaps the interpretation of the Koran would now be taught in the schools of Oxford, and her pulpits might demonstrate to a circumcised people the sanctity and truth of the revelation of Mahomet." Gibbon might have added that such additional conquests would ultimately have given the Arabs the mastery of the Atlantic (almost achieved, fifteen hundred years earlier, by their Phœnician forerunners), and so of the New World; for the different issue of the Arab enterprise in the north-east shows that none of these conjectures are fantastic. It is not absurd to suggest that the military reverse suffered by 'Abdu'r-rahman at Tours entailed the loss of America for Islam, when it is a historical fact that the diplomatic successes of Asad and Nasr during the next few years opened a door to Islam which enabled her eventually to win adherents and establish footholds on the banks of the Volga, the Irtish, and the Hoang-Ho. What actually happened in the north-east enables us to reconstruct, with some confidence and even in some detail, the first stages of what would presumably have happened in the north-west had the fate of Gaul, like that of Transoxania, been re-decided between A.D. 732 and 741. With the Arab Empire permanently established in their rear, as well as in front of them, and with their co-religionists in Gaul apostasizing in increasing numbers to Islam, the Christians of the Asturian enclave could no more have resisted assimilation than the Zoroastrians of the Caspian Provinces found themselves able to do after the Arab conquest of Transoxania.

[1] Chapter 52 (vol. vi of J. B. Bury's smaller edition of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*).

The Asturians, like the Daylamites, Tabaristanis, and Jurjanis, would almost inevitably have been converted to Islam in the course of the ninth and tenth Christian centuries. It is true that such conversion, had it taken place, would not have prevented the Asturian mountaineers, in the course of the tenth century and thereafter, from issuing out of their fastnesses and beginning to push down across the plateau. That movement was a consequence of the growing social and political weakness, at that time, of the Arab Empire throughout its extent.[1] It was not affected by the religious factor, and the converted Daylamites therefore took the offensive in Persia simultaneously with the unconverted Asturians in Spain. In the sequel, however, the religious factor made a world of difference. The Buwayhids, descending as Muslims (though as Muslims of the Shi'i persuasion), were not, by their conquests, diminishing the territories of Daru'l Islam. For this reason, those conquests were not so fiercely opposed as those of the Christian Asturians, and were therefore not only more rapid in their extension, but also more superficial and transitory in their effects. They did nothing to check the steady expansion of Islam into its north-eastern hinterland; and similarly the activities of Islamized Asturians would not, presumably, have prevented an advance of Islam from Gaul and Germany (along the roads actually taken by Western Christendom) into Scandinavia, Poland, and Hungary.

Conversely, the actual course of history in the north-west indicates what might have happened in the north-east had Qutayba's work not been performed over again—and, this time, conclusively—by Asad and Nasr. Because, in A.D. 733, the Arabs lacked the will-power to complete the conquest of Gaul, the Austrasian Franks were able to join hands with the Asturians and to ensure that Asturia should be an advanced base for future Western counter-offensives against the Muslims. This was one of the objectives of Charlemagne's campaign which ended in A.D. 778 at Roncesvalles: and, in spite of that discomfiture, the objective had been achieved by A.D. 801, when Charlemagne's Spanish march was pushed forward beyond Barcelona. From that date onwards, the local Asturian front became part of a united front of Western Christendom; the ascendency on the Spanish border had definitely passed from the Muslims to the Westerners; and there is nothing surprising in the developments of the next four and a half centuries, which were consummated in A.D. 1235 by the

[1] Both under Umayyad sovereignty in Spain and under 'Abbasid sovereignty elsewhere.

conquest of Cordova, and which resulted in the expulsion of the Muslims from every part of the Peninsula except the enclave of Granada.

It is interesting to examine the possible course of events in Persia in the light of these actual events in Spain. Had Asad and Nasr failed to incorporate the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin, it is improbable that the Arab Empire would long have retained its hold upon Khurasan. Within the next half-century the independent principalities in Sughd and Tukharistan (reinforced by Türgesh and other adventurous nomads off the Steppe) might have driven the Arabs back south-westward through Damaghan and the Caspian Gates, and have made the Dasht-i-Lut the north-eastern boundary of Daru'l Islam for the time being. In that case (and this is the suggestion towards which these parallels and hypotheses have been leading) the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin, for the first time in recorded history, would have exchanged the rôle of a transmitter for that of a creator of civilization; and the new civilization of the West, which first emerged in eighth-century Gaul and has continued to rise and to spread until, to-day, it is overshadowing the world, would have possessed a counterpart and a contemporary in Central Asia, with which it would sooner or later have come into contact or collision across the ruins of Islamic society.

It is, of course, quite impossible to conjecture what shape and colour this hypothetical Central Asian civilization would have taken, since it had not even begun to germinate before its prospects of life were cut off by Islam. There might have been a struggle between Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, and Nestorianism for the possession of its infant soul, and there is no guessing how that struggle would have gone. The Zoroastrian element would have gained by the renewal of contact with the Caspian Provinces and by the correlated south-westward expansion across the Iranian Plateau. On the other hand, Buddhism and Nestorianism were represented in greater force than Zoroastrianism in the Tarim Basin and on the Eurasian Steppe, into which the growing civilization would have been expanding simultaneously in the opposite direction. Other influences would have been added, as relations became closer with India and China; and it is possible that the outcome might have been some syncretism or eclecticism of the type which the Emperor Julian attempted unsuccessfully to establish in the Græco-Roman World and which actually prevails in modern India and China. It is hardly possible to reckon in terms of such imponderable factors as these; but it is not quite so difficult to reconstruct what would have been the stages in this unborn Central Asian civilization's

geographical extension. Certainly its south-western boundary would not have stood permanently at the Dasht-i-Lut. That physical barrier is outflanked on the north by the Caspian Provinces of Tabaristan and Daylam, which, *ex hypothesi*, would have been incorporated in the Central Asian World already. During the second quarter of the tenth Christian century, the Buwayhids would duly have descended upon the Iranian Plateau from Daylam, but as Zoroastrians and not as Muslims and as conquerors of fresh territory for Central Asian civilization at the expense of Islam, instead of being a mere domestic incident in Islamic history. The progress of Central Asia at the expense of Islam would, no doubt, have gone steadily forward. Even if the Sunni world had made more effective efforts to save 'Iraq, or, at least, Baghdad itself, from the hand of a Buwayhid unbeliever than it actually made when the Caliph fell into the power of a Buwayhid sectarian, the Buwayhid's work would have been finished by a Zoroastrian or a Nestorian Saljuq; for, in the meantime, Central Asian civilization would have become solidly established between Daru'l Islam and the Eurasian Steppe, and the nomadic peoples who broke upon the Middle Eastern coasts of the Steppe in the *Volkerwanderung* of A.D. 975–1275 would therefore have been converted to the civilization of Central Asia and would have come, not as reinforcements, but as alien and destructive enemies to the civilization of Islam. As it was, the Saljuqs, meeting Islam and succumbing to it in the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin, travelled on westward as Muslims and only discharged their thunder upon the Byzantine civilization of Anatolia. If we may imagine them converted, in Transoxania, to some non-Islamic religion instead, and meting out to Muslim 'Iraq and Syria the treatment which they actually meted out to the Byzantine world, we can estimate how disastrous the effect would have been upon the destinies of Islam.

This, again, is not a fantastic conjecture, for, in the last phase of the *Völkerwanderung* of A.D. 975–1275, a catastrophe of this very kind actually did bring Islam within an ace of destruction. In any *Völkerwanderung*, the convulsions are apt to reach their maximum intensity immediately before the disturbance dies down altogether; and at the same time, as the disorder works up towards its climax, populations are upheaved and discharged outwards from deeper and deeper recesses in the area of disturbance. In the case in question, the area of disturbance was the Eurasian Steppe, and the first elements discharged by it upon the Islamic World were the occupants of the

peripheral or "in-shore" zone of the Steppe, of whom the Saljuqs may be taken as the leading example. Since, for a considerable period before their upheaval, these peripheral nomads had been in contact with, and under the influence of, the civilization then prevalent in Transoxania, and since, furthermore, that civilization happened, owing to the decision of A.D. 741, to be not some independent Central Asian growth but the conquering civilization of Islam, the Saljuqs had themselves become Muslims before the *Volkerwanderung* hurled them upon Muslim lands, and it has just been remarked how this previous assimilation rendered their invasion comparatively harmless to Islamic society. In the final and most convulsive phase of the *Völkerwanderung*, however, the phenomena were not equally favourable from the Islamic point of view; for, in this phase, the Islamic world was assailed by nomadic invaders from the innermost depths of the Steppe—depths to which Islam, in spite of having conquered Transoxania, had not had time to penetrate during the five centuries which had intervened. These depths, however (which coincided with what are now Mongolia and Zungaria), had not been left unevangelized. In conquering the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin, Islam had, indeed, prevented that region effectively from becoming the centre of a new Buddhist or Nestorian or blended Buddhist-Nestorian civilization, but she could not prevent these rival religions, whose future in Central Asia she had destroyed for any effective purpose of social construction, from drifting eastwards along the Central Asian corridor and establishing a curious, transitory, and abortive ascendency over the minds of Uigurs and Naimans. Indeed, it is possible that Muslim aggression against Sughd and Farghana hastened the conversion of the Far North-East to Manichæism and Nestorianism by causing a dispersion abroad among nomad gentiles of Transoxanian refugees.[1] If so, the unborn civilization of Central Asia at any rate left a ghost in the shape of "Prester John", and that ghost very nearly succeeded in taking its revenge upon the remote successors of those Muslim conquerors who, five centuries before, had cheated it of life in the flesh. It is doubtful whether there were any Buddhist or Nestorian elements in the original nucleus of Chingis Khan's nomadic confederacy, and even among the tribes on the pasture lands immediately to the west of his, these elements were probably very small in numbers. They possessed, however, something

[1] Buddhism, which travelled eastward and south-eastward along the corridor to the Far Eastern World, does not appear to have penetrated the steppe-country to the north.

like a local monopoly of technique and knowledge; the communities among whom they were found were incorporated in the Mongol community on terms more nearly approaching equality than was the case with remoter and more alien populations subsequently conquered; moreover, their incorporation occurred at a moment when Chingis's empire was assuming proportions which made the introduction of some kind of civilized order a necessity—and thus it was that these few and scattered survivors of submerged societies were paradoxically raised to places of honour and influence round a throne which bade fair to dominate two continents.

Had this suddenly evoked spectre of Far Eastern Christendom succeeded in grasping the hand of Far Western Christendom, which (owing to the faint-heartedness of Arab empire-builders after A.D. 732) was by this time a creature of flesh and blood in all the aggressive lustiness of early manhood, it is hardly possible to believe that Islam could have survived; and it is sometimes forgotten how very near to accomplishment this dramatic reunion of co-religionists, long sundered by the horns of the Crescent, was several times brought, through overtures from both sides, in the course of the thirteenth century after Christ. The overthrow of the Khwarizm Shah in A.D. 1220 seemed at first sight to have cancelled, at one stroke, five centuries of Islamic effort in the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin, and the sack of Baghdad and the irreparable devastation of 'Iraq in A.D. 1258 by Hulagu Khan were like mortal blows at the political and economic heart of the Islamic commonwealth. Now the project of Hulagu's expedition appears to have been suggested to the mind of his overlord, the Khaqan Mangu, by the Uniate-Catholic King Hayton of Little Armenia; and it may have been Hulagu's Nestorian wife who inspired him, in turn, to send his advance-guard across the Euphrates, in order to attack the Muslims in their last citadel of Egypt, under the command of the Nestorian general, Kit-Bugha. In A.D. 1260, when Kit-Bugha captured Damascus and momentarily gave the local Monophysite and Orthodox Christians the dominion over their Muslim neighbours, the Western Crusaders were still clinging to Acre and a few other strongholds on the Syrian coast, and they were not blind to the possibilities which "Prester John's" miraculous intervention might offer. Already Friar Giovanni di Piano Carpini had been sent to the Khaqan's court at Qaraqorum by Pope Innocent IV in A.D. 1246 and Friar William of Rubrouck by St. Louis in A.D. 1253. Between 1260 and 1269 Marco Polo's father and uncle made their way

to the same destination as private merchants, and returned as bearers of a letter to the Pope from the Khaqan. In 1271 they set out, this time from Acre, to make the journey to Qaraqorum again, bearing an answer from the Pope, and accompanied by Marco, and it was not till 1295 that they returned to Venice via the Indian Ocean. Meanwhile, a letter (still preserved) had been sent in 1295 by the Il-khan Arghun to the Court of France, to be followed by another in 1305 from his son Uljaytu. Thus, during the latter half of the thirteenth century, the two enemies of Islam came within measurable distance of co-operation. It was not till after the fall of Acre in 1290 and the successive failure of the second and third Mongol invasions of Syria in 1281 and 1303, that this possibility disappeared.

Such were the straits to which Islam was reduced in the last phase of the *Völkerwanderung* of A.D. 975–1275, and this although, as recently as A.D. 1220, Islam had been the dominant cultural and political force as far north-eastward as the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin. Supposing, however, that, five centuries earlier, that region had resisted assimilation and had developed an independent and aggressive civilization in the meantime on the lines suggested above, the eventuality which, in actual fact, only passed in a flash across the page of history as a picturesque possibility, would almost certainly have taken shape as a historical event of permanent importance. Supposing that, by 1220, Islam had already been driven west of the Euphrates, and that a new Central Asian civilization had already extended its domain from that river on the south-west to the border of Chingis Khan's homelands in the opposite quarter, it is probable that the Buddhist-Nestorian culture, which exercised so marked an influence upon the twelfth and thirteenth century Mongols even in its dim and shadowy actuality, would have captured them heart and soul, and that they would have made themselves its apostles as they went forth, conquering and to conquer, to the ends of the earth. In that case the western bank of the Euphrates would have been Islam's first and last line of defence, and it is hardly conceivable that a single line would not have been broken. Had that happened, Islam in the thirteenth Christian century would have suffered the fate of Byzantine civilization in the eleventh. The Far Eastern and the Far Western enemy would have united to storm her Egyptian citadel.[1] She would have become a submerged society, and by the twentieth Christian century she might

[1] Just as in the eleventh century the Saljuqs and the Normans broke simultaneously upon the Byzantine World.

only have been represented by such remnants as now actually survive of the Armenian and Syrian Monophysites or of the Nestorians themselves.

These were some of the issues which hung upon the failure or success of the respective Arab empire-builders in Gaul and in the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin between A.D. 721 and A.D. 741. It remains to account, if possible, for the remarkable difference in Arab fortunes in the two areas, by which these far-reaching and momentous consequences were brought about. Why did the Arabs fail to conquer Gaul and succeed in conquering Transoxania ? There were, as it happens, a number of factors which actually tended to make the latter enterprise the more difficult of the two. The Oxus-Jaxartes Basin had not previously been found an easy region to subdue. Alexander the Great spent two whole years upon it, and only succeeded in the end by a policy of conciliation, although it had taken him not more than five years to conquer outright, without parley or compromise, the entire Middle East, from the Dardanelles and the Libyan oases to the north-eastern corner of the Iranian Plateau. This contrast between the resisting-power of the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin and that of the remainder of the Achæmenid Empire at that date is the more striking when it is recollected that, by Alexander's time, " Bactria " and " Sogdiana " had been incorporated in the Achæmenid dominions for more than two centuries and might therefore have been expected to follow suit to the other provinces.

The conditions for conquest were distinctly less favourable at the time when the same enterprise was successfully attempted by the Arabs, for by A.D. 651, the date at which they arrived on the borders of the region, it had been continuously separated, in the political sense, from the Iranian Plateau, and had been intermittently in a state of war with it, for not less than 900 years. Mr. Gibb, in his work already cited, brings out very lucidly the political and social contrast between Sasanian Persia and Transoxania and Tukharistan under Kushan, Ephthalite, and Turkish ascendency. This long-standing separation evidently militated seriously against the Arabs' attempt to amalgamate Transoxania with Iran in a single empire ; and if Mr. Gibb is right in his contention that Transoxania virtually stood aside from Abu Muslim's movement in Khurasan which overthrew the Umayyad dynasty at Damascus, that would certainly indicate that the traditional particularism of Transoxania was still a very powerful psychological force even after the annexation of the region to the Arab Empire had become an accomplished fact. On the other hand, a much

closer sense of affinity—based on the common inheritance of Western Christianity, the Latin language and culture, and the memory of the Roman Empire—still existed in the seventh and eighth centuries after Christ between Gaul on the one hand and Spain and North-West Africa on the other, and the previous conquest of the two latter countries by the Arabs might have been expected to lead on to the conquest of Gaul, if only by the mere force of momentum. In A.D. 721 the Pyrennees were not nearly so formidable a political and cultural barrier as was the north-eastern rim of the Iranian Plateau.

As compared with Gaul, again, Transoxania possessed other assets as well. From the military point of view, the Empire of the T'ang may have proved a broken reed, but the diplomatic support against the Arabs which the independent states of Transoxania and Tukharistan were constantly receiving from the Court of Chang-Ngan was at any rate an effective moral weapon, especially since, to the Arabs, its value long remained imponderable and therefore subject to over-estimation. The Aquitanians, Neustrians, and Austrasians, in the crisis of A.D. 721–32, do not appear to have received either naval assistance in the Mediterranean or diplomatic support at Damascus from the Court of Constantinople, so that both the fighting and the bluffing had all to be their own. In matters of topography and climate, moreover, Transoxania was a more difficult country than France for an invader. The cultivated areas were not continuous, but were separated by stretches of steppe and desert; the rivers, being mightier streams than the Garonne, the Loire, or the Seine, offered correspondingly greater obstacles; and between the crossing of the Oxus at Tirmidh and the Transoxanian Metropolis of Samarkand there were formidable mountains to be traversed which had not their like at any point on the road from Narbonne to Tours. As for political unity, it was still hardly more than nominal in the Frankish dominions at this period and was of little account for the practical purpose of military co-operation, so that, even from this point of view, the Transoxanians and Tukharistanis were scarcely at a disadvantage as compared with the peoples of Gaul, while such disadvantage as there may have been was no doubt more than compensated by the greater vitality of local political life in the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin and the distinctly higher level of general civilization.

All the foregoing considerations certainly appear to increase the difficulty of the problem—unless possibly the "higher level of general civilization" at that time to be found in Transoxania supplies the

clue.[1] In what, after all, did the superiority, in this respect, of Trans-

[1] It might, of course, be suggested that a clue is also to be found in the much greater distance of Gaul than that of the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin from the Syrian centre of the Umayyad Power, and it even might be argued that this geographical difference was the capital factor. It is true that the distance from Damascus to Narbonne overland, via North Africa and the Straits of Gibraltar, is approximately twice as great as the distance from Damascus overland to Merv. The significance of this fact has to be discounted, however, by two considerations. In the first place the north-western (but not the north-eastern) front was connected with the main base of the Arab Empire by an alternative water-route, extending along the length of the Mediterranean from the Syrian ports or Alexandria to Barcelona, Empurias, or Agde. It would be interesting to know to what extent (if any) the Constantinople Government made use of its naval ascendency in the Mediterranean at this period in order to deny to the Arabs the employment of this maritime route for the conduct of their Gallic campaigns. As far as the present writer is aware, no precise evidence on this point has been preserved; but (given the probable relative strength of Byzantine and Arab sea-power in the eighth century) it seems unlikely that the Byzantines can have blocked this route altogether, and—so far as it was available—it must have been both quicker and easier (given the relative development, at that period, of land and water transport facilities) than the quantitatively shorter overland route from Syria to Khurasan. In the second place, however, it is doubtful whether the comparative difficulty or ease of communication between Syria and the frontier war-zones was a military factor of first-rate importance; for the historical records indicate that (in the Umayyad, as in its predecessor the Achæmenid, Empire) imperial troops from the centre seldom put in an appearance on the borders. Border-campaigns, even when planned on an ambitious scale, were generally dependent almost entirely upon local man-power, drawn partly from Arab military colonies (previously planted in the frontier-provinces of the time) and partly from loyal elements recruited among the provincial population. The man-power of the Arab colonies was, of course, limited; but, when an additional military effort was desired, the frontier commanders seem normally to have met the need, not by calling upon Damascus for Arab reinforcements, but by drawing more largely upon the non-Arab provincial elements. The unusual strength of the Berber levies from North-West Africa and of the Iranian levies from Khurasan was a marked feature in the armies with which Qutayba and 'Abdu'r-rahman invaded Transoxania and Gaul respectively. For these several reasons, it would be rash to rely too much upon the factor of distance in seeking for an explanation of the failure of the Arabs in Gaul in contrast to their contemporary success in the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin.

Addendum.—Mr. H. A. R. Gibb, with whom the writer has had the benefit of discussing the considerations advanced above, suggests that they ought not to be pressed too far and that the factor of distance may have been more important than the writer had supposed. Without having re-examined the evidence in detail, Mr. Gibb is under the impression that evidence is lacking to show that the Arabs used the maritime line of communication between Syria and Spain, and that such evidence as exists points rather to the land route via North Africa as being normally employed. In other words, the sea-power which the Arabs mustered in the Levant for their campaigns against Rum was not available (or, at any rate, was not used) to assist them in maintaining their north-western front in Gaul; and if, for this purpose, they used the land route, that placed their communications at the mercy of the Berbers in Africa (not to speak of their troubles with Berber troops and colonists in Spain itself). In consequence, Spain was being constantly left in the air, and a case of this occurred in A.D. 740 (that is, within the critical period after the indecisive Battle of Tours). In contrast to this, Hisham was able to reinforce Khurasan with troops from 'Iraq after the Battle of the Pass (in itself, a more serious reverse than the Battle of Tours), and apparently with troops from Syria, as well, at the critical moment in the revolt of

oxania over contemporary Gaul consist? Undoubtedly in an immeasurably greater development of international trade, as might be expected in a region which always had been, and still was, a corridor of communication between surrounding societies, whereas the Gaul of that day was a semi-civilized region penned up in a blind alley at the ends of the civilized earth. That difference has an important bearing on our problem, for it means that the eighth century population of Gaul possessed no vital commercial interests which would be damaged or promoted by possible alternative relations between them and the Arab Empire. At that date they were an agricultural society, and little more besides—such commerce as existed between Gaul and the rest of the world being then largely carried on by Italians, Syrians, and other outsiders. Transoxania, on the other hand (as has been argued forcibly by Mr. Gibb), was a commercial community first and foremost. Her numerous and well-peopled cities could not subsist upon the local oasis-cultivation, the extent of which was limited by a restricted water-supply, however scientific the methods of irrigation. For such a society, international trade was not only an optional source of surplus profit but a necessity of existence; and each new development of the struggle with the Arabs struck a fresh blow at this staple of Transoxania's economic life.

During the first phase of the struggle, which may be dated from Qutayba's opening campaign in A.D. 705 down to A.D. 719 (by which year the greater part of his work had been undone through the unaided efforts of the Transoxanians and Tukharistanis themselves), the damage to trade was evidently not intolerable. The commercial classes in the Oxus-Jaxartes principalities were not yet faced by an unprecedented situation, for the Arab Empire in this quarter had simply stepped into the shoes of the Sasanian Empire, with which the Transoxanian powers had frequently been at war.

Harith. [For the special position of the Syrian troops, Mr. Gibb refers to H. Lammens: *Etudes sur le Règne du Calife Omaiyade Mo'awia I*: Beyrut, 1906 (pp. 267–8).] It is true that Syrian troops, with Egyptian reinforcements, were likewise sent to Africa in A.D. 740 or 741, but that was for the purpose of crushing the local Berber revolt, not of reinforcing Spain, and in any case these troops were crushingly defeated by the Berbers in Morocco. Mr. Gibb also suggests that a concentration of effort was a further factor in the ultimate success of the Arabs on the north-eastern front. Besides the expansion into the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin via the Iranian Plateau, there had been an expansion via the Persian Gulf into the lower basin of the Indus, and this had been at its height during the period of Qutayba's campaigns. On the other hand, from the time of Junayd's transfer to Khurasan, the Arabs merely maintained their positions in Sind, and the whole of their striking force in the east was directed towards the Oxus and Jaxartes.

During these earlier hostilities, the Government of Ctesiphon appears, on more than one occasion, to have placed embargos upon Transoxanian trade along routes that traversed the Sasanian dominions; but they had never succeeded in dealing that trade a mortal blow, and the Sughdi merchants had shown enterprise and ingenuity in opening up alternative means of communication with their Mediterranean customers.[1] Even, moreover, if their trade with the Middle East and the Near East were temporarily cut off, they still remained the monopolists of the overland route between the Far East and India, and the volume of this branch of commerce was no doubt sufficient to secure them against anything like an economic catastrophe. This was the situation down to A.D. 719; but it was altered—and, as it turned out, very much for the worse from the point of view of Transoxanian trade—when, in A.D. 720–1, the Turgesh nomads began to take a hand in the struggle between the Transoxanian city-states and the Arab Empire. The Türgesh intervened as mandatories of the Government of Chang-Ngan and as auxiliaries of the Transoxanians in their war of liberation; and, as far as fighting the Arabs was concerned, they performed their task efficiently. For seventeen years they kept the Arab forces on the defensive, inflicted upon them several military disasters, and gradually forced them out of their fortresses beyond the River. The nominal beneficiaries discovered, however, that the remedy was worse than the disease. Officially, the Türgesh were the subjects and agents of civilized China; but the Chinese authorities exercised no supervision, and the Türgesh evidently behaved as nomads invariably do when they find themselves in military control of sedentary populations. The eastern trade-routes were cut; and, when the Türgesh actually crossed the Upper Oxus and began to push the Arabs out of Tukharistan, that must have made matters still worse from the economic point of view, for the insecurity was thereby extended to the routes between Transoxania and Hindustan. Meanwhile, the Chinese suzerains of the Türgesh had already become so incensed against their unmanageable vassals that they took the opportunity of the victory gained at last by the Arab governor Asad over the Türgesh Khaqan in Juzjan and Khurasan (A.D. 737) to destroy the Türgesh confederacy

[1] e.g. the embassy which arrived in A.D. 568 at the Court of Constantinople from the Khaqan of the nomad empire of the Turks included a Transoxanian prince, whose object was to open up a trade-route north of the Caspian, and therefore beyond the reach of interference by the Persians. It seems probable that this embassy was sent on the initiative of the Transoxanian merchants, though it was headed by a representative of their suzerain, the Turkish Khaqan.

and to disperse the horde. It is safe to conjecture that the Transoxanian commercial classes, on whom the direct losses had fallen, felt even more bitterly against the Türgesh than did the Government of the T'ang, and this explains the immediate and general success which attended the conciliatory policy initiated by Asad and his successor Nasr.

In 736 Asad appears to have come to an understanding with the Iranian notables of Tukharistan. The national capital of Balkh, ruined in the previous wars, was rebuilt, under Asad's auspices, by the Tukharistanis themselves, in order to replace Merv as the seat of the Arab provincial administration. This step was taken by Asad the year before his victory over the Türgesh, and the succeeding year (A.D. 738) was signalized by Nasr's declaration of amnesty and guarantee of rights to the peoples of the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin. The tolerance of non-Arab nationalities and non-Islamic religions, upon strict but not unbearable conditions of inferiority, was a permanent feature in the policy of the Arab Empire—a feature without which that Empire could never have achieved its astonishing triumphs. Nasr's charter, however, appears to have been exceptionally favourable; and, if this was the fact, he was only following (of course, unconsciously) the conciliatory policy of Alexander in the year 328 B.C., in which policy Alexander himself may have been anticipated, for aught we know, by Cyrus or whoever of the Achæmenids first incorporated the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin in his empire.[1] In A.D. 738 Nasr offered the Transoxanians an honourable escape from the terrible dilemma of political servitude or commercial ruin. On condition of accepting Arab sovereignty on not intolerable terms, they were given the prospect, not merely of commercial recovery, but of prosperity such as they had not perhaps enjoyed for a millennium. If once the political objections to incorporation in the Arab Empire were surmounted, there could be no doubt of its advantages from the economic point of view; for, in place of a permanent military front upon their south-eastern border, it opened to Transoxanian merchants a hinterland stretching from Khurasan to the Mediterranean and from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. Moreover, Arab statesmanship set itself promptly to reopen the trade-routes leading along the Central Asian corridor to the Far East. "Shortly after his recapture of Samarkand" (probably in

[1] No record of this event survives, but some modern historians have conjectured that the Achæmenid kingdom of Persis and Susiana had already annexed Khurasan, Bactria, and possibly Transoxania before it overthrew the empire of the Medes.

A.D. 739). Nasr " sent an embassy to China. This was followed up in 744 by a much more elaborate embassy, obviously intended to regulate commercial relations in the most complete manner possible, in which the Arabs were accompanied by ambassadors not only from the Sogdian cities and Tukharistan, but even from Zabulistan " [south-east of the Hindu Kush] " Shash, and the Türgesh. Two other Arab embassies are also recorded in 745 and 747." [1] The inclusion of representatives from Zabulistan suggests that steps had already been taken to reopen the overland trade-route to India.

These facts, which have been established and interpreted by Mr. Gibb, satisfactorily explain the ease and the permanence with which the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin was incorporated in the Arab Empire between A.D. 737 and A.D. 741. Do they not also suggest a reason for the failure of the Arabs, during the same period, in Gaul ? The non-commercial Aquitanians and Neustrians were not confronted with the same dilemma as the Transoxanians in dealing with the Arabs. They had little or no foreign commerce to lose by war with the great neighbouring power ; in defending their political independence, they were at the same time defending their fields, which were the source of their prosperity as an agricultural population ; and by summoning their overlords, the Austrasians, to the rescue, they were not exposing themselves to any such economic calamities as those which the Transoxanians incurred when they called in the Türgesh.

If this line of argument is correct, the superior civilization of eighth-century Transoxania—in other words, her higher commercial development—as compared with eighth-century Gaul, was the principal reason why she succumbed to Arab imperialism and lost this her first opportunity[2] of founding a distinctive civilization of her own, whereas Gaul preserved her liberty of self-determination and so gave birth to that Western civilization in which we ourselves still live and move and have our being.

[1] H. A. R. Gibb, op. cit., p. 92.

[2] The writer hopes to find a later occasion for discussing the second opportunity, which occurred, in his belief, between the middle of the thirteenth Christian century and A.D. 1513.

STUDIES IN SEMITIC KINSHIP

By Brenda Z. Seligman

(*Continued from p. 68.*)

II. COUSIN MARRIAGE

As cousin marriage has been dealt with so exhaustively by Sir James Frazer and also by Professor Westermarck, I feel I owe some apology for bringing forward the subject again. In the first place I must say that I put together the notes for this paper before the publication of either *Folk-lore in the Old Testament* or the new edition of *The History of Human Marriage*, and that I am concerned not with the problem as to how this form of marriage has arisen, but why it has spread as it has, and indeed is still spreading.

The type of cousin marriage with which I propose to deal is that between the children of two brothers. While following Sir James Frazer in calling such cousins, ortho-cousins, I propose to limit the meaning of this word. The term ortho-cousin has been applied to all cousins who are not cross-cousins [1]: this is permissible only from the standpoint of our own civilization. In order to understand the social organization of the lower cultures we must try to see relationships from their point of view. So when descent is reckoned in the female line the children of two sisters are ortho-cousins, but the children of two brothers are not necessarily ortho-cousins; in the same way when descent is reckoned in the male line the children of two brothers are ortho-cousins. The word thus corresponds to "brother-sister", used in the classificatory sense and is a convenient term. It is true that some peoples use one term for brother, or sister, and all cousins: this is where the importance of relatives of both parents is recognized even if descent is limited to one side of the family only, and is almost certainly the result of simplification of terminology. Except for one doubtful case (to be considered later) the habitual marriage of ortho-cousins, the children of brothers, though of wide distribution, is dependent on the Muhammadan culture, and though this type of marriage is entirely at variance with the ideas of clan organization and exogamy prevalent in Africa, it is, nevertheless, spreading with the advance of Islam.

[1] Thus, Frazer: "In the case of ortho-cousins the related parents are of the same sex, whether both male or both female; whereas in the case of cross-cousins the related parents are of opposite sexes, the one being male and the other female." *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, vol. ii, p. 98.

The problem to be considered is why should ortho-cousin marriage gain ground thus in opposition to native prejudice, and what are the underlying ideas which lend it its force? For though part of Muhammadan custom, it is no part of Muhammadan law. In order to throw light on this question we must consider how this form of marriage arose. Sir James Frazer says that "the preference for marriage with the father's brother's daughter arose at a time when the relation of children to their father was not only recognized but regarded as more important than the relation to their mother, and when consequently, property descending to the male line, men had an economic motive for marrying their daughters to their brother's sons in order to allow them to share the family inheritance. In such circumstances it would be natural that a father should ask less for the hand of his daughter from his brother's son than from a stranger or even from his sister's son, who, under the system of father-kin, would inherit none of his mother's brother's property and would not therefore have any advantage to offer as a match to his mother's brother's daughter. Thus we can perhaps understand how the substitution of father-kin for mother-kin should lead in time to a corresponding substitution of marriage with an ortho-cousin, the father's brother's daughter, for the old marriage with a cross-cousin, the daughter either of a mother's brother or of a father's sister. Among the Arabs, with whom the system of father-kin has long been established, the preference for marriage with the ortho-cousin, the father's brother's daughter, is decided and and is perhaps gaining ground; but the evidence I have adduced suffices to prove that even among them this comparatively new form of marriage has not yet entirely ousted that old marriage with a cross-cousin, the daughter of a mother's brother, of which the classical instance is Jacob's marriage with Leah and Rachel." [1] While agreeing with Sir James that the marriage of ortho-cousins is a less primitive custom than the marriage of cross-cousins, and therefore likely to be later, and that it can only have arisen among a patrilineal people, and recognizing the economic advantage of it, I do not consider that his explanation is adequate, nor can I see why he should suggest that with a change in the method of reckoning descent, the custom of cross-cousin marriage should change to the marriage of ortho-cousins. On the contrary, tribes practising cross-cousin marriage usually have

[1] *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, vol. ii, p. 263. The view expressed here is supported by Professor Westermarck (*History of Human Marriage*, vol. ii, p. 68, n. 3) and is opposed to that of Robertson Smith.

the most definite ideas of incest (as Sir James Frazer has shown himself), and there is much evidence that the change from matrilineal descent to patrilineal descent among African tribes has widened the meaning of the term incest. Among some peoples, notably the Baganda,[1] it is probable that before the change from matrilineal to patrilineal descent took place cross-cousin marriage was practised, while at the present day all consanguineous marriages are rigorously prohibited. Among the Nilotes also it is clear that the change in descent has not decreased the bars to marriage and has probably increased them.[2] Our task is thus a double one, (*a*) to examine the marriage customs of the Semites, and (*b*) to determine what is the psychological force behind this custom which has enabled it to break down and override the laws of incest of many African tribes.

If, as I suppose, the Arabs, an incoming people of a superior culture, already practising this form of marriage, looked upon it as a hereditary right, its adoption by peoples who were influenced by the Arabs, as, for example, the Beni Amer, is easier to understand than if the marriage were merely an economically useful custom.

The Beni Amer have embraced the religion of the Arabs and accepted their law, while they have retained their own language and the majority of their customs that do not directly conflict with Islam, although the amount of Arab blood in the tribe is probably insignificant. Where marriage is by purchase, as it is in most parts of Africa, a young man may have great difficulty in procuring a wife, whereas a man of established position can obtain more than one easily. The young man has two avenues open to him, he may inherit widows, or, the bride-price, paid for certain of his female relatives, may fall due to him, and with this he may purchase a wife for himself. It is only where there has been considerable outside influence that a man will work to accumulate money to buy cattle or hoes and spears for a bride-price.[3] Now Islam, in theory at least, abolishes the bride-price; the *mahr* is a

[1] These conclusions are deduced from the relationship terms and avoidance customs given by the Rev. John Roscoe, *The Baganda*, chap. v.

[2] There is much evidence for change in mode of reckoning descent among the Lango of Uganda (cf. J. H. Driberg, *The Lango*), while my unpublished material dealing with Dinka, Shilluk, and Acholi support the view set forth.

[3] This is noteworthy among the Shilluk who in their present state of contact with white civilization occasionally work for money. One informant presented a typical instance. He had worked for a period and bought a cast net with his savings. He returned to his village and caught fish for his father-in-law, but buying a canoe or paying his own bride-price had not occurred to him, because he depended on certain relatives to provide these necessities.

settlement on the bride and cannot be taken by her brother or any other relative in order that he may use it to purchase a bride for himself. Moreover, by Muhammedan law marriage with the father's widow is forbidden. Thus, when Africans accept Islam they have to renounce their two best chances of marrying. What can the Arab culture offer them in its stead? If it offers the hand of the ortho-cousin by hereditary right as a certainty, it would seem not to matter greatly whether a man must pay more or less for her than for another bride,[1] she cannot be taken away by someone else before he has had time to collect the *mahr*, which in due course he will obtain from various relatives. Further, Arab fathers accept a greater responsibility in providing a *mahr* for their sons than African fathers do as a rule. It would seem that such economic considerations, backed by the socio-religious prestige of Islam, have been strong enough to change the native ideas of incest, which the change from patrilineal to matrilineal descent alone fails to bring about.

In investigating the history of the Arab type of marriage we naturally turn first to Babylonia. Here among the numerous marriage contracts that have been discovered and read there is not one that refers to the marriage of relatives. The names of the parents and usually the grandparents of both contracting parties are given. Some hundred Semitic contracts have been translated and also about half the number of Sumerian contracts. Though no law prohibiting the marriage of relatives has been discovered, Professor Langdon considers that the whole literature points to the fact that such marriages were not countenanced among the Sumerians. For the Semites, in later times, he is less positive, though on the whole he considers that had consanguineous marriages been allowed, some record of such marriages would have come to light. However, fresh material is being found every day, and negative evidence can never be taken to settle a point conclusively.

Professor Langdon has himself translated *emu rabu*, literally

[1] One of the main economic obstacles to the acceptance of Christianity in Africa is the abolition of the bride-price, for normally this returns to the family and a bride's brother benefits by it. If a native Christian should not demand a bride-price for his daughters, his son cannot raise the necessary goods to obtain a wife. A young man cannot hope to obtain a wife without payment, so the young Christian or the pagan son of a Christian is forced to leave home and earn money working for the white man if he is ever to marry. This is probably a stronger deterrant from Christianity (at least among the younger men) than the enforcement of monogamy. It is noteworthy that among the Ashanti, where mass conversion to Christianity is taking place, the bride-price is practically nominal, and is to be regarded perhaps as a ceremonial survival.

"great father-in-law", as uncle,[1] but he attached no sociological meaning to his interpretation. Yet it seems extremely unlikely that people should have chosen the title for father-in-law with the epithet "great", to mean uncle, merely from courtesy. If Professor Langdon's rendering of *emu rabu* be accepted it cannot be devoid of sociological significance. The marriage of ortho-cousins may have already been customary at the time when this word came into use, in which case the explanation is evident, since the paternal uncle is the father-in-law. Nor is this an improbable supposition, for the word occurs only in the syllabaries of the period of Khammurabi, as a translation of a Sumerian word. If the translators recognized that the Sumerians made use of a relationship term which they themselves did not possess, they might have translated it according to their own ideas, disregarding the Sumerian conception of exogamy. Although no records of Babylonian endogamous marriages have been found, the culture of Ur of the Chaldees was practically Babylonian, and Abraham had no scruples about marriage within the family for his sons Isaac and Ishmael. Moreover, Nahor had married the daughter of one Haran before the patriarchal group had left Ur, but it is not quite clear from the text whether this Haran was the brother of Nahor, or another man of the same name, though the former seems more probable.[3]

Among the patriarchs of Israel descent was established in the paternal line and endogamous marriages were not only allowed but encouraged. Esau married Malahath, the daughter of his father's brother, Ishmael: Isaac married his paternal uncle's son's daughter, Rebekka; Jacob married Rachel and Leah, his paternal grandfather's brother's son's son's daughters, but owing to his father's marriage to Rebekka his wives were also his cross-cousins. Sir James Frazer looks upon the marriage of Jacob as a typical cross-cousin marriage, and after following the custom all round the world, concludes that it is reasonable to suppose that this marriage was customary among the Semites in the patriarchal age. Now, if as Sir James Frazer shows, cross-cousin marriage is invariably associated with exogamy, then it is clear that the marriage of Jacob was not a typical cross-

[1] "Studies in Semitic Kinship," I.

[2] Mistakes of the same kind have happened frequently, especially when writing the Gospels in hitherto unwritten language. A missionary who knows Dinka well told me that he has been horrified on discovering the native conception of words that he had used in his earlier days as translations of English words.

[3] Gen. xi, 29.

cousin marriage. The Arabs to-day, though recognizing the exact relationship in a marriage of this kind, would still look upon such a cousin as the daughter of the *'amm* (the father's brother). Had the cross-cousin marriage been common among the patriarchs we should expect to find other examples. Instead of which we find several examples of marriages of near kinsfolk counting the relationship through the father, and later we see the marriage of Amram with Jochebed, his father's sister, and the marriage of the daughters of Zelophehad with their father's brother's sons.[1] It is noteworthy that the servant of Abraham says of Rebekka "she is my master's brother's daughter" (Gen. xxiv, 48). At the present day any Kabashi Arab would say the same thing in like circumstances, the importance in his mind, as in the mind of Abraham's servant, would be the relationship through the father, the exact degree would be of no importance. Typical cross-cousin marriage (the marriage between children of brother and sister) excludes the possibility of the marriage between the children of two brothers or two sisters. On the other hand, the orthodox Arab marriage does not exclude any other type of marriage theoretically. Indeed, I was told among the Kababish that though the marriage with the *bint 'amm*, the ortho-cousin, was the best marriage, the next best marriage was with the *bint khal*, the cross-cousin. Similar statements have been made for the Arabs of Egypt, Syria, Morocco, and Mesopotamia. I was, therefore, greatly surprised to find when I had recorded a genealogy with fifty-seven marriages that marriage with the *bint khal* only occurred once. It seems possible therefore that genealogical records might show similar results in other Muhammadan countries.[2]

Although many Arabs look upon the marriage with the father's brother's daughter as the most desirable marriage, among some tribes this marriage is considered a right and this is so in Arabia.[3] In Mecca, among the upper classes, children are betrothed in infancy. The *bint 'amm* (daughter of the father's brother) is the proper first wife, but if she has disgraced herself or if she does not wish to contract the marriage the *ibn 'amm* (son of the father's brother) will divorce her formally.[4] In Arabia Petraea the *ibn 'amm* can interfere at the last moment with the marriage of his *bint 'amm* to another man. In order to circumvent the

[1] See footnote, p. 274.

[2] "The Kababish, a Sudan Arab tribe": Harvard African Studies, *Varia Africana*, vol. ii, 1918; cf. genealogical table and pp. 137–9.

[3] L. Burkhardt, *Bedouin and Wahabys*, vol. i, p. 113.

[4] Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (The Hague, 1889), vol. ii, p. 107.

claim of the *ibn 'amm* a man will carry off a girl and place her under the protection of another tribe and then return to her father and enter into negotiations for the marriage.[1] In Arabia the authority wielded by the cousin is clearly seen in an incident related by Doughty. Because it was not considered correct for a husband to ask for a runaway wife personally, Doughty was asked to do this for his host. He found the woman among "her mother's kinsfolk" and in answer to his request "a young cousin said, 'I am her father, and Hirfa is mine, Khalil: no, we will not give her more to Zeyd.'"[2] Among the Arabs of Moab,[3] Jaussen says, "aussitot qu'un Arabe se félicite de la naissance d'une cousine, il peut se flatter en meme temps de l'avoir un jour pour épouse." According to Jaussen, the "cousin" may be the daughter of a maternal or paternal uncle; he quotes several examples showing how the right had been enforced against opposition, but unfortunately does not mention whether the inopportune bridegroom was the son of the paternal or maternal uncle.

Robertson Smith states that at Taif a man could not give his daughter to another if his brother's son asked for her, and that the latter can have her "cheaper" than another man.[4] Although this statement is generally made, and it would seem to be reasonable to suppose that if a man has a right to marry a woman he would need to pay less as *mahr*, yet we found the reverse the case among the Kababish.[5] Here, however, all our work was done among the Sheykh's division of the tribe, and the large dowries paid were probably an exhibition of family pride. The Kawahla, neighbours of the Kababish in Kordofan, also declared that they paid more for a *bint 'amm* than for a strange bride, and the few cases that I recorded confirmed this surprising statement. It should, however, be remembered that according to Muhammadan law the *mahr* is no longer a bride-price, but a settlement on the wife.

Among the Kababish, the ortho-cousin marriage predominates. It was clear that no other alliance for a girl would be considered if there were an *ibn 'amm* available for her. Further, if a lad were betrothed to his *bint 'amm* who was considerably younger than himself,

[1] Alois Musil, *Arabia Petraea* (Wein, 1908), vol. iii. p. 174.

[2] Doughty, op. cit., vol. i. p. 236. The girl was persuaded to return by her mother's sister.

[3] Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* (Paris, 1908), p. 45.

[4] Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 163.

[5] Op. cit. For an analysis of fifty-seven marriages see p. 138.

he could not take another wife while waiting for her to grow up. A *bint 'amm* could not be second to any other woman unless she, too, were *bint 'amm* to the husband.[1]

It would be easy to quote many more examples of ortho-cousin marriage among Muslims. These examples have been chosen to show that this marriage is not merely looked upon as economically convenient, but that a man has a right to make it: and also that among some peoples the economic aspect of this form of marriage is disregarded.

It is quite clear that in Arabia, before the time of the prophet, widows were inherited by the next of kin. This is forbidden in the Koran. In the same chapter men are forbidden to marry their father's wives, but that this is an innovation is seen by the addition "though what is passed may be allowed". Robertson Smith writes, "both passages according to the commentators refer to the same practice . . . from the mass of traditional accounts of the matter, I select . . . one of those preserved in Tabari's great commentary.[2] 'In the Jahaliya, when a man's father or brother or son died and left a widow, the dead man's heir, if he came at once and threw his garment over her, had the right to marry her under the dowry (*mahr*) of [i.e. already paid by] her [deceased] lord (*sahib*) or to give her in marriage and take her dowry. But if she anticipated him and went off to her own people, then the disposal of her hand belonged to herself.' The symbolical act here spoken of is the same that we find in the book of Ruth (iii, 9), where the young widow asks her husband's kinsman Boaz 'to spread his skirt over his handmaid', and so claim her as his wife." [2]

Robertson Smith produces numerous examples to show that one woman had been married by a man and his son among both the great branches of the Arabs, and it is clear from the following quotation from Shahrastani that the custom of forming such marriages had arisen out of the right of inheriting widows. "The Arabs observed some of the prohibitions of the Koran, for they did not marry mothers or daughters or aunts on either side, and the grossest thing they did was that a man took two sisters in marriage at the same time, or that the son succeeded to his father's wife." [3] Doughty gives a modern example of succession to the widow of the deceased by the heir, but in this

[1] The Sheykh of the Kababish had two wives both *banat 'amm*, but before marrying the second he had divorced another who was not his *bint 'amm*.

[2] Op. cit., pp. 104–5.

[3] Robertson Smith, op. cit., p. 107.

case it is the brother's son, not the son, who is the heir. The Sheykh of Shammar had succeeded to his brother and was then murdered by his brother's son, who succeeded to the Sheykhship and immediately united himself to the widow whose husband he had himself murdered.[1] Surely, such a marriage would have been impossible had not the inheritance of widows by the heir been in accordance with public opinion. The whole story is given and there is no suggestion that the Sheykh's wife was plotting against her husband. Further evidence of the rights over a woman by inheritance are seen in the marriage laws in Morocco, "according to the Mālikī school of Muhammadans, to which the Moors belong, a woman cannot be married without the permission of her *walī* (guardian), who is in the first place her son by a former marriage, in the second her grandson (son's son), in the third her father, and, in default of these, one or other of her paternal relatives in the following order: the full brother, nephew, grandfather, uncle, cousin. If she has no such relative, her *walī* is the *qadī*."[2] Thus, although a woman always belongs to her father's kin, not her husband's, yet when it comes to her second marriage, her *walī*, whose permission she must obtain, is her husband's heir. She must obtain her son or grandson's permission even if her own father is living. This can only mean that *qua* wife she is the property of her former husband's heir.[3]

The clearest proof of all that the marriage with the *bint 'amm* was looked upon by the Arabs as an inherited right, in exactly the same way as the inheritance of widows, is brought forward by Robertson Smith. "Wahidi relates that when a widow called Kobaisha came to complain to the prophet that she had been taken to wife against her will by her deceased husband's heir, who would neither do a husband's part by her nor let her go free, 'the women of Medina came to the apostle of God saying, we are in the very same case as Kobaisha, except that we have not been taken in marriage by our step-sons but by our cousins on the father's side.'"[4] It would seem that unmarried daughters of the deceased may have been looked upon by the heir in the same way as the widows of the deceased; certainly guardians married their wards.[5] In Sura IV there is no prohibition against the marriage of

[1] Doughty, *Arabia Deserta* (1888), vol. ii, chaps. i and ii.

[2] E. Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London), 1914, pp. 15–16.

[3] Among Arabs generally a woman's honour concerns her own kin and only in a lesser degree her husband. A woman who had committed adultery might be slain by her father or brother, but never by her husband.

[4] Robertson Smith, op. cit., pp. 101–2.

[5] Robertson Smith, op. cit., p. 101.

wards, but injunction to treat them fairly. However, this marriage must have been forbidden later in Muhammadan law, for it is said that "no male has any right to the custody of a female child, but one who is within the prohibited degrees of relationship to her".[1]

Thus, in Arabia, before the time of the Prophet, the inheritance of widows and the marriage of heirs to their wards as well as the marriage of a woman by her father's brother's son were looked upon as rights. Although we see all three forms of marriage (i.e. the marriage of wards, widows, and cousins) in existence at the same time, the two former being straightforward examples of inheritance, it is reasonable to look upon the third form as a development of the other two.

The marriage between the children of two brothers may have come about in more than one way—unhappily there is no direct evidence of its history. If we grant that the term "father" was used in a classificatory sense,[2] then, theoretically, a man might equally have inherited the widow of his father's brother or the widow of his own father, and the right to the former's widow might subsequently have been transferred to her daughter.[3] If this occurred with infant betrothal the ortho-cousin marriage would have been established. It is, however, unlikely that the marriage of ortho-cousins is as old as the classificatory use of *ab* in Semitic languages. Another possibility is that a man might have had the right to his brother's daughter and his son might have inherited this right or he might have transferred it to his son. Or assuming that the old men of the tribe were able to procure young wives, and a man regularly expected to inherit his father's wives, the sons may have been allowed access to them,[4] and then as the feeling grew against this custom some compensation would be expected; but the fathers could not offer their daughters instead of their wives because they were sisters to their sons, and so the arrangement with their brothers was the best the old men could do for their sons. If this is the origin of this type of marriage it would account for it being the father's duty to provide the *mahr*. This is certainly looked upon as a duty among Muhammadans, a youth is not expected to work in order

[1] Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*. Art. Guardianship.

[2] "Studies in Semitic Kinship", I.

[3] It is needless to go into the argument, but if this had been the case a similar development in other Semitic peoples might have been expected, in this case the change of words for father-in-law ("Studies in Semitic Kinship," I) would be the reverse of what has actually taken place. For examples of transference of right, see H. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, vol. i, p. 233.

[4] See below evidence for polyandry.

to earn it, and the ortho-cousin marriage is usually arranged while the children are quite young. It seems possible that the last two factors have been active in consolidating the right to the hand of the *bint 'amm*. Although there is no direct evidence that the marriage with the brother's daughter was ever considered a right, and the marriage is forbidden by Muhammadan law, yet the prohibition is tacitly ignored.[1] Several examples of this marriage have been quoted from the Old Testament, and it is still legal among the Jews.[2] At the present day the idea of marrying the father's widow is so repulsive to Muslims that I have seen an Ababda spit on the ground and turn away in disgust when he heard it was a custom among the Shilluk. There is even a word in classical Arabic, مَقْتِيّ, meaning "one who has married his father's wife", from a root meaning "to be hateful"; it is not, however, used in modern Arabic, at any rate, in Egypt.

For a man to marry a woman who had been divorced by his father is forbidden, but it may be supposed that this marriage was practised before its prohibition by the Prophet,[3] and such women are frequently married by a near kinsman of their previous husband at the present day. Doughty mentions two cases.[4] All this points to the strong hold the inheritance of the father's widows had on the Arabs in pre-Islamic days, but it cannot be supposed that the ortho-cousin marriage arose because Muhammad forbade the marriage with the father's widow or divorced wife, for we know that it was already customary. Yet the absolute prohibition by Muhammadan law to the inheritance of widows and the guardianship of female wards who were marriageable (hence prohibition of marriage with wards) may have made the ortho-cousin marriage more popular. Thus, men who saw two customary avenues for obtaining wives cut off from them, may have clung to the third, which was still open to them, and reinforced it as a hereditary right.

[1] The Kabábish, p. 137.

[2] Rabbinical Law recommends the marriage of uncle and niece. The legal importance of the levirate is still recognized. A curious case occurred recently in Palestine; a man who had married his brother's daughter died, it then became clear that legally his widow ought to marry her own father which, of course, she could not do.

[3] "And marry not women whom your fathers have married: for this is a shame, and hateful, and an evil way: though what is passed may be allowed." The Koran, Sura IV. It is clear that there were Believers living who had married women whom their fathers had married, but whether the latter were widows or divorcees it is not possible to say from the passage.

[4] Op. cit., pp. 466–505.

Robertson Smith recognized that the marriage with the *bint 'amm* arose from the inheritance of widows, but he was so concerned to show the gradual evolution by means of polyandry of the patrilineal group from one that was matrilineal and exogamous, that he only gave examples of inheritance of women to show that they were part of the *ba'al* system of marriage, or marriage of dominion, which he considered necessarily later than the *mot 'a* or matrilocal marriage, supposing that fraternal polyandry was a necessary stage in Arab tribal development before such inheritance could take place.[1] Robertson Smith apparently did not realize that the inheritance of widows can and does take place equally in matrilineal and patrilineal society, so that marriage by capture and the establishment of the *ba'al* type of marriage were not necessary steps leading to the treatment of women as property. The difference in matrilineal and patrilineal society is the identification of next of kin; in matrilineal society a man inherits his mother's brother's widow, and if exogamy exists this form of inheritance does not interfere with it, even if, instead of taking the mother's brother's wife or widow, a man marries her daughter instead.[2] Nor with patrilineal descent need this form of inheritance interfere with exogamy where it exists, if the heir is the son, the brother, or the brother's son. But where the daughter as well as the wife is looked upon as being part of the property of her father, and the next of kin may be the father's brother's son, then endogamy must take place. The desire to keep property in the family [3] would tend further to break down any feeling in favour of exogamy, though it is perhaps incorrect to speak of this state of affairs as endogamy, for nowhere amongst the Semites are marriages with foreigners forbidden.

[1] The main thesis of *Kinship and Marriage* may briefly be stated thus: Originally descent was reckoned in the female line, marriages were matrilocal, the husbands were merely visitors, so that a state of society existed which is compared to Nair polyandry. Later, captured women were shared by a group of brothers and there existed a state of society comparable to Tibetan polyandry. It was during this Tibetan or fraternal polyandrous stage that according to his hypothesis paternity was recognized and property and women were inherited in the male line.

[2] Rivers has shown how cross-cousin marriages in Melanesia came about in this way (*History of Melanesian Society*), and there is evidence for supposing that the same mechanism, that of transference, may have been at work in Africa.

[3] The daughters of Zelophehad inherited their father's property because they had no brothers, and then in order to prevent the inheritance passing from tribe to tribe they were commanded to marry whom they thought best within the tribe of their father. This appears to have been a special case, and the law that arose from it applied to heiresses only. It is stated that they actually married their father's brother's sons; this, though not accounting for the custom, shows the trend of public opinion in its favour. See the daughters of Zelophehad, Num. xxvi, 33, xxvi, 1–11, and xxxvi, 6–12.

It is necessary to digress slightly from our subject in order to consider the question of polyandry on which Robertson Smith lays so much stress. Robertson Smith shows that the word *kanna* was used for the wife of a son or brother, and also for own wife in Arabia, while the same word in Hebrew *kallā* means both a daughter-in-law and a spouse, in Aramaic a bride and apparently a sister-in-law.[1] While Robertson Smith considers the anomalous use of these terms can be explained only by the practice of polyandry, recent work in anthropology has given us numerous examples of the term "wife" being used for potential wife, so that a woman who is called "wife" by a man may never be his real wife unless he cares to claim her, or she may be inherited by that man after the death of her first husband. There are conditions so closely paralleled in Africa that I trust I may be forgiven for going out of the Semitic area to illustrate these two points; both occur among people with patrilineal descent. Among the Shilluk a man inherits the widow of his father or his brother, but before his marriage he has a qualified right of access to these women during the lives of their husbands. Roscoe states that among the Bahima strict chastity of women is enjoined before marriage, but after marriage a man shares his wife with visitors, and even his own father when his father comes to stay with him. Fraternal polyandry is practised by men too poor to get individual wives.[2]

While agreeing that the evidence which Robertson Smith brings forward points indisputably to the fact that the pre-Islamic Arabs did not have the same ideas of chastity for married women as were taught by the Prophet, far from supporting the hypothesis that polyandry was the general rule of marriage in Arabia, I would suggest that the same evidence points to it being either local or occasional. As we have suggested above it seems probable that those relatives who would inherit widows may also have had the right of access to them in their lifetime. Thus, the two principal arguments that Robertson Smith brings forward (*a*) that the heirs had a right to take a woman whom her husband had divorced,[3] and (*b*) the use of one term to indicate different relatives, seem to refer to the inheritance of women as property and perhaps to rights of access rather than to polyandry.

Among the Jews the inheritance of widows by the brother was established (the levirate); the inheritance of widows by the son took

[1] Op. cit., p. 161.

[2] Mackie Ethnological Expedition to Central Africa. Frazer, *Man*, June, 1920.

[3] Op. cit., p. 162. Cf. above, marriage of divorced wives by near kinsmen of the husband.

place in Israel but was disapproved. Such disapproval may not have been constant or may have been insufficient to stamp out the practice, for the state of public opinion is seen clearly in 2 Sam., chap. xvi, verses 21 and 22: "And Ahithophel said unto Absalom, go in unto thy father's concubines, which he hath left to keep the house; and all Israel shall hear that thou art abhorred of thy father; then shall the hands of all that *are* with thee be strong. So they spread Absalom a tent upon the top of the house: and Absalom went in unto his father's concubines in the sight of all Israel." These verses can only mean that the people recognized that Absalom publicly entered into his inheritance from his father during his father's lifetime, and so his followers flocked to him while the supporters of the old king gathered round him.[1] Thus it may be argued that it was no uncommon thing for a man to have access to his father's wives, and though this was regarded as an abuse in later times, it could scarcely have begun as such or there would not be so many prohibitions against this practice. The meaning of the command, "a man shall not take his father's wife, nor discover his father's skirt,"[2] becomes perfectly clear with Robertson Smith's explanation that "to throw a garment" over a woman was the symbolic act for exercising rights of inheritance.[3] The same prohibition occurs in Deut. xxvii, 20; Lev. xviii, 8, and Lev. xx, 11: Ezek. xxii, 10: Amos ii, 7;[4] and in 1 Cor. v.

Among the Jews the importance of the levirate as a legal means of disposal of widows must have weighed against the illegal practice of a son succeeding to his father's wives. Also, settled life must have made it far easier for a young man to obtain a wife than it had been among the nomad Arabs. So it is not surprising to find that although the marriage with the father's brother's daughter is permitted, it has never acquired the sanction of a right and actually never became a common practice.

Although it is often stated that the ortho-cousin marriage is as common among the Copts as among the Muslim population of Egypt, genealogical records would be required to prove this before stress should be laid upon the point. The information that I have received from two educated Copts independently is that all types of cousin marriage are allowed among them, the marriage of ortho-cousin takes place,

[1] Sir James Frazer interprets these verses in the same way, op. cit., vol. i, p. 541, n. 3.

[2] Deut. xxii, 30.

[3] Robertson Smith, op. cit., p. 105.

[4] This is not a case of prohibition to marriage, but a man and his father are forbidden to approach the same maid.

but is never looked upon as a right, nor is it especially sought ; on the contrary, the cross-cousin marriage is preferred. Supposing that more careful study should establish the prevalence of the ortho-cousin type of marriage among the Copts, we are faced with the following problems :—

(1) Has this form of marriage been introduced by Muslim influence ? or (2) can it be shown to have existed before the advent of the Arabs ?

If the latter, has it arisen independently, or has the African ortho-cousin marriage spread from Egypt ?

In considering these questions, it may be stated briefly that the Egyptians were not bound by any exogamous laws before Christianity, and we know that the marriage of near kin was not repugnant to them. The early Christians respected only the Levitical and Roman bars to marriage, stricter prohibitions came in later, but it was not until the Council of Agde in 506 that affinity and consanguinity were reckoned as bars to marriage. Before this time, at the Council of Chalcedon in 451, the Coptic Church had split from the Greek Church. At this period cousin marriage was encouraged in order to segregate the Copts and separate them from the followers of the Greek Church.[1] Taking all this into account, it does not seem improbable that, should the ortho-cousin marriage be found to predominate among Copts, this predominance may be due to Arab influence. Under Arab influence the Coptic women have adopted veiling: indeed, considering the limited distribution of this type of marriage, a separate origin is so unlikely as to be scarcely worthy of consideration. Had we no history of the Arabs before their conquest of Egypt, it would be possible to argue that the Arabs having adopted the custom of ortho-cousin marriage in Egypt proceeded to cause its spread in Africa. The evidence brought forward in this paper is sufficient to disprove this.

Before concluding, a few words must be said about the marriage of the children of brothers in other parts of the world. The only other instances of this marriage that I have seen recorded are among a Bantu people " of the interior " of South Africa, mentioned by Theal,[2] and in Madagascar. The reference to the former is too vague to call for comment. The marriage in Madagascar is particularly interesting. The Malagassy are not Muslims, but, according to Mr. Sibree, there is

[1] I am indebted to Dr. G. Subhy for this information, who says that in spite of early encouragement by the Church there is no strong feeling in favour of cousin marriage to-day.

[2] G. McCall Theal, *The Yellow and Dark-Skinned People of Africa south of the Zambesi*, London, 1910, p. 219.

a strong Arabic element in the language of Madagascar: "Thus days of the week and month, terms connected with divination and astrology, money and commerce, and many others are purely Arabic words."[1] It must, however, be noted that although property appears to have passed in the male line, blood was reckoned in the female line, so that a Malagassy in marrying the daughter of his paternal uncle was not marrying a blood relative and such cousins are not true ortho-cousins. The marriage between the children of two sisters was strictly forbidden, but "marriage between brothers' and sisters' children is also allowable on the performance of a slight prescribed ceremony supposed to remove any impediment from consanguinity".

Clearly, then, the marriage of the Malagassy presents differences to that of the Arabs. As it is associated with descent in the female line it cannot have the same history as that of the Arabs. It should be noted that the Malagassy also practised the levirate, a younger brother being bound to marry the widow, children of such marriage being considered heirs to the deceased. Evidently, although the relationship traced through the mother was considered of great importance with regard to incest, relationship through the father was also recognized. Thus, though the customary marriage among the Malagassy and the Arabs is the same, there are two important differences in the ideas underlying the practice. The Arabs know they are marrying relatives by blood and have no objection to the idea. The Malagassy, on the other hand, consider marriage with blood relatives to be incest, but do not regard the children of two brothers as blood relatives. Both people recognize the inheritance of property in the male line, but whereas the Malagassy recognize women's rights to property, and do not regard women themselves as property (as in the practice of the levirate the children born to the brother of the deceased belong to the deceased, not to his heir), it is clear that before the reforms introduced by Islam the Arab regarded women, both wives and wards, as property to be inherited. This has been altered by law, but it would seem that the idea is deep-seated, and my suggestion is that it is the permanence of the idea of woman as property that, with the spread of Islam, has among many African tribes broken down the prejudice against incest, and facilitated the spread of a form of marriage which would previously have been regarded as incestuous by those same tribes. I believe that the change from matrilineal to patrilineal descent and the possible economic

[1] *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. ix, 1880, p. 50.

advantages of this form of marriage would have been insufficient to break through so strong a feeling had not these tribes previously regarded women as inheritable property. The new form of marriage must have seemed an extension of the old rights of inheritance (now prohibited). Thus the Beni Amer and Hadendowa have since the introduction of Islam adopted the custom of marrying their ortho-cousins whom they address by the same term as their own sisters. In doing so I suggest that they were able to regard their ortho-cousins as inheritable property, and as they had never regarded their own sisters in this light, they were able to modify their views on incest without outrage to their sense of right.

ERRATA IN "STUDIES IN SEMITIC KINSHIP", I, BULLETIN, VOL. III, PART I, PP. 51–68

p. 56, col. 3, l. 9, *for* dōdoh *read* dōdah.
p. 56, col. 5, l. 9, *for* 'amont *read* 'ant.
pp. 59 and 60, *for* Buchanan Grey *read* Buchanan Gray.

SOME NOTES ON THE MATTA-VILASA

By L. D. Barnett

THE farce styled Matta-vilāsa-prahasana, to which I have previously adverted in these columns (I, iii. p. 35 ff.), seems to have formerly enjoyed a considerable vogue in Southern India, owing perhaps as much to its genuine merits as to its royal authorship. The scene in it where the Buddhist friar recites the Sikkhāpadas is echoed in another play, the Bhagavad-ajjukīya ; a reference to it has been pointed out in my paper on the Kalyāṇa-sāugandhika (above, III, i, p. 35) ; and there exists an anonymous commentary upon it (Brit. Mus. Or. 9272).

A large part of this commentary consists of *chāyā*, or Sanskrit renderings of the Prakrit passages. As in a fairly large number of cases these renderings point to a Prakrit text differing somewhat from that printed in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, it seems worth while to collect them here and to reconstruct the original Prakrit readings which they indicate, together with some remarks on the Sanskrit text attested by the commentator. Such a reconstruction of Prakrit must, of course, be tentative : the Sanskrit renderings of the Prakrit may be perhaps mistaken or faultily transmitted, and even when they are correct we cannot be sure, with our imperfect knowledge of the Southern school of Prakrit, whether the Prakrit as rendered by us is in accordance with the rules really followed by the original author. Nevertheless, the effort seems worth making ; and with these reservations I offer the following notes. The references are to the pages of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

p. 2, l. 8. *Leg.* taha evva. *Comm.* tathâivaṃ (*corrige* tathâiva).

Ib., l. 14. *Leg.* piakkhāṇiaaṃ. *Comm.* priyâkhyānitakaṃ.

p. 3, l. 3. *Leg.* kiṃ dāṇi ayyēṇa nāḍaaṃ nāḍaïdavvaṃ. *Comm.* kim idānīm āryēṇa nāṭakaṃ nāṭayitavyam.

Ib., ll. 6–7. *Leg.* āma imassiṃ . . . bhaṇidamhi. *Comm.* āma ity anuvādē, asmin pakṣapātī mē kōpaḥ, yēnâbhiprâyânurūpaṃ bhaṇitâsmi.

Ib., l. 8. *Leg.* jēṇa imāē kidīē attāṇaṃ evvaṃ paāsaïssadi. *Comm.* yēnânayā kṛtyā ātmānam ēvaṃ prakāśayiṣyati.

p. 6. l. 8. *Leg.* ṇāmahēēṇa abhidhāduṃ. *Comm.* nāmadhēyēnâbhidhātum.

Ib., ll. 9–10. *Comm.* yas tvayâparādhyati sa madôdayaḥ sulabhapadaskhalitaḥ. The reconstruction of the text here is not quite clear to me.

Ib., l. 14. *Leg.* mā mā evvaṃ bhaavaṃ mama kāraṇādō. *Comm.* mā mā ēvam bhagavan mama kāranāt.

p. 7, l. 1. *Comm.* dhirṇa dhirṇa namaḥ Śivāyêti tēṣāṃ samayē āśīḥ.

Ib., ll. 7–8. *Leg.* aṇṇahā mokkhamaggaṃ vaṇṇaanti. *Comm.* anyathā mōksamārgaṃ varṇayanti.

p. 9, l. 1. *Leg.* bhikkhāvibhāgō. *Comm.* bhikṣāvibhāgaḥ.

p. 10, l. 3. *Leg.* bhavaṃ. *Comm.* bhavān.

p. 11, l. 9. *Leg.* kavāḷaṃ bhavē. *Comm.* kapālaṃ bhavēt.

Ib., l. 12. *Leg.* ṇahi aṇṇēsaṇaṇimittaṃ savvaṃ evva. *Comm.* nahi anvēṣaṇanimittaṃ sarvam ēva.

p. 12, ll. 5–8. *The Comm. reads*: pañcasugandhôdbhôdhitaṃ [*sic!*] . . . surāpānañ ca na dṛṣṭam.

Ib., l. 9. *Leg.* pekkhissadi. *Comm.* prêkṣiṣyati.

Ib., ll. 11–12. *Leg.* itthiāpariggahasurāvāṇavaaṇāṇi. *Comm.* strīparigrahasurāpānavacanāni.

p. 13, l. 2. *Leg.* vissatthapurisasaṃcārē. *Comm.* viśrabdhapuruṣasañcārē.

Ib., ll. 7–8. *Leg.* ōḷambidaṃ samāsādia. *Comm.* avalambitaṃ samāsādya.

Ib., l. 11. *Leg.* ayi Ēampavāsī. *Comm.* ayi Ēkampavāsī duṣṭakapālī . . . Ēkampavāsī Ēkampâkhyaśivakṣētrē vastuṃ śīlam asya.[1]

p. 14, l. 1. *Leg.* kavāḷiāïsa mā mā evvaṃ vattuṃ. *Comm.* kāpālikôpāsaka mā mā ēvaṃ vaktuṃ.

Ib., l. 13. *Comm.* idaṃ saṃvṛtaṃ satyaṃ; *printed text* idaṃ tat saṃvṛtasatyam.

p. 15, l. 1. *Leg.* haḷ dhūrta. *Comm.* haḥ iti krōdhē.

Ib., l. 9. *Leg.* santaṃ santaṃ pāvaṃ. *Comm.* śāntaṃ śāntaṃ pāpam (cf. p. 7, l. 14).

[1] *Ēkampa* (*Ēkamba*) is the same as *Ēkâmbara-nātha*, a title under which Siva is worshipped in Conjevaram. "The great and principal temples of the town are now only three. The oldest of these is that dedicated to Siva under the name of Yékambara Nádar or "lord of the one Aether". It is the headquarters of the Adwaitam, or 'Nondualistic', doctrine . . . The object of worship in the holy of holies is a lingam . . . This is probably the oldest building in the town . . . Its origin probably dated from a very humble village shrine. There are even allusions in the Stalapurána to its having sprung from a mango tree . . . The earlier portions were, no doubt, as tradition asserts, the works of the Chola kings," etc. (C. S. Crole, *Manual of Chingleput District*, pp. 111–12.) There is also a cult of Ēkâmbara-nātha at Omandur, in Musiri Taluk, Trichinopoly District, and perhaps elsewhere.

p. 16, l. 3. *Leg.* gaṇhadu bhavaṃ. *Comm.* gṛhṇātu bhavān.

Ib., l. 5. *Leg.* ettha khu ēsō dōsō. *Comm.* atra khalu ēṣa dōṣaḥ.

Ib., l. 7. *Leg.* duṭṭha kudō dē ēdāṇi bhāadhēāṇi. *Comm.* duṣṭa kutas tē ētāni bhāgadhēyāni.

Ib., l. 11. *Leg.* idāṇiṃ pi dē ṇatthi karuṇā. *Comm.* idānīm api tē nâsti karuṇā.

Ib., l. 13. *Comm. ignores* vi.

p. 17, l. 3. *Leg.* kattha kavāḷaṃ. *Comm.* kasmin kapālam.

Ib., l. 12. *Comm.* dhvaṃsa gaccha.

p. 18, l. 4. *Leg.* uṭṭhēhi uvāsiē uṭṭhēhi. *Comm.* uttiṣṭha upāsikē uttiṣṭha.

Ib., ll. 8–9. *Leg.* dhammō khu aaṃ amhāaṃ[1] visamapadidāṇaṃ aṇukampā. *Comm.* dharmaḥ khalv ayam asmākaṃ viṣamapatitānām anukampā.

Ib., l. 14. *Comm. ignores* dukkhaṃ dukkhaṃ.

Ib., l. 17. *Comm.* abrāhmaṇyaṃ brāhmaṇēṣv asādhu vartatē.

p. 19, l. 9. *Comm.* asmacchatrupakṣaṃ.

Ib., l. 11. *Leg.* bhaavaṃ tuvaṃ pi ṇa āṇāsi. *Comm.* bhagavan tvam api na jānāsîti praśnē laṭ.

Ib., l. 15. *Leg.* buddhaṃ dhammaṃ. *Comm.* buddhaṃ dharmaṃ.

p. 20, l. 3. *Leg.* bhō buddhavaaṇaṃ. *Comm.* bhō buddhavacanaṃ.

p. 21, l. 5. *Leg.* haḥ kō nṛtyati. *Comm.* haḥ iti krōdhē.

Ib., l. 8. *Leg.* bhō bhaavaṃ. *Comm.* bhō bhagavan.

Ib., l. 9. *Comm. ignores* bhō ācikkhadu bhaavaṃ.

p. 22, l. 9. *Leg.* kamaḷâsaṇasīsakavāḷânubhavassa. *Comm.* kamalâsanaśīrṣakapālânubhavasya.

p. 23, l. 3. *Leg.* santhāṇaparimāṇaṃ dāva kahēhi. *Comm.* saṃsthānaparimāṇaṃ tāvat kathaya.

Ib., l. 5. *Leg.* akkōsāmi bhavantaṃ. *Comm.* ākrōśāmi bhavantam.

Ib., l. 6. *Leg.* gaṇhadu gaṇhadu bhavaṃ. *Comm.* gṛhṇātu gṛhṇātu bhavān.

Ib., l. 8. *Comm. ignores* dāṇiṃ.

Ib., l. 15. *Leg.* kāruṇiāṇaṃ. *Comm.* kāruṇikānāṃ.

p. 24, ll. 1–2. *Leg.* °vibhavadariddakavāḷiassa. *Comm.* °vibhavadaridrakāpālikasya.

Ib., l. 10. *Leg.* hōhi. *Comm.* bhava.

Ib., l. 15. *Leg.* dhāvaï. *Comm.* dhāvati.

Ib., l. 17. The *Comm.* translates *dantāṇi* of the text by *dantāni*, which shows that he regarded the word as neuter, though Sanskrit

[1] Or *amhāṇaṃ*. See W. Printz, *Bhāsa's Prakrit*, p. 29.

grammar demands masculine gender. Those who may challenge this view, and, in defiance of the dictum of Hēmacandra *liṅgam atantram* (iv. 445), would see in *dantāṇi* an instance of the alleged masc. plur. accus. in *-āṇi* (cf. W. Printz, *Bhāsa's Prakrit*, p. 26), will do well to note and perpend the indubitable masc. plur. accus. *mahōḷaē* on p. 25, l. 15, as well as the list of masculines converted to neuters in Dr. Thomas's edition of the *Bārhaspatya-artha-śāstra* (Lahore edition, p. 20).

Ib., l. 18. *Leg.* unmattaē. *Comm.* unmattakē.

p. 25, l. 1. *Leg.* śūḷattaṇēṇa kaham maē śaha viḷōhaṃ kaḷēśi. *Comm.* śūratvēna kathaṃ mayā saha virōdhaṃ karōṣi.

Ib., ll. 2–3. *Leg.* gāmaśūgaragaḷaṃ āḷuhia . . . śāgaṇēṇa paḍibhañjia Ēḷāvanaṃ gahīdē śaśudē timingalē. *Comm.* grāmasūkaragaḷam āruhya . . . śvagaṇēna pratibhañjya [1] āirāvataṃ gṛhītaḥ sasutas timingalaḥ ' grāmasūkaraḥ kukkuraḥ tasya gaḷaṃ kaṇṭhaṃ gaganam utpatitēna mayā śvagaṇēna saha Āirāvataṃ pratibhañjya gṛhītaḥ sasutas timingalaḥ ity unmattapralāpaḥ.

Ib., ll. 4–6. The text indicated by the *Comm.* is obscure and perhaps corrupt. He writes: Hanumata ēṣā musalasamaviśālalambahastē dardurē mē śaktiḥ | athavā kiṃ mama trāilōkyaviditaparākramasya śaktyā kāryam ?

Ib., ll. 6–7. *Leg.* ēvaṃ dāva kaḷiśśaṃ. *Comm.* ēvaṃ tāvat kariṣyē.

Ib., l. 8. *Leg.* hā hā māḷidemhi māḷidemhi bapphēṇa. *Comm.* hā hā mālitō 'smi mālitō 'smi bāṣpēṇa.

Ib., ll. 9–10. *Leg.* bhō duṭṭhadāḷaabhaṭṭā Vāsudēvassa bhāiṇēē khu ahaṃ Bhīmaśēṇaśśa Ghaṭukkacē via. *Comm.* bhō duṣṭadārakabhartāraḥ Vāsudēvasya bhāginēyaḥ khalv ahaṃ Bhīmasēnasya Ghaṭōtkaca iva.

Ib., l. 13. *Leg.* vaśanti. *Comm.* vasanti.

p. 26, l. 1. *Leg.* kahaṃ puṇō vi maṃ tāḷenti. *Comm.* kathaṃ punar api māṃ tāḍayanti.

Ib., l. 2. *Leg.* mā maṃ tāḷēha. *Comm.* mā māṃ tāḍayatha.

Ib., l. 3. *Leg.* uvaharāmi. *Comm.* yāvad ēnam upaharāmi pūjayāmi | asya nayiṣyē kapālam iti śēṣaḥ.

Ib., l. 12. *Leg.* maē ahiadaṃ. *Comm.* mayā adhigatam.

Ib., l. 13. *Leg.* bhavaṃ. *Comm.* bhavān.[2]

p. 27, l. 5. *Leg.* bhaavaṃ evvaṃ ēdaṃ. *Comm.* bhagavan ēvam ētat.

[1] Wrongly written in the MS. *pratibhaṃjyē*.

[2] After this the Comm. gives the words *bhagavan mastakēna vandāmi*, pointing to a Prakrit *bhaavaṃ matthaēṇa vandāmi*, which is not in the printed text here.

p. 28. l. 2. *Leg.* śuvaṇṇaārēṇa kidaṃ. *Comm.* suvarṇakārēṇa kṛtam.

Ib., l. 4–5. *Ignored by Comm.*

Ib., l. 8. *Leg.* tumhāaṃ[1] ummattaā | ēdaṃ dēïa (?) daḷiśēmi ummattaattaṇaṃ. *Comm.* yuṣmākam unmattakāḥ | yuṣmākaṃ putrā unmattakāḥ | ētad dattvā darśayāmi unmattakatvam.

Ib., l. 14–15. *Ignored by Comm.*

A NOTE ON THE TEXT OF KALYANASAUGANDHIKAM

By L. D. Barnett

MR. K. RAMA PISHAROTI, M.A., has very kindly reported to me the readings of the MSS. of the Kalyāṇasāugandhikam in the library of the Sanskrit College at Trippoonithura, and I gratefully present the most important of them as a supplement to my provisional edition of that play in this *Bulletin*, Vol. IV, p. 33 ff. They are as follows :—

p. 36, l. 3 : omit *parikramya* ; ib., l. 4 : *praviśya naṭī* ; ib., l. 6 : *ājñaptaḥ* ; ib., l. 7 : *Kahaṃ* only ; ib., l. 9 : *prajñāguṇēna* ; ib., l. 12 : *kavîndraḥ* ; ib., l. 14 : *sandarśayêti* ; ib., ll. 15–16 : *Sudhdhaappahudīṇaṃ puvvakavīṇaṃ muttuā . . . ahiṇivēsō* ; ib., ll. 27–8 : omit *Brāhmaṇi êhy êhi.* p. 37, l. 4 : *uditaḥ* ; ib., l. 5 : *munijanaḥ* ; ib., l. 7 : *āmukhaḥ* for *sthāpanā* ; ib., l. 12 : *sphanditadurbalaṃ* (read *spanditad°*); ib., l. 14 : *naddhē* for *mugdhē* ; ib., l. 16 : *adhdhīdō maggō . . . ēsā vēdaṇā* ; ib., l. 18 : *mahān prayāsaḥ* ; ib., l. 24 : *-viḷasat-* for *-vimala-* ; ib., l. 26 : *Kahaṃ puṇa . . . aṇukampaṇīâvaththaṃ* ; ib., l. 32 : *parikramyôrdhvam avalōkya.* p. 38, l. 3 : *anupadam api garvam* ; ib., l. 5 : *vyatîtakālaprāyaścittaṃ* ; ib., l. 6 : *samāpayiṣyāvaḥ* ; ib., l. 15 : *Gandhamādanamahāśāilêndram* ; ib., l. 16 : omit *avalōkya* ; ib., l. 22 : add (*avalōkya*) before *Ahō* ; ib., l. 27 : omit *Parikramya* : ib., l. 28 : *atiramaṇīya°* : ib., l. 30 : *gītam* : ib., l. 33 : add (*smṛtvā*) before *Kim.* p. 39, l. 1 : read (*parikramya sparśaṃ rūpayan*). *Ayē sannihitēna* : ib., l. 2 : omit *Tathā hi* : ib., l. 7 : before *Idaṃ* add *Tad asya mārgam anusarāmi* (*parikramyâvalōkya saharṣam*). *Saphalō mē pariśramaḥ* ; ib., l. 12 : *bhramarakamayāir* : ib., l. 14 : *madhurasayutām* ; ib., l. 15 : *upaharāmi* (*puṣpâpacayaṃ kṛtvā sagarvaṃ*). *Bhōḥ* ; ib., l. 19 : *-jīvalōkajīvagrahaṇa-* ; ib., l. 21 : *-sāugandhikâpaharaṇajanita-* ; ib., l. 23 : *Api ca* for *Iha hi* ; ib., l. 27 : *karōmi* ; ib., l. 28 : *Bhō rākṣasa . . . pralapyasē* (sic !) ; ib., l. 29 : *khalv ayam* ; ib., l. 30 :

[1] Or *tumhāṇaṃ* : cf. above, note on p. 18, ll. 8–9.

read *punar abhimukham*, omit *Rē rē*, and for *rākṣasâpaśada* read *Bhavatu mānuṣâpaśada*: ib., l. 36: *Manyē mayā hatō mṛta-*. p. 40, l. 1: *Ahaha . . . rākṣasān hanişyanti*; ib., l. 3: *Bhō rākṣasa*; ib., l. 10: *navâmbu*; ib., l. 13: omit *rē rē*; ib., l. 25: *'smi, idānīm pratinivṛttaḥ. (Tataḥ . . .)*; ib., l. 28: *nō*; ib., l. 29: *gatâgatam*; ib., l. 32: omit *(sasambhramaṃ)*; ib., l. 33: *duvviṇīdēṇa vāiṇā paripīḍiamāṇammaṇṇā īvaṇāvāriṇā* (sic !). p. 41, l. 1: omit *ēṣa*; after *(grahaṇaṃ nāṭayitvā)* add *Priyē*: ib., l. 9: *Ayam anukūlaḥ*; ib., l. 13: *ēdaṃ . . . -pariṇāhaṃ*; ib., l. 15: *Idam atidūratvād*; ib., l. 18: *kulaparvatāḥ*; ib., l. 19: omit stage-direction; ib., l. 20: *Ammō savvaṃ mahaṃtaṃ savvuttaṃ (vilōkya)*: ib., l. 29: *(praṇamya). Namō.* p. 42, l. 4: *amhē* for *iha vi*; ib., l. 5: *sāhu dīsaï*; ib., l. 7: *amṛtâmbu- . . . -gaṇā*; ib., l. 12: *-ththaṇidagabhīrō . . . maṃ pīḍaï*; ib., l. 17: *gajêndraḥ*; ib., l. 18: *pamādō b*; ib., l. 19: omit *Sakhi*; ib., l. 20: *-maṇi-* for *-sphāṭika-*; ib., l. 21: *anayōr*; ib., l. 26: *ētām*; ib., l. 29: *avaśam ayē.* p. 43, l. 1: *vibhinna-*; ib., l. 4: *Na hi kiñcid iha*; ib., l. 11: *-bhūmēś* for *vahnēś*; ib., l. 15: *mānuṣapaśō . . . naḥ*; ib., l. 19: *aruṇapiśaṅgāiḥ*; ib., l. 24: *Tad ayam*; ib., l. 25: *-pratiṣṭa-* (sic !); ib., l. 29: *idam* for *abhidhānam*; ib., l. 31: *Ham* for *Hanta*; ib., l. 35: *dagdhā yēna purā divākarakarāir aspṛṣṭa-*. p. 44, l. 5: *vadiṣyati rājā naḥ*; ib., l. 9: *apanēṣyāmi . . . puruṣâdhama*; ib., l. 13: *yāsyāmaḥ*; ib., l. 22: *saṃyantā*; ib., l. 23: *Ahō bata mayâpi sapiṇḍitabalēna*; ib., l. 36: before *Vidyādharaḥ* add *(tataḥ praviśati vidyādharaḥ, dvayōr antaraṃ praviśya nivārayan)*, and omit following stage-direction; the words *Hanuman . . . upasthitam* should be printed as a verse. p. 45, l. 3: omit stage-direction; ib., l. 7: omit *idam*; ib., l. 9: *saprasrayâ°*; ib., l. 15: omit first *āssva*; ib., l. 18: *sahacarī*; ib., ll. 21, 23, 31: *Ubhāu* for *Bhīmaḥ*; ib., l. 26: *prēṣitaḥ*; ib., l. 31: omit *Bhōḥ*; ib., l. 33: *Adya* for *Ahaṃ*; ib., l. 34: *anayōr.* p. 46, l. 2: add *Hā bhaktajanavatsala kiṃ na jānīṣē?*; ib., l. 11: *varam iva*; ib., l. 16: *mayâdya*; ib., l. 18: *sa* for *taṃ*; ib., l. 20: *Dhīrō khalu bhavān nâtyarthaṃ*; ib., l. 22: *Idānīṃ prakṛtisthō*, omitting *Kumāra*; ib., l. 25: *cētaḥ* for *manaḥ*; ib., l. 29: *-vikāraruṣitān.* p. 48, l. 10: omit *Ārya*; add *Kutaḥ* after *anugrahaḥ*; ib., l. 11: *iva mē*; ib., l. 15: omit *Nanu*; read *śrōtavyaṃ kila*; ib., l. 22: after *rōcatē* read *Gacchatu bhavān punardarśanāya. VIDYĀDHARAḤ. Bāḍham (niṣkrāntaḥ)*; ib., l. 25: *Ubhāu parikramya*; ib., l. 26: *-nikaṭavati* (sic !); ib., ll. 28–30: omit Hanumān's speech; ib., l. 31: omit *Pariṣvajati*; read *āśramasthā praviśati*; ib., l. 32: at end of line add *(Ubhāv upasṛtya)*; b., l. 33: *BHĪMAḤ* for *UBHĀV.* p. 49, l. 6: instead of line as printed

read *DRĀUPADĪ. Aṇuggahidaṃhi. HANUMĀN. Kumāra āsva*, etc.; ib., ll. 8–9: *maē ēdajjāhaṃ*[1] *teḷḷōka-*; ib., l. 10: *ata ēvâinam atisāhasē*; ib., l. 11: *aṇṇō mē maṇōrahō*; ib., ll. 13–14: *Savvaṃ suṇādu ayyō. Ṇivuttasamaāṇaṃ mama ṇāhāṇaṃ dēvâsurasaṃgāmasamō samarâgamō bhavissidi*; ib., ll. 16–17: *Tassim abadhdhadikhkhō tassa gaṃdhappamōdabahuḷaṃtaṇaṃdagguṇa* (sic !) *ayyō vivādaṃ karissiditti, sōadhdhiavvāēṇa maē evvaṃ kidaṃ*; ib., ll. 18–19: *Vididaṃ evva, ayyadassaṇasuhaṃ uvavādiantiē maē savvō Ṇāradamuṇēṇâpi* (sic !) *vibuhabhavaṇagaē Ajjuṇē paāsidō*; ib., l. 22: *kiṃ aparaṃ jahā rakhkhasavaccaṇādō Jāṇakī tahā ripuvaccaṇādō ahaṃ pi rakhkhidavvā*; ib., l. 23: *Idam* for *Kim*; omit *Vada*. p. 50, ll. 1–2: *Ēsō mē paṇaō, bhaṭṭuṇō Ajjuṇassa raṇabhūmiē vattamāṇassa dhuajē saṃnihidēṇa ayyaēṇa uggappaṇādēṇa sakhkhōhidavvō sattusahhō* (read *-saṃghō*); ib., l. 3: *Bhavatu, ēvaṃ tāvat kariṣyē. Paśya*; ib., l. 5: *kartâsmi tān ūrjaghanaprakāśaḥ*; ib., l. 6: *tatkētu-*; ib., ll. 9–10: *priyēṇôktaṃ svīkṛta-*; ib., l. 11: *abhyāśagā*; ib., l. 12: *-hitāś . . . prâpsyasi*; ib., l. 13: *Aṇuggahīdamhi*; ib., l. 17: *pi kṛtâyasi*: ib., l. 18: *tat* for *vaḥ*; ib., l. 25: *nṛpaḥ savijayō 'yam*, and as alternative *nṛpō 'py anugatâyur*.

The MSS. regularly in Prakrit passages denote a double consonant by writing it singly, preceded by the sign of repetition (a small circle with a stroke below it); hence they occasionally confuse a double consonant with an *anusvāra* and consonant (e.g. p. 41, l. 20: *mahaṃtaṃ*; p. 49, l. 8: *ēdajjāhaṃ*; l. 17, *sōadhdhia-*; p. 50, l. 2: *sakhkhōhidavvō, sahhō*).

These readings in general agree with the longer recension which I have denoted by *B*. Some of them supply obviously necessary emendations of the text. A few are due to errors; and a large number are simply variants, due to arbitrary alteration of the working.

Pandit Venkatarama Sarma has favoured me with some corrections and suggestions, among them being the very probable emendation *rājyasukhaṃ* on p. 46, l. 28.

[1] Perhaps to be corrected to *ēdaṃ jānidaṃ*.

GLOSSARY OF HINDI PHONETIC TERMS

By T. GRAHAME BAILEY, M.A., B.D., D.Litt.

THIS is an attempt, made so far as I know for the first time, to give a Hindi translation of all the more ordinary phonetic terms in use at present. Doubtless the list could have been enlarged by the inclusion of rarer words, but such a course might have lessened its utility. The phonetic words or phrases have been taken for the most part from a work by Professor Jones. They number about 180. A few of the Hindi equivalents will be recognized as common in works on grammar. They do not, however, carry one far. For the rest I have had to put down the words which seemed to me best to express the required idea. Pioneer work of this description is always capable of improvement. It should be undertaken not by an individual but by a learned committee.

The attention of students is drawn to a few points :—

(1) These phonetic terms are intended to apply to any and every language. They do not specially refer to Hindi or Sanskrit. It follows that a term which suits Hindi may have to be discarded because it does not suit English or French or other languages, e.g. *akṣar* for "syllable".

(2) Old words used by Hindi grammarians must be used with a changed connotation and denotation. Thus, it is natural to use *svar* for vowel, but modern phonetic science will not admit that r, $\underset{\circ}{r}$, l, $\underset{\circ}{l}$ are vowels. Again, *ghoṣ* seems to be the best word for "sonant", and it must therefore apply to sonant vowels, but it may be questioned whether any Hindi grammarian ever contemplated this extension of its meaning.

(3) Spelling : I have aimed at spelling words as they are ordinarily pronounced in conversation by men of moderate education. There are one or two harmless deviations from this ; *ś* and *ṣ* have the same sound to-day in Hindi. Some may criticize the employment of *ṅ*, but in my own pronunciation I always distinguish between *ṅ* and *n*, and some Indians do so. Sanskrit scholars will object to my venturing to alter hoary Sanskrit spellings, but before they hold up their Sanskritic hands in horror or lose any Prakritic hair I would beg them to consider that there is no more reason for giving Hindi words an ancient

dress than there is for using in English such forms as knihte, briddes, constantia, societas, discipula, telegramma, geologia, and others. In English we never dream of spelling *tatsams* or semi-*tatsams* after their Saxon, Latin, or Greek originals; we feel that we have as much right to alter them to suit our modern requirements as we have to alter any *tadbhav*. Hindi has the same right.

(4) Sanskrit words: I have not wholly avoided Sanskrit words. Some are rooted in grammatical terminology, and are understood by those who are likely to study phonetics. In protesting against every attempt to make Hindi a handmaiden to Sanskrit we must conserve the power it has of taking words from Sanskrit or any other language and assimilating them for its own purposes. Three Indian scholars who wrote in Hindi a large three-volume History of Hindi Literature, have some splendid pages on this subject. I give a translation of one or two sentences:—

"Hindi is the simple language of the people. (If it is rendered difficult by the adoption of Sanskrit forms) the only possible result will be that Hindi, like Sanskrit, will be numbered among dead languages. It is our sacred duty to save it from such a fate." After giving examples of words which may correctly be spelt in several ways, they proceed: "Proud Sanskrit scholars may turn up their noses and raise their eyebrows at these forms, but Hindi fearlessly uses them all and will continue to do so. The truth is that the correct forms of words are those which people of ordinary education use in speech. If anyone writes other forms, we certainly admit them as a concession, but we have no hesitation in calling them improper. We hold that there is no harm in using new forms, and as regards *sandhi* we assert that Hindi is at perfect liberty to disregard it or conform to it at will." These are brave words, and they are wise words. Let it not be forgotten that Sanskrit is dead, Hindi lives.

Vocabulary of Hindi Phonetic Terms

accent, see "stress"; tonic accent, *ūch̲āī batānevālā bal, uch̲chtā sūch̲ak bal*, m.; quantitative accent, *parimāṇ sūch̲ak bal, mātrā bal.*

affricate (consonant), *sparś-saṅgharṣī (vyanjan).*

alphabet, *varṇmālā*, f.

alveolar, *masūṛe kā.*

artificial palate, see "palate".

aspirate, aspirated, aspiration, *mahāprāṇ*, m., *h-kār kī dhvani (vālā).*

back, *pīchhe, pīchhe kā.*

back of tongue, *jībh ka pich̲hlā bhāg*, m.

back vowel, *pīchhe kā svar*, m., *pichhlā svar*.
bilabial, *donō hōṭhō kā*, *dvyoṣṭhya*.
blade of tongue, *jībh kā phal*.
breath, *sāṁs*, f., *śvās*, m.
breathe, *sāṁs lena*; breathe out, *sāṁs chornā*.
breathed sounds (so-called), see " voiceless ".
broad transcription, *sādhāran lipi* (f.) or *lekhan* (m.).
cacuminal, see " retroflex ".
cardinal (vowel), *mukhya svar*, m.; *pradhān svar*.
change, n., *vikār*, m.; v. *badalnā*.
class (of letters, sounds, etc.), *varg*, m.
clear l, *sāf l-kār*, m.
close vowel, *sakṛā svar*.
compound, adj., *sāyukt*.
consonant, *vyañjan*, m.; see " affricate ", " plosive ".
consonantal vowel, *vyañjan svar*, m.
dark l, *moṭā l-kār*.
dental, *dantya*, *dāntō kā*; see " labio-dental ", " post-dental ", " pre-dental ".
devocalization, *aghoṣ karnā* or *honā*.
dialect, *upabhāṣā*, f., *bolī*, f.
diphthong, *do jure hue svar*, *dvisvar*, m., *yaugik svar*, m.
divide, *bāṇṭnā*, *vibhakt karnā*.
division, *bhāg*, m., *vibhāg*, m.
drum of ear, *kān kā paṭah*, m.
ear, *kān*, m.; see " drum ".
epiglottis, *āvarṇ ka ḍhakṇā*, m.
experimental (phonetics), *kal vālā*, *yantrvālā*, *yāntrik*.
explosion, *bhak*, f.
food-passage, *ann kī nalī*, f.
form, *ākār*, m.
forward, *āge*, *āge kā*.
fricative, *ragaṛnevālā*, *saṅgharṣī*.
friction, *ragar*, f., *saṅgharṣ*, m.
front of tongue, *jībh kā aglā bhāg*.
front vowel, *āge kā svar*, *aglā svar*.
glide, *saṅkrāmak*, m.; see " off-glide ", " on-glide ".
glottal, *glauṭis kā*; glottal stop, *hamzā*, m.
glottis, *glauṭis*, f.
gum, *masūṛā*, m.
guttural, *gale kā*, *kaṇṭh kā*, *kaṇṭhya*; back guttural, *jihvā mūlīya* (*vyañjan*, m.); gutturo-labial, *kaṇṭh aur hōṭhō kā*, *kaṇṭhauṣṭhya*, gutturo-palatal, *kaṇṭh aur tālu kā*, *kaṇṭh-tālavya*.
half-close (vowel), *adh sakṛā*, *adh saṅkuchit*.
half-open, *adh khulā*.
high vowel, *ūchā svar*, *uchch svar*: this may mean " high voice "; when there is danger of misunderstanding, we may say *ūche sthān kā svar*.
intonation, *sur*, m.
inwards, *bhītar*.
inverted sounds, see " retroflex ".
labial, *hōṭhō kā*, *oṣṭhya*.
labio-dental, *dāntō aur hōṭhō kā*, *dantauṣṭhya*; see " bilabial ", " guttural ".
language, *bolī*, f., *bhāṣā*, f.
larynx, *śvās yantr*, m.; *sāṁs kā yantr*.
lateral, *ek or ka*, *or ka*.
lax (vowel), *ḍhīlā* (*svar*).

length, *lambāī*, f.
letter, *achchhar*, m., *akṣar*, m., *varṇ*, m.
lip, *hōṭh*, m.: lip-rounding *hōṭhō ko gol karnā*, *hōṭhō kī golāī*, *hōṭhō kā baṛhānā*.
long, *lambā*, *dīrgh*.
low (vowel), *nīchā* (*svar*).
lung, *phephṛā*, m.
membrane, *jhillī*, f.
mid (vowel), *bīc kā*, *madhya* (*svar*).
mixed (vowel), *miśrit* (*svar*).
monophthong, *ek svar*, m., *mūl svar*, *śuddh svar*, *maulik svar*: see " pure ".
mouth, *mūh*, m.
mouth cavity, *mūh kā khol*, *mukh-vivar*, m.
narrow transcription, *byaurevār lekhan* (m.) or *lipi* (f.).
nasal, *sānunāsik*, *anunāsik*.
nasal cavity, *nāk kā khol*, *nāsā vivar*, m., *nāsikā vivar*, m.
nasalization, *sānunāsiktā*, f.
natural, *prākṛitik*, *svābhāvik*.
nature, *prakṛiti*, f., *svabhāo*, m.
neutral (vowel, etc.), *udāsīn*.
nose, *nāk*, f.; see " nasal ", etc.
off-glide *saṅkrāmak kā dūsrā bhāg*, *paśchāt saṅkrāmak*, m.
on-glide, *saṅkrāmak kā pahlā bhāg*, *pūrv saṅkrāmak*, m.
open (vowel), *khulā* (*svar*).
organs of speech, *bhāṣaṇ ke aṅg* or *avyav*.
outwards, *bāhar*.
palatal, *tālu kā*, *tālavya*; see " guttural ".
palate, *tālu*, m.: artificial do., *banāvaṭī tālu*, *kṛitrim tālu*: hard do., *kaṭhin tālu*; soft do., *komal tālu*.
phoneme, *dhvani śreṇī*, f.; no accurate word, "*fonīm*," m., may have to be used.
phonetic, *dhvanyātmak*, *dhvaniśāstrik*, *dhvanitāttvik*.
phonetic sign, *dhvanyātmak sanket*.
phonetic theory, *dhvaniśāstrik* or *dhvanitāttvik siddhānt*, m.
phonetic transcription, *dhvanyātmak lekhan* (m.) or *lipi* (f.).
phonetics, *dhvaniśāstr*, m., *dhvanitattva*, m.
pitch, *sur*, m., *ñchāī*, f., *ñchāī nīchāī*, f., *uchchtā*, f.
place (of utterance), *sthān*, m., *bhāṣaṇ sthān*, m.
plosive consonant, *sparś vyañjan*.
post-dental, *paśchāt dantya*, *pichhle dāntō kā*.
pre-dental, *pūrv dantya*, *agle dāntō kā*.
prefix, *upasarg*, m.
pronunciation, *uchchāran*, m.
pure (vowel), *śuddh* (*svar*, m.), *mūl* (*svar*), *maulik* (*svar*); see " monophthong ".
quadrilateral (of vowels), (*svarō kā*) *caturbhuj*, m.
quantity, see " length ".
resonance chamber, *nād vivar*, m.; see " sonority ".
retroflex, *mūrdhanya*; inverted vowel, *mūrdhanya svar*, m.
rolled, see " trilled ".
rounded (vowel), *gol* or *baṛhā huā* (*svar*).
rounding, *golāī*, *gol karnā*; inner

do., *pīchhe kī golāī*; outer do., *āge kī golāī*.

semi-vowel, *adh svar*, m., *antasth*.

sentence, *vākya*, m.

short, *chhoṭā*, *hrasv*.

shortening, *chhoṭā karnā*, *hrasv karnā*.

sibilant, *ūṣam*, *ūṣm*.

sign, *saṅket*, m.

significant, *jis se arth mẽ bhed ho, arth-sūchak*; non-significant, *jis se arth mẽ bhed nahĩ, arth-sūchak nahĩ*.

sonority, *sunāī*, f.

sound, *dhvani*, f.

speech, *bhāṣā*, f., *bhāṣaṇ*, m.; speech-sound, *bhāṣā dhvani*, f.; speech-mechanism, *bhāṣan yantr*, m., *vāk-yantr*; speech-basis, *kisī kī apnī prāntik yā sthānik bolī*.

spreading of lips, *mũh cauṛā karnā*, *mũh phailānā*.

standard pronunciation, *prāmāṇik uchchāraṇ*, m.

stop, *ṭhahrāo*, m.; stop-consonant, see "plosive".

stress, *bal*, m.; sentence stress, *vākya bal*; one must trust to the context to distinguish this meaning from the other possible one, "power of speech"; syllabic stress, *śabd ke kisī bhāg par bal*; word stress, *śabd bal*; to stress, *bal denā* (*ko*) *balī karnā* (*ko*).

stressed, *balī*.

subsidiary cardinal vowel, *dūsrī śreṇī kā mukhya* (or *pradhān*) *svar*.

suffix, *pratyay*, m.

surd, see "voiceless".

syllabic, *śabd ke kisī bhāg kā*; see "syllable".

syllable, no word, use *bhāg*, m., *śabd kā bhāg*; *akṣar*, letter, will not meet the case of words taken from English, French, and other non-Sanskritic languages.

teeth-ridge, *masūṛā*, m.

tense, *taṅg*.

throat, *galā*, m.

tip of tongue, *jībh kī nok*, f., *jihvāgra*, m.

tongue, *jībh*, f.; base or root of tongue, *jībh kī jaṛ*, *jihvā mūl*, m.; see "back", "blade", "front", "tip".

tongue-tip trill, *jībh kī nok kā kampan*, *jihvāgra kampan*.

tooth, *dānt*, m.; see "teeth-ridge".

triangle (of vowels), (*svarō kā*) *tribhuj*, m.

trill, n., *kampan*, m.; v. i., *kāmpnā*; v. t., *kampānā*; see "uvular trill", "tongue-tip trill".

trilled consonant, *kampan vyañjan*, m.

triphthong, *trisvar*, m.; *tīn juṛe hue svar*.

unaspirated, *alpprāṇ*; *jis mẽ h-kār nahĩ*.

unrounded, *anbaṛhā*, *gol nahĩ*.

unstressed, *nirbal*, *balhīn*, *durbal*; see "weak".

unvoiced, see "voiceless".

uvula, *ghaṇṭikā*, f.

uvular, *ghaṇṭikā kā*, *ghaṇṭikāvālā*.

uvular consonant, *ghaṇṭikā vyañjan.*

uvular trill. *ghaṇṭikā kā kampan.*

variety of pronunciation, *uchchāraṇ kī bhinntā.*

velar, *gale kā, kaṇṭh kā, kaṇṭhya.*

vibrate, *kāmpnā* ; v. t., *kampānā.*

vibration, *kampan,* m.

vocal cords (chords). *svar rajju,* m.

voice, *nād,* m. ; voice-indicator, *nād sūchak.*

voiced, *ghoṣ, nād* ; voiced plosive, *ghoṣ* or *nād sparś-vyañjan* ; voiced sound, *ghoṣ dhvani,* f.

voiceless, *aghoṣ.*

vowel, *svar,* m. ; see " back ", " cardinal ", " close ", " consonantal ", " diphthong ", " front ", " half-close ", " half-open ", " high ", " low ", " mid ", " mixed ", " monophthong ", " rounded ", " semi-vowel ", " unrounded ", " subsidiary ".

weak, *durbal* ; and as for " unstressed " ; weak form of small words, *chhoṭe śabdō kā durbal uchchāraṇ.*

whisper, v., *phusphusānā, phusphusāke bolnā* ; n., *phusphusāhaṭ,* f.

windpipe, *sāṁs ki nalī,* f. ; *śvās nalī,* f.

word, *śabd,* m.

NOTES ON THE SANSKRIT DRAMA

By Professor A. Berriedale Keith

1. Bhāsa

THE fate of Bhāsa has been an unhappy one; long but little more than a name, his dramas have now been rescued from oblivion only to become the object of an energetic attack,[1] which assures us that they are compilations and adaptations made for the stage of Kerala not earlier than the eighth century A.D., derived to some unknown extent from the works of Bhāsa, which, however, are now lost.

The evidence adduced by Messrs. Pisharoti seems inadequate to support these conclusions. The *Pratimānāṭaka* must come after Kālidāsa, because the genealogy of Rāma is not that of Vālmīki, but accords with that followed by Kālidāsa. This clearly is of no weight, since we cannot imagine for a moment that Kālidāsa invented the genealogy, which in point of fact is Purāṇic. The *Cārudatta* is asserted to be an adaptation of the first four acts of the *Mṛcchakaṭikā*; it has, in point of fact, been proved in conclusive detail by Dr. G. Morgenstierne,[2] that the *Mṛcchakaṭikā* is a working over of the *Cārudatta*, and no candid consideration of the two plays can evade this result. The *Avimāraka* is held to be modelled on the stories of the *Daçakumāracarita*, in apparent oblivion of the fact that the Kathā is far older than Daṇḍin. Thus positive evidence of the late date of the dramas is wholly lacking. A more formidable argument is adduced by Dr. Barnett.[3] who suggests that the *Nyāyaçāstra* of Medhātithi, alluded to in the *Pratimānāṭaka*, is none other than the *Manubhāṣya* of Medhātithi, which may be placed in the tenth century A.D. But there is the greatest difficulty in regarding this as probable. If the passage in the *Pratimā* is considered, it will be seen that the enumeration gives the *Mānavīya Dharmaçāstra*, the *Māheçvara Yogaçāstra*, the *Bārhaspatya Arthaçāstra*, Medhātithi's *Nyāyaçāstra*, and the *Prācetasa Çraddhākalpa*. It is obviously most remarkable that, if the *Manubhāṣya* were meant, it should be separated from the *Dharmaçāstra* itself, and, in the second place, it is clear that a different kind of *Çāstra* is desired, and is actually given. The effort, therefore,

[1] Above, Vol. III, Pt. I, pp. 107 ff.

[2] *Über das Verhältnis zwischen Cārudatta und Mrcchakatikā.*

[3] Above, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 35.

to assign the *Pratimā* to the tenth century A.D. or later appears wholly to fail.

Nor can it be said that the antiquity of the Sanskrit and Prākrit is only an ingenious myth. Nothing has yet been adduced by any critic from the Sanskrit to render it probable that the author knew Kālidāsa, while every probability points the other way. The Prākrit is certainly antique; it occupies a position intermediate between that of our textual remains of Açvaghoṣa and that of Kālidāsa in our normal editions. The fact cannot be explained, as by Messrs. Pisharoti, on the score that the Prākrit of the dramas is based on the ancient Prākrit grammarians, for the simple reason that Bhāsa's Prākrit does not conform to the rules of any ancient Prākrit grammarian known to us. If Bhāsa's dramas are more recent than those of Kālidāsa, why do they contain no Māhārāṣṭrī, the Prākrit par excellence of Vararuci? There is a very simple explanation of the archaisms found in the Malayālam MSS. of Kālidāsa's plays and later works. There is clear evidence of Bhāsa's popularity with the actors of Kerala, and we need only suppose that they modified the Prākrit of the later plays in some measure to accord with the Prākrit of Bhāsa. It must be remembered that they by no means, so far as our MSS. show, carried the process to the extent of bringing the Prākrit of Kālidāsa and later works into precise harmony with Bhāsa. In the case of later southern authors imitation of Bhāsa was obviously natural, as in the works of Kulaçekharavarman. That author's date Messrs. Pisharoti most regrettably transfer to the sixth century A.D., apparently ignoring the express testimony of the author of the *Vyaṅgyavyākhyā*, who declares himself a contemporary of the author, and refers to the *Daçarūpa* of Dhanaṁjaya, which proves that Kulaçekharavarman's date is later than A.D. 1000.[1]

Nor is it possible to agree that the varying merit of the Bhāsa dramas is an argument against their ascription to that author. At most it might be used, if admitted, to prove that some of the plays were not by him, or were altered later, leaving unaffected his claim to the best of the dramas. But, in point of fact, the assertions of inferiority are in part not in accordance with the views of other critics, and in part they are subject to the criticism that authors of plays are often unequal. There was a time when the *Mālavikāgnimitra* was strenuously asserted not to be Kālidāsa's, and the same fate will

[1] See T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, *Tapatīsaṁvaraṇa* (1911), pp. 2, 4.

probably attend the effort to deny Bhāsa the authorship of the plays in dispute.

The importance of the argument from technique is misunderstood by Messrs. Pisharoti. Bhāsa's dramas not merely commence with the entry of the Sūtradhāra after a Nāndī, not treated as part of the play, has been pronounced, but they omit the name of the author and the work, and this latter peculiarity is not followed in the other dramas played in Kerala. The obvious explanation of this peculiarity is that, probably in accordance with the *Nāṭyaçāstra*, in Bhāsa's day the information was given in the Prarocanā part of the preliminaries, which, including the Nāndī, are not preserved as not being any real part of the drama.[1] Later the name of the author and the play naturally enough became incorporated in the prologue to the play itself. This is a far more plausible view than the suggestion that the plays were anonymous because they were compilations and adaptations. Moreover, this fact entirely differentiates them from the *Āçcaryacūḍāmaṇi* of Çaktibhadra, and places that play in its proper light, as a production of later date than Bhāsa, which was, as was only natural, strongly influenced by the greater writer. The date of Çaktibhadra, it may be added, stands very badly in need of more precise determination. To place him in the eighth century on the score that he is said to have been an immediate disciple of Çankarācārya is a remarkable exercise of faith in tradition, while, in any case, the date must be put a century later, since Çaṅkara's activity should be placed not before A.D. 800.

It seems clear, therefore, that, if the claim of Bhāsa to the dramas is to be disputed, some fresh arguments must be adduced, and these arguments must not involve greater improbabilities than the ascription to Bhāsa. In view of the efforts which have been made to discover in Bhāsa traces of later date than Kālidāsa, and of the complete failure so far to discover one which will bear scrutiny, the case for accepting Bhāsa's authorship appears enormously strengthened.

2. The Date of the Mudrārākṣasa

An interesting effort has been made by Professor J. Charpentier[2] to determine the date of Viçākhadatta's attractive play as contemporary with Skandagupta, who is taken to be the Candragupta referred to in the closing verse. The suggestion is tempting, but the

[1] Cf. S. Konow, *Das indische Drama*, p. 25.

[2] *JRAS.* 1923, pp. 585 ff.

evidence must be regarded as inconclusive. The first argument adduced is that of Professor Konow,[1] who insists that Pāṭaliputra must have been in existence as a flourishing state when the author wrote, while by the time of Hiuan Tsang (A.D. 629–45) it was in ruins. This contention, however, appears to lack any solid foundation. There is nothing in the play which in any degree necessitates the contemporary existence of a flourishing city: the references to the town are of the type which could easily be produced by any one familiar with Pāṭaliputra's greatness in the past. The second contention is based on the mention of Persians and Huns as among the allies of Malayaketu against Candragupta: the Huns cannot, it is argued, have been known to India as a real danger until after the overthrow of Fīrūz (A.D. 484), and the joint mention of Persians and Huns must refer to a time when the nomads had overwhelmed Persia and were menacing India. But the cogency of this suggestion disappears when we remember that the Greek princes of Gāndhāra, the Çakas, the Kāmbojas, and the Bāhlīkas, are also enumerated in Malayaketu's host: the obvious explanation is that the author cheerfully crowded into that army all the distant north-western peoples he could think of.

Literary evidence, unluckily, takes us no further. It is, however, impossible to accept the suggestion that the motif of the proposed execution of Candanadāsa at the close of the *Mudrārākṣasa* is not borrowed from the last act of the *Mṛcchakaṭikā*. The mode in which the scenes are led up to differs undoubtedly in the two plays, but that in no degree tells against imitation. What is significant is that not only does Viçākhadatta follow his model in bringing in the young son of the condemned man as present at the place of execution, but he introduces at this point his only female figure, the wife of Candanadāsa, whose character is clearly based on that of Cārudatta's noble and faithful wife.

Unfortunately we have no really satisfactory evidence of the date of the *Mṛcchakaṭikā*, except that it was known to Vāmana in the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. There is undoubtedly something to be said for the theory[2] endorsed by Professor Charpentier[3] that it was unknown to Bāṇa in the seventh century A.D. But the evidence is far from conclusive: if, as is possible, the statements as to Çūdraka were added after Bāṇa's time, the argument loses all its validity; if,

[1] *Das indische Drama*, p. 71.

[2] K. C. Mehendale (*Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 367 ff.) merely places Çūdraka about A.D. 550.

[3] *JRAS.* 1923, p. 600.

on the other hand, the play existed with this added matter in Bāṇa's time, we really cannot derive any certainty from his silence; Bāṇa nowhere undertakes to give us an exhaustive account of his knowledge of literature, and, if he mentioned Bhāsa, he might well ignore what is, after all, an expansion of Bhāsa's work. That Çūdraka, the alleged author, was a real person, who wrote the drama, seems most implausible: to accept as throwing any light on him the late gloss on Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṁkāravṛtti*, which describes him as *rājā komatiḥ*, is too speculative to be of assistance, and the obvious conclusion is that the rewriter and reviser of the *Cārudatta* preferred to remain nameless, and to ascribe his work to the legendary Çūdraka. This step would be the more natural if, as is possible, the original *Cārudatta* included the political intrigue which appears in the *Mṛcchakaṭikā*; on this topic, however, we have no information, for the attempt to find in the prologue an assertion that Çūdraka was responsible for Acts VI–X only clearly does violence to the vague language of the text.

The uncertainty of the date of the *Mṛcchakaṭikā*, therefore, leaves that of the *Mudrārākṣasa* in great doubt, but there is ground to hold the drama later than Kālidāsa, in view of the similarity of v. 23 of Act V to *Raghuvaṅça*, vii, 43, and it is at least likely that the last verse shows trace of the influence of Māgha (*Çiçupālavadha*, i, 47), though Professor Charpentier would invert the relationship. If Māgha is used, the drama cannot date before A.D. 700. Professor Jacobi,[1] of course, has put it later, arguing from the eclipse alluded to in the prologue and the variant Avantivarman at the close, that the work was produced on 2nd December, 860, a view supported by a possible use of Ratnākara. There are, however, difficulties in the way of accepting this view: the use of Ratnākara is by no means certain,[2] and the variant Avantivarman, which is only one of several, can be easily explained as substituted by actors for the true Candragupta, which refers to the patron of Cāṇakya. It was a simple and natural idea for the players to compliment their own patron by using his name to close the drama. The play, it must be owned, does not give the impression of so late a date, but, on the other hand, it equally does not convey any suggestion that it was produced at an early stage in the history of the drama, and there seems no reason to regard the eighth century as too late.

[1] *VOJ.* ii, 213 ff.

[2] See K. H. Dhruva, *VOJ.* v, 25 f.

THE SINDHI RECURSIVES OR VOICED STOPS PRECEDED BY GLOTTAL CLOSURE

By Professor R. L. Turner

OF the Primitive Indian stops it is true to say, as Dr. J. Bloch [1] says of their descendants in Marāṭhī, that in most of the modern Indo-Aryan languages they have in principle remained unchanged. This is certainly true of initial stops: and although single intervocalic stops have with the exception of the cerebrals disappeared, new intervocalic stops, double or single, have been introduced as the result of assimilation among consonant groups.

But in one language, Sindhī, there has occurred a singular development of the Primitive Indian unaspirated voiced stops—*g j* (*ḍ*) *d b*. Whereas the other Indo-Aryan languages have ordinary voiced stops corresponding to Middle Indian *g- -gg-*, *j- -jj-*, *ḍ- -ḍḍ-*, *d- -dd-*, *b- -bb-*, Sindhī presents voiced stops accompanied by what appears to be a closing of the glottis. These are written ग़ ज़ ड़ ब़ in the Nāgarī, and گ ڄ ڊ ب in the Persian alphabet,[2] which will be here transliterated *g̱ j̱ ḍ̱ ḇ*.[3] It will be noticed that there is no *ḏ*. At the same time Sindhī possesses the ordinary voiced stops—*g j ḍ* (*d*) *b*. It should be remarked that while *g ḍ d b* are the ordinary Indian sounds, *j* and *j̱* are a strongly palatalized *d'*.

The importance of the distinction between these two series can be seen from the numbers of pairs of words, distinguished only by having the simple voiced stop on the one hand, and the voiced stop with glottal closure on the other. Some examples are given below:

g—g̱

gac^{u} mortar.	*gac*^{u} much.
garaṇ^{u} to stick in mud.	*garaṇ*^{u} to melt.
gam^{u} grief.	*gam*^{u} a small grain.
gar^{u} mange.	*g̱ar*^{u} pulp of vegetable.
garō mangy.	*g̱arō* heavy.
gahaṇ^{u} to rub.	*g̱ahaṇ*^{u} to labour.

[1] *La formation de la langue marathe*, § 81.

[2] For other ways of writing these sounds see Trumpp, *Grammar of the Sindhī Language*, and *L.S.I.* viii, 1.

[3] Transliterated by Trumpp $\bar{g}$ $\bar{j}$ $\bar{d}$ $\bar{b}$.

gāraṇ^{u} to cause to stick.	*gāraṇ*^{u} to melt.
gāhaṇ^{u} to tread out grain.	*gāhaṇ*^{u} straws.
giraṇ^{u} to snarl.	*giraṇ*^{u} to devour.
gur^{u} preceptor.	*gur*^{u} roe of fish.
galō voice.	*galō* neck of a garment.
gah^{u} obstinacy.	*gah*^{u} jewel.
gārō mud plaster.	*gārō* half-ground grain.
gāh^{u} grass.	*gāh*^{u} bait.
gurāṛō mouthful of water.	*gurāṛō* piece of cane placed between threads of warp.
gōr^{a} a fish.	*gōr*^{a} search.
	j—j
jaü barley.	*jaü* lac.
jat^{i} where.	*jat*^{i} soft downy hair.
jar^{u} water.	*jar*^{u} leach.
jām^{u} guava.	*jām*^{u} prince.
jārō recess in wall.	*jārō* cobweb.
jaṛ^{a} line of demarcation between fields.	*jaṛ*^{a} root.
jam^{u} Yama.	*jam*^{u} birth.
jāō of barley.	*jāō* son.
jār^{u} paramour.	*jār*^{u} net.
jērō liver.	*jērō* fire.
	ḍ—ḍ
ḍiṭhō bold.	*ḍiṭhō* seen.
	b—b
bakh^{u} sacrifice of a goat.	*baḵh*^{u} embrace.
bahar^{u} sea.	*baḵar*^{u} outside.
bābō father.	*baḵbō* father's brother.
bār^{u} load.	*baḵār*^{u} child.
bālō upper room.	*baḵālō* bracelet.
bilō remedy.	*baḵilō* tom-cat.
barō a kind of goat.	*baḵarō* fever.
bākirī seller of fruit.	*baḵākirī* f. of goats.
bārī reserved.	*baḵārī* small window.
bārō burden of sin.	*baḵārō* piece of land embanked for flooding.
bir^{u} wearied.	*baḵir*^{u} hole.
bī also.	*baḵī* f. second.

bīhaṇᵘ to stand up.	*b̲īhaṇᵘ* seed.
burī f. bad.	*b̲urī* husk of jawārī.
gubaṇᵘ to allow to become stale.	*gub̲aṇᵘ* to scatter food about.
bukī ivory arm-rings.	*b̲ukī* handful of grain.
bēlᵃ pattern on cloth.	*b̲elᵃ* second ploughing.

These sounds appear to belong to all the dialects of Sindhī except Kacchī [1] on the south and Tharēlī on the east. In the first specimen of the latter given by Sir George Grierson [2] (District Thar and Parkar on the western edge of this dialect) these sounds appear sporadically, in the remaining two specimens (State Jaisalmer further to the east) they do not appear at all. To the north is Lahndā, of which only one dialect seems to have them, the Hindkī of Dera Ghazi Khan [3] on the extreme western boundary of Lahndā. On the west Sindhī and Hindkī are bounded by the Iranian Balōcī and the Dravidian Brāhūī. Neither seems to possess voiced stops accompanied by glottal closure.

The existence of these peculiar sounds was noticed by Stack in his Sindhī–English Dictionary published in 1855, where he says that *g̲* " has . . . a strange sound, formed by placing the tongue against the palate, keeping the mouth open and sounding from the throat " : that *j̲* " has a peculiar sound only to be acquired by practice " : that *ḍ̲* " is a harsh *d* . . . sounded . . . from palate and throat combined " ; and lastly that *b̲* " has a peculiar sound ".[4] In writing Stack does not distinguish *ḍ̲* from *ḍ*.

Trumpp was the next to describe these sounds, first in an article in the *Zeitschrift der morgenländischen Gesellschaft* [5] in 1861, and later, less satisfactorily, in his *Grammar of the Sindhī Language* [6] published in 1872. In the former he says : " *g̲* is a peculiar hard *g*, that is difficult to describe : the speaker shuts his mouth and presses up a muffled sound (drückt einen dumpfen Laut herauf) ; then opens his mouth and lets out the sound *g*. This procedure is very like the cry (mäckern) of a goat or the bleat of a sheep. Etymologically it is in most cases a *gg* . . . *j̲* is originally a double *jj*, as is shown by etymology ; but now it is treated as a single sound and pronounced as *dy* . . . *ḍ̲* is a very hard cerebral *ḍ*, and is produced in the same

[1] *LSI.* viii, i, p. 185.
[2] *LSI.* viii, i, p. 145.
[3] *LSI.* viii, i, p. 335.
[4] Op. cit. under the letters ग ज ड ब.
[5] Vol. xv, p. 702 ff.
[6] pp. 13, 15, 16, 19.

way as *g*, by shutting the mouth, pressing out a muffled sound and then letting out *ḍ*. Etymologically it is a double *ḍ* . . . *ḅ* etymologically = *bb* ; it is pronounced in the same way as *ḡ* and *ḍ* . . . These four sounds, which originally were double, are now, however, considered as more or less individual, independent sounds. They are found in many words in which a double consonant cannot be shown etymologically ; but the hardness of their pronunciation is to be explained for the most part from their close surroundings."

Sir George Grierson writes these sounds as *gg*, *jj*, *ḍḍ*, *bb*, and he says of them [1] : " They are pronounced with a certain stress, prolonging and somewhat strengthening the contact of the closed organ, and are, in fact, sounded as double letters are pronounced in other parts of India, but occur even at the beginning of a word." He follows Trumpp in explaining their origin, but adds that " *d* itself is often doubled, but then becomes *ḍḍ* as in *ḍḍiaṇ*[u] to give ".

Finally Dr. Grahame Bailey in a note [2] speaks of them as " implosives " in which the breath is drawn in instead of being expelled. According to him the larynx is lowered and the glottis closed. This action sucks the air back, but no appreciable amount enters the lungs. This description agrees generally with my own observation. To me the course of events seems to be this. Immediately after the occlusion by lips or tongue and palate has been formed, the glottis also is closed. The larynx is lowered, and there is considerable general muscular tension. The glottis is not opened until the lip or tongue occlusion has been broken, so that some air is sucked back to behind the point of occlusion. Then the glottis is opened to permit the formation of voice. It is possible that the glottis is again closed before the following vowel is pronounced.

These sounds do not seem to have been described in any treatise on phonetics. But, according to one of my informants,[3] an *m* accompanied by glottal closure and distinguished from ordinary *m*, exists in Magarkurā, one of the Mongolian languages of Nepal. Prince Troubetzkoy [4] refers to consonants in the Caucasian languages accompanied by complete closure of the glottis. These he calls " recoursives ", a convenient term I have anglicized as " recursives " ; he indicates them by a dot above or below the letter. They are

[1] *LSI.* viii, i, p. 22.
[2] *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. II, Pt. IV, p. 837.
[3] Capt. C. J. Morris of the 2/3rd Q.A.O. Gurkha Rifles.
[4] *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, No. 72, p. 204.

apparently only surds : *q̇* (ultra-velar), *k̠*, *ṭ*, *ć*, *c* (*c* = *ts*), *ś*, λ (a lateral surd spirant).

Whatever may be the origin of these recursive sounds in Sindhī, it is certain that they are not now simple doubled voiced stops. My Sindhī friends immediately detected the difference between my more or less correct pronunciation of *b̠*, for example, as *b* accompanied by a closure of the glottis, and my pronunciation of it as *bb*.

It is now necessary to discuss the origin of these sounds ; and first to consider to what sounds in Sanskrit and Prākrit they correspond. Neither Trumpp nor Sir George Grierson have fully explained their correspondence when they occur initially. But a detailed examination of the words in which they occur shows that initially *g̠ j̠ ḍ̠ b̠* correspond to initial *g-*, *j-* (*dy-*), *d-*, *b-* (*dv-*) in Sanskrit, and intervocalically to consonant groups in Sanskrit that in Prākrit became *-gg- -jj- -ḍḍ-* (*-dd-*) *-bb-* (*-vv-*), while the simple voiced stops in Sindhī, *g j ḍ b*, are the result of special conditions and in most cases (where not occurring in loan-words from other languages) are descendants of Primitive Indian sounds other than *g j d b*. The simple voiced dental *d*, except in the group *nd*, is only found in loan-words. That is to say, except for certain specific exceptions, Sindhī has shifted Primitive Indian *g j d b* to *g̠ j̠ ḍ̠ b̠*.

Below will be shown in detail the origin of the two series of unaspirated voiced stops in Sindhī.

G̠

= Skt. *g-* : *gāũ* lost (*gatá-*), *gāũ* f. cow *gāō* bovine *gawār*^{u} m. cowherd (*gó- gāva- gōpālá-*), *gaṇaṇ*^{u} to count (*gaṇayati*), *gan*^{ı} f. hump of a bullock *gan*^{u} m. handle of a tool *ganō* m. stalk of jawārī (*gaṇḍa-*), *gabh*^{u} m. foetus *gabhiṇ*^{ı} f. pregnant *gabhirū* m. youth (*gárbha- garbhiṇī garbharūpa-*), *gambhīr*^{u} sedate (*gambhīrá-*), *gamaṇ*^{u} to move slowly (*gamyatē*), *garaṇ*^{u} to melt (*galati*), *garō* heavy (Pa. *garu-*, cf. Skt. *gurú- garīyāṁs-*), *gal*^{u} m. cheek (*galla-*), *gahaṇō* m. jewels (*gahanā*), *gāiṇ*^{u} to sing (*gāpayati*), *gāṛhō* red (*gāḍha-*), *gijh*^{u} f. vulture (cf. *gṛdhyā* and *gṛ́dhra-*), *ginhaṇ*^{u} to buy (*gṛhṇáti*), *giraṇ*^{u} to devour (*gírati gilati*), *gū* f. anus (*gūtha-*), *gujh*^{u} m. secret (*gúhya-*), *guṛ*^{u} m. molasses (*guḍa-*), *guṇ*^{u} m. kindness (*guṇá-*), *gundhaṇ*^{u} to plait the hair (*gumphayati* + *granthayati*), *gūṇ*^{ı} f. sackcloth (*gōṇa-*), *gūṛhō* dense (*gūḍhá-*), *gēhũ* m. wheat (*gōdhúma-*), *gōṭr*^{u} m. family (*gōtrá-*), *gōṭh*^{u} m. village (*gōṣṭhá-*), *gōh*^{a} f. iguana (*gōdhā́*), *gaũṭr*^{u} m. cow's urine (*gōmūtra-*).

= Skt. *gr-*: *gaṇḍh*^{u} m. joint *gaṇḍh*^{i} f. knot *gaṇḍhir*^{u} knotty (*grantha- granthí- granthila-*) etc., *gihaṇ*^{u} to swallow (*grásati*: with *i* after *giraṇ*^{u} < *gírati*), *gāh*^{u} m. bait (*grāsa-*), *gīthō* swallowed (cf. *grasta-*), *gah*^{u} m. pledge (*gráha-*), *gahilō* headstrong (<**grathillaka-*, cf. *grathila-*).

= Skt. *-gr-*: *ag*^{u} m. front *agō* m. id. *agē* in front *agirō* superior, etc. (*ágra-*), *jāgaṇ*^{u} to awake (Pa. *jaggati*, cf. Skt. *jāgarti*), *payah*^{u} m. rope to moor boat to bank (*pragraha-*).

= Skt. *-gn-*: *bhagō* broken (*bhagna-*), *mag*^{u} filled with pride (*magna-*), *lagō* attached (*lagna-*).

= Skt. *-gy-*: *jōg*^{u} fit *jugāiṇ*^{u} be suitable (*yógya-*), *bhāg*^{u} m. fate (*bhāgya-*), *suhāg*^{u} m. husband (*saubhāgya-*), *nibhāg*^{u} ill-luck (*nirbhāgya-*), *lagaṇ*^{u} to begin (*lagyati*).

= Skt. *-dg-*: *ugaṇ*^{u} to spring up (*udgata-*), *ugāraṇ*^{u} to chew the cud (*udgāra-*).

= Skt. *-rg-*: *māg*^{u} m. path (*mārga-*), *wag*^{u} m. herd of cattle (*várga-*), *mēhāg*^{u} m. herd of buffalo (*mahiṣavarga-*).

= Skt. *-lg-*: *phaguṇ*^{u} m. name of a month (*phálguna-*), *wāg*^{a} f. bridle (*valgā*: the length of the *ā* is unexplained).

In a number of words without a Sanskrit etymology *g* corresponds to *g* in other modern Indo-Aryan languages: e.g. *gaṛh*^{u} m. fort (cf. H. *gaṛhī*), *galī* f. lane (cf. H. *galī*), *gārī* f. abuse (cf. H. *gālī*), etc.

J

= Skt. *j-*: *jaṅgh*^{a} f. leg (*jáṅghā*), *jañ*^{a} f. bridegroom's procession (*jánya-*), *jaṛ*^{a} f. root (*jaṭā*), *jaṇaṇ*^{u} to bear, *jāō* m. son *jaṇō* m. person *jam*^{u} m. birth (*jánati jātá- jána- jánman-*), *jamñ* m. Eugenia jambolana (*jambūka-*), *jāṭrō* m. son-in-law (*jāmātṛ-*), *jāṇaṇ*^{u} to know (*jānáti*), *jār*^{u} m. net *jārō* m. cobweb *jārī* f. net (*jāla- jālaká- jālikā*), *jibh*^{a} f. tongue (*jihvá*).

= Skt. *jy-*: *jēṭh*^{u} m. husband's elder brother (*jyéṣṭha-*).

-jy-: *bhajaṇ*^{u} to be broken (*bhajyátē*), *bhijaṇ*^{u} to be wet (<**abhiyajyatē*, cf. *abhyajyatē*), *rajaṇ*^{u} to satiate (*rajyatē*).

= Skt. *jv-*: *jar*^{a} f. fever (*jvara-*).

-jv-: *pajiraṇ*^{u} to flare *pajāraṇ*^{u} to light *wijuraṇ*^{u} to become bright (*prajvalati prajvālayati vijvalati*).

= Skt. *-jj-*: *sajaṇ*^{u} m. friend (*sajjana-*), *bhujaṇ*^{u} to parch (*bhṛjjáti*), *laj*^{a} f. rope (*rájju-*), *laj*^{a} f. shame *lajaṇ*^{u} to be ashamed (*lajjā lajjatē*).

= Skt. *-jjy-*: *bhujaṇ*^{u} to be parched (*bhṛjjyatē*).

= Skt. *-dy-*: *aj*^{u} to-day (*adyá*), *khāj*^{u} m. food (*khādya-*), *khājaṇ*^{u}

to be eaten (*khādyatē*), *chāḻō* m. shed (*chādya-*), *chiḻaṇᵘ* to be broken (*chidyatē*), *wiḻᵘ* f. lightning (*vidyút-*), *upaḻaṇᵘ* to be produced *upāḻᵘ* m. produce (*utpadyatē utpādya-*), *nipaḻaṇᵘ* to be nourished (*niṣpadyatē*), *sapɪḻaṇᵘ* to be found (*sampadyatē: sap-* instead of *samb-* is not explained), *wāḻō* m. musical instrument (*vádya-*), *wiḻā* f. knowledge, *wēḻᵘ* m. doctor (*vidyá vaidya-*).

= Skt. *-rj-: khāḻᵗ* f. itch (lex. *kharju-:* does this represent **khārju-* ?).

ḻ

The existence of Middle Indian *-ḍḍ-* is shown by the equation Sindhī *ḍ* = Nepālī *ṛ: MI. -ḍ-* > S. *ṛ*, N. *r*.

= MI. *ḍ- -ḍḍ-: ḍūmᵘ* a Ḍom (*ḍomba-*); *gaḍũ* m. mug (*gaḍḍuka-*, cf. N. *garuwā*), *laḍũ* m. a sweetmeat (*laḍḍu-*), *waḍō* large (<**vaḍḍa-*, cf. N. *baṛo*), *haḍᵘ* m. bone (*haḍḍa-*, cf. N. *hāṛ*), *gāḍō* m. cart (<**gāḍḍa-*, cf. L. *gāḍī*, P. *gaḍḍī*, H. *gāṛī*).

But the most frequent source of *ḍ* is Middle Indian *d- -dd-*. I have shown elsewhere that these are regularly represented by a cerebral in Sindhī.

= Skt. *d-: ḍukārᵘ* m. famine (*duṣkāla-*), *ḍakhiṇᵘ* m. the south *ḍākhiṇō* southern (*dákṣiṇa- dākṣiṇa-*), *ḍaḍhrᵘ* m. itch (*dadru-*) *ḍahī* f. curds (*dádhi-*), *ḍandᵘ* m. tooth (*dánta-*), *ḍamᵘ* trained *ḍāndᵘ* m. ox (*damya- dāntá-*), *ḍahᵃ* ten (*dáśa*), *ḍahaṇᵘ* to excite *ḍajhaṇᵘ* to be afflicted *ḍadhō* excited (*dáhati dahyátē dagdhá-*), *ḍiaṇᵘ* to give *ḍijaṇᵘ* to be given (*dáyatē dīyátē*), *ḍāwaṇᵘ ḍāṇᵘ* m. shackles for the forefeet (*dáman- dāmanī*), *ḍāhō* wise (lex. *dāsa-*), *ḍiṇᵘ* m. festival day (*dína-*), *ḍīhᵘ* m. day (*divasa-*), *ḍēu* m. demon (*dēvá-*), *ḍēhᵘ* m. country (*dēśá-*), *ḍērᵘ* m. wife's brother (*dēvara- dēvṛ́-*), *ḍikhᵃ* f. initiation ceremony (*dīkṣā*), *ḍīō* m. lamp (*dīpa-*), *ḍōraṇᵘ* to wander (*dōlāyatē*), *ḍōhᵘ* m. fault (*dōṣa-*), *ḍukhᵘ* m. pain (*duḥkha-*), *ḍuhaṇᵘ* to milk *ḍudhᵘ* m. curds *ḍōdhī* m. milkman *ḍōhō* m. milker (*duháti dugdhá- dōgdhṛ́- dógha-*), *ḍōhiṭrō* m. daughter's son (*dauhitra-*), *ḍūrᵗ* at a distance (*dūré*), *ḍūḍhō* hard (*dṛḍhya-*), *ḍaraṇᵘ* to fear (*dárati*), *ḍāraṇᵘ* to split *ḍārᵘ* m. fissure *ḍarᵗ* f. den, burrow (*dārayati dāra- darī*), *ḍōrō* m. string of a kite (*dōraka-*), *ḍũ* two (*duváu*), *ḍūṇō* double (Pkt. *duuṇa-*, cf. Skt. *dviguṇá-*).

= Skt. *-dd-: kōḍarᵗ* f. hoe *kōḍāryō* m. worker with a hoe (*kuddāla- kauddāla-*), *uḍāiṇᵘ* to cause to fly (*uḍḍāpayati*, cf. *ḍ̄iyati*).

= Skt. *-bd-: saḍᵘ* m. call *saḍaṇᵘ* to call *saḍō* m. calling (*śábda-*).

= Skt. *-rd-: paḍaṇᵘ* to break wind *paḍᵘ* m. breaking wind (*pardatē parda-*), *gaḍahᵘ* m. donkey (*gardabhá-*), *cōḍāhā* fourteen

(*cáturdaśa*), *kuḍaṇ*^{u} to leap (*kūrdati*), *laḍaṇ*^{u} to load (*lardayati*), *chaḍaṇ*^{u} to abandon (*chardayati*), *ḍēḍar*^{u} m. frog (*dardura-*), *kōḍ*^{u} m. cowry (*kaparda-*), *niḍar*^{u} fearless (**nirdara-*).

B

= Skt. *b-*: *ḅadhō* bound *ḅajhaṇ*^{u} to be bound *ḅandhaṇ*^{u} to bind *ḅandh*^{u} m. dike (*baddhá- badhyátē bandhati bandha-*), *ḅakar*^{u} m. goat (*barkara-*), *ḅahar*^{u} m. outside *ḅahar*^{i} adv. outside *ḅāhar*^{i} abroad (cf. *bahís bāhīká-*), *ḅājhā̃* except (*bāhya-*), *ḅahū̃* much (*bahú-*), *ḅilō* m. cat (H. *billā*, cf. Skt. *biḍāla-*), *ḅir*^{u} m. hole, burrow (*bíla-*), *ḅīhaṇ*^{u} m. seed (*bī́ja-*), *ḅuḍaṇ*^{u} to sink (<**buḍyati*, cf. Dhātup. *buḍati* and N. *buṛnu*), *ḅudhō* understood *ḅudh*^{i} f. sense *ḅujhaṇ*^{u} to understand *ḅujhaṇ*^{u} to be heard (*buddhá- buddhi- búdhyatē budhyátē*), *ḅundhaṇ*^{u} to hear (<**bundhati*, cf. *búdhyatē*, pres. part. *budhānā-* Dhātup. *bund-* to perceive, Gk. *πυνθάνομαι*), *ḅuhō* m. husk of jawārī and bājhari (*busa-*), *ḅōlaṇ*^{u} to speak (*bollaka-*, cf. G. *bōlvũ* id.).

= Skt. *br-*: *ḅāmbhaṇ*^{u} m. Brāhman (*bráhmaṇa-*).

-br-: *kuḅō* hunch-backed (<**kubraka-*, cf. *kubjá- kubhrá-*).

= Skt. *-rb-*: *kaḅirō* spotted (*karbura-*), *ḅaḅur*^{u} m. Acacia arabica (*barbura- babbula- varvūra-*), *ḍuḅirō* thin (*durbala-*).

= Skt. *dv-*: *ḅa* two *ḅījō* second *ḅi-* (*dvá dvitíya- dvi-*), *ḅāvīh*^{a} twenty-two (*dvāviṁśati*), *ḅārī* f. little window (*dvára-*).

= Skt. *-dv-*: *uḅaṭaṇ*^{u} m. perfumed flour to rub the body with (*udvartana-*), *uḅāraṇ*^{u} to save (**udvārayati*, cf. *vārayati* to ward off).

From these examples it will be seen that Middle Indian voiced stops, single when initial or double when intervocalic, became recursives or voiced stops accompanied by glottal closure in Sindhī, namely *g̱ j̱ ḍ̱ ḅ*. Nevertheless, the voiced stops without glottal closure, namely *g j ḍ b*, are still found in Sindhī. It is necessary to consider their origin.

Sindhī, like Singhalese and Kāśmīrī, distinguishes Skt. *j* and *y*. The former, as we have seen, became *j̱*; the latter became *j*.

Skt.	Sgh.	K.	S.
j	*d*	*z*	*j̱*
y	*y*	*y*	*j*

Skt. *y-*: *jō* m. *jā* f. who (*yáḥ yā́*), *jō* because (*yátaḥ*), *janyō* m. sacred cord (*yajñōpavītá-*), *jadhō jahaṇ*^{u} *jahiṇī* f. *jabhaṇ*^{u} *jāh*^{u} m. coitus (**yabdha- yábhati yabhana- yabhyatē yābha-*), *jaṇdr*^{u} m. handmill *jaṇdrō* m. lock (*yantrá-*), *jaü* m. barley *jāō* of barley (*yáva- yāvaka-*), *jāṇ*^{i} f. ligusticum ajowan (*yavānī*), *jāṭr*^{a} f. furrow (*yātrā*), *jutō* employed (*yuktá-*), *juhar*^{u} m. yoke of a plough (**yugadhara-*,

cf. *yugaṁdhara-*), *jōṭrō* m. cord (*yṓktra-*), *jōgᵘ* proper (*yṓgya-*), *judhⁱ* f. strife *jōdhō* m. warrior (**yuddhi- yōddhṛ-*), *jōhaṇᵘ* to injure (*yōpayati*). *jũa jũ* f. louse (*yṻkā*). *jũi* f. den or lay of a wild animal (**yūti-*, cf. *gav-yūti-*).

It may be noted that all the languages which distinguish *j-* from *y-* also distinguish *b-* from *v-*. The converse, however, is not true, as, for example, in the case of Gujarātī and Marāṭhī, which distinguish *b-* from *v-*, but not *j-* from *y-*.

Before PI. *ī*, *j-* appears as *j*, not as *j*: *jīrō* m. cummin-seed (*jīraka-*), *jīu* m. living being (*jīvá-*), *jiarō* alive (*jīvalá-*), *jiaṇᵘ* to live (*jīvati*).

Although in general there is agreement in development between a single initial and a double intervocalic consonant, there is a difference in the case of *y*. Whereas *y-* became *j-*, the group *-yy- -ry-* became *j*. These groups appear in Pāli and Māgadhī Prākrit as *yy*, and in Singhalese as *y* (if the etymology *aya* individual < *árya-* Pa. *ayya-* is correct). I have discovered no instance of the development of *-yy-* in Kāśmīrī. In Prākrit and the other modern languages its treatment coincides, as in Sindhī, with *-jj-*.

ry: *kājᵘ* m. ceremony, work (*kāryá-*) has another form *kājᵘ*, which, although neither Stack nor Shirt draw any distinction of meaning between the two, may be a loan (cf. H. *kāj*) or may have been affected by the verb *kajaṇᵘ* to be done; *pujaṇᵘ* to be filled (*pūryatē*), *sijᵘ* m. sun (*sṓrya-*).

Corresponding to Sanskrit passives in *-īya-* (e.g. *nīyátē dīyátē*), Pāli had forms with *-īya-* or *-iyya-* (e.g. *nīyati* or *niyyati*, *dīyati* or *diyyati*).[1] The former may possibly represent the eastern dialect element in Pāli, the latter the western, since in Prākrit, where this suffix has been largely extended and is regularly added to present stems to form the passive (e.g. *pucchīadi pucchijjaï*: *pucchadi*), there seems to have been a somewhat similar division. Mahārāṣṭrī and Ardhamāgadhī had *-ijja-* (e.g. *dijjaï*); Śaurasēnī and Māgadhī had *-īa-* (e.g. *dīadi*).[2] The modern distribution is for *-ijja-*, Sindhī, Rājasthānī, Marāṭhī; for *-īa-*, Lahndā, the Himalayan group (e.g. Kuḷuī, Kumaonī, Nepālī), Gujarātī, Pañjābī, Hindī (e.g. Standard Hindī, Braj, Chattīsgaṛhī). Thus Gujarātī breaks the continuity of the *-ijja-* area.

After the analogy of forms in *-īya- -iyya-* roots ending in *ŭ* formed their passives in Pāli in *-ūya-* or *-uyya-*.[3] These appear in Sindhī

[1] Geiger, *Pāli*, § 175.
[2] Pischel, § 535.
[3] Geiger, *Pāli*, § 175.

with *j*: *sujaṇ*^{u} to be heard (*śrūyátē* Pa. *suyyati*), *sujaṇ*^{u} to be swollen (*śūyatē*), *ujaṇ*^{u} to be woven (*ūyatē*).

To Pāli *-īya- -iyya-*, however, Sindhī corresponds with *-ij-*, not **-ij-*. This is due to the effect of the preceding *ī*: cf. *jī-* > *ji-*. And since *ji-* became *ji-* (e.g. *jibh*^{u} < *jihvá*) and *ijj* > *ij* (e.g. *chijaṇ*^{u} < *chidyatē*), the immediate forerunner of *ij* must have been *-ījja- -īyya-* rather than *-iyya-* (cf. Pa. *-iyya-*, Pkt. *-ijja-*), just as **kāṭṭhaṁ* (Skt. *kāṣṭhá-* but Pa. *kaṭṭha-*) was the forerunner of *kāṭh*^{u} m., wood, as opposed to *hath*^{u} hand (Skt. *hásta-*, Pa. *hattha-*). This reasoning is supported by the similar development of *ḍrijaṇ*^{u} to be afraid (*dīryatē*).

-īya-: *wikijaṇ*^{u} to be sold (*vikrīyátē*), *ḏijaṇ*^{u} to be given (*dīyátē*), *nijaṇ*^{u} to be carried away (*nīyátē*), *khijaṇ*^{u} to be boiled away (*kṣīyátē*); with contraction of a preceding *i*, *ṭrījō* third (*ṭṛtíya-*), *bījō* second (*dvitíya-*). This difference of treatment between Skt. *-īya-* > *-ij-* and Skt. *-idya-* > *-ij-* shows that the derivation of *khijaṇ*^{u} to be angry, H. *khījnā*, M. *khijṇē*, G. *khijvũ* id., N. *khijāunu* to irritate, from Skt. *khidyatē* to be depressed (as proposed by M. Bloch [1] and myself [2]) is untenable, and that these words must be referred to Skt. *kṣīyátē* to be injured, Pa. *khīyati* to be angry. In the same way, since passives in Sindhī like *ḏijaṇ*^{u} must be referred to *dīyátē*, it is reasonable to refer similar passives, e.g. those in *-ijja-* in Prākrit, *-ij-* in Marāṭhī, to the same form, and not, as does M. Bloch,[3] to an analogical extension of *-ijja-* < *-idya-*, seen in Pkt. *chijjaï* < *chidyatē*, which became Sindhī *chijaṇ*^{u}.

kijaṇ^{u} to be done (cf. Skt. *kriyátē*, but Pkt. *kijjaï*, H. *kījnā*) was formed after the analogy of passives like *dīyatē* > *ḏijaṇ*^{u}; *kajaṇ*^{u}, to be done, owes its vowel to *karaṇ*^{u} to do (*karóti*).

It has already been shown that MI. *jē-* became S. *jē-* (e.g. *jēṭh*^{u} < *jyéṣṭhaḥ*); and it is probable that the regular treatment of *-ēyya* < *-ēya-* was similar, namely that it became S. *-ēj-* (cf. the treatment *-dy-* > *-j-*: *wēj*^{u} < *vaidyaḥ*). Thus: *pēj*^{u} m. drinking, *pēj*^{a} *pējī* f. rice-water, *pēj*^{u} *pējō* m. watering land after sowing (*pēya- pēyā*, Pa. *peyya-*).

But in three words *-ēyya-* is apparently represented by *-ēj-*: *bhāṇējō* m. sister's son (*bhāginēyaka-*, Pa. *bhāgineyya-*) is perhaps influenced by the parallel form *bhāṇijō* (**bhāginīya-*); *mātrējō*, belonging to a stepmother, although apparently from **mātrēya-*

[1] *La langue marathe*, p. 319.
[2] *JRAS.* 1921, p. 535.
[3] *La langue marathe*, p. 115.

Pa. *matteyya-* is considered by both Stack and Shirt in their dictionaries to be *māṭrē* + the possessive affix *jō*, and may so have been divided by popular etymology; *sējⁿ* f. couch (*śayyā*. Pkt. *sejjā*) is perhaps a loan-word (cf. H. *sēj* f. id. and the hybrid S. *sējbandᵘ* m. cord for tying down bedding to the legs of the bed = H. *sējband*).

The development then of *y-* on the one hand and *-yy-* on the other is not parallel, although in all the other languages it is parallel: *j-* and *-j-*, Sgh. *y-* and *-y-*. A similar inconsistency is seen in the history of the group *rv*.

Skt. *v-* became S. *w-*: *waɟᵘ* m. herd (*várga-*), *wāraṇᵘ* to prevent (*vārayati*), *wisō* thunderstruck (*vismaya-*). *wuṭhō* rained (*vṛṣṭá-*), *wēṭhaṇᵘ* m. pack-cloth (*vēṣṭana-*), etc. But *-rv-* became *-b-*: *cabaṇᵘ* to chew (*carvati*). With this treatment may be compared the difference between Pa. *v-* and *-bb-* (e.g. *vijjā* < *vidyā*, but *sabba-* < *sárva-*), although the other modern languages have parallel treatment of both: e.g. G. M. Sgh. *v-* and *-v-*, H. N. B. *b-* and *-b-*.

Sabhᵘ "all" may represent **saḃ* + *hu* (cf. H. *sabhī* < *saḃ* — *hī*). In *cowīhⁿ* twenty-four (*caturviṁśat- cáturviṁśati-*) and *niwāō* calm (*nirvāta-*) the peculiar treatment of the group *-rv-* is due to the fact that the *r* is the last sound of a prefix. Such a group was liable to a different treatment from that of a group in the middle of a word: for example, normally PI. *-ṣk- -śc- -ts- -dv-* became MI. *-ǩkh- -cch- -cch- -bb-*, but where the first consonant of the group belonged to a prefix the treatment was different, namely *-kk- -cc- -ss- -vv-*.

The treatment of the group *vy* differs from that of *rv*. Initially *vy-* became *w-*: *wāghᵘ* m. tiger (*vyāghrá-*), *wākhāṇⁿ* f. praise (*vyākhyāna-*), *waghārᵘ* m. seasoning with spices (cf. *vyāghārayati*). But between vowels *-vy-* became *b* without glottal closure: *sibaṇᵘ* to sew (*sīvyati*). *katabᵘ* m. business (*kártavya-*), present participles passive in *-ibō* (*-itavya-*). This points to an interval between the development of *rv* > *vv* > *bb* and the same development of *vy*. This is borne out by the inscriptions of Aśoka, in which Skt. *rv* usually appears as *v* while *vy* remains unchanged.[1] In Pāli, too, whereas *-rv-* always appears as *-bb-*, *vy* sometimes remains unchanged.[2]

J then is regularly the product of Skt. *y-* and of Skt. *j* under certain conditions, and *b* is the product of Skt. *-vy-*. On the other hand, all the simple voiced stops—*g j ḍ b*—can result from the disaspiration of the corresponding aspirated voiced stops—*gh jh*

[1] Sénart, *The Inscriptions of Piyadasi*, p. 114.
[2] Geiger, *Pāli*, p. 66.

ḍh bh. A voiced aspirate when followed by an aspirate or by *h* in the same word lost its aspiration and became the corresponding simple voiced stop without glottal closure. It makes no difference whether *h* represents a Sanskrit intervocalic sibilant or has been inserted simply to avoid hiatus.

g: gāhᵘ m. fodder *gāhī* m. grasscutter (*ghāsá-*: contrast *qāhᵘ* m. bait ≺ *grāsa-*), *gahaṇᵘ* to rub (**ghṛṣati*, cf. *gharṣati* H. *ghasnā*), after which also *gasaṇᵘ* to be rubbed for **ghasaṇᵘ* (*ghṛṣyatē* or *gharṣyatē*): *gathō* rubbed (*ghṛṣta-*): *gihᵘ* m. ghee ≺ **ghihu* (*ghṛtá-*), *saṅgāhaṇᵘ* to kill ≺ **saṃghahaṇᵘ* (*saṃghātayati saṅghātá-*).

ḍ: diṭhō bold ≺ **dhuṭhō* (*dhṛṣṭá-*): *drahaṇᵘ* to fall *ḍrāhaṇᵘ* to cause to fall < **ḍhrahaṇᵘ* (**dhras-*, cf. H. *dhisalnā dhāsalnā* to tumble into).

b: bathī f. quiver (*bhástrā*), *bahaṇᵘ* to bark (*bhaṣati*), *bahakaṇᵘ* to shine (cf. *bhāsati*), *bakhᵃ* f. alms (*bhikṣā*), *baṭhᵘ* m. pot for parching grain (*bhráṣṭra-*), *bukhᵃ* f. hunger ≺ **bhukhᵃ*, cf. H. *bhūkh* (*bubhukṣā*), *bihᵘ* m. roots of a lotus for eating ≺ **bhihᵘ* (Pa. *bhisa-*, Skt. *bísa-*), *buhᵘ* m. chaff of wheat < **bhuhᵘ* rests on **bhusa-* (Pa. *bhusa-*, H. *bhus*) beside *ḅuhō* m. *ḅuhī* f. chaff of jawārī (Skt. *busa-*).

A surd stop preceded by a nasal becomes the corresponding voiced stop, which remains without glottal closure. Thus *ṅk ñc ṇṭ nt mp* become *ṅg ñj ṇḍ nd mb*. The original voiced stops preceded by a nasal are completely assimilated to the preceding nasal. Thus *ṅg ñj ṇḍ nd mb* become *ṅ ñ ṇ n* (< *ṇṇ*) *n m*.

ṅk: aṅgᵘ m. figure (*aṅká-*), *aṅgūrᵘ* m. sprout (*aṅkŭra-*), *kaṅgᵘ* m. crane (*kaṅká-*), *kaṅgaṇᵘ* m. bracelet (*kaṅkana-*), *saṅgᵃ* f. fear *saṅgaṇᵘ* to fear (*śaṅká śáṅkatē*).

ñc: kañjurō m. bodice (*kañcula-*), *muñjaṇᵘ* to send (*muñcáti*), *pañjᵃ* five (*páñca*), *mañjō* m. low bedstead (*mañca-*), *kuñjī* f. key (*kuñcikā*).

ṇṭ: kaṇḍō m. thorn *kāṇḍō* thorny (*kaṇṭa- kāṇṭaka-*), *ghaṇḍᵘ* m. bell (*ghaṇṭa-*), *waṇḍaṇᵘ* to divide (*vaṇṭayati*).

nt: andī f. edge of cloth (*ánta-*), *andarᵘ* m. inside (*ántara-*), *khāndᵘ* f. patience (*kṣānti-*), *tandᵘ* f. thread (*tántu-*), *ḍandᵘ* m. tooth (*dánta-*), *ḍāndᵘ* m. ox (*dāntá-*), *sandāiṇᵘ* to vex (*santāpayati*).

mp: kambaṇᵘ to tremble (*kampatē*), *cambō* m. Michelia champaka (*campaka-*), *limbaṇᵘ* to plaster (*limpáti*), *sambatᵘ* f. preparation (*sampatti-*), *ṭrumbaṇᵘ* to pierce (Dhātup. *trumpati*).

In the group stop + *r* the *r* is assimilated, except when the stop is a dental. In that group the dental becomes a cerebral and the *r*

(except in South Sindhī) remains. Even when the resultant cerebral is voiced, there is not glottal closure.

dr: *ḍrākh*^{a} f. a small grape (*drākṣā*), *ḍrāu* m. fear (*drāva-*), *ḍrōh*^{u} m. deceit *ḍrōhī* wily *ḍrōhaṇ*^{u} to deceive (*drōha- drōhin- drōhayati*), *ḍrōṛaṇ*^{u} *ḍrōkaṇ*^{u} *ḍrakaṇ*^{u} to run (cf. *drávati dráti*), *āḍrōkō* damp (*ārdrá-*): *niṇḍr*^{a} f. sleep (*nidrá*). *muṇḍr*^{a} f. seal *muṇḍrī* f. signet *muṇḍraṇ*^{u} to seal (*mudrā mudrikā mudrayati*).

ntr: *āṇḍrō* m. entrails (*āntrá-*), *nēṇḍrō* m. inviter (*nimantraka-*), *maṇḍr*^{u} m. spell (*mántra-*), *jaṇḍr*^{u} m. handmill (*yantrá-*).

ndr: *caṇḍr*^{u} m. moon *cāṇḍr*^{u} lunar (*candrá- cāndra-*), *caṇḍrō* perverse (**candraka-*, cf. *cáṇḍa-*), *iṇḍrī* f. penis (*indriyá-*).

Thus where the voiced stop is preceded by a nasal or followed by *r* there is no glottal closure.

What has been said does not explain all the voiced stops without glottal closure to be found in Sindhī. There are a number of such where we should expect to find recursives.

Many of these occur in what are obviously loan-words.

b: *bag*^{u} m. crane (*baka-*) beside *ḇaṷō* m. a waterfowl [*-g-* < *-k-:* tatsama], *bāur*^{u} m. Acacia farnesiana (*bākula- bakula- vakula-*), *būnd*^{a} f. drop (*bindú- vindu-*) [*-ūnd-* < *-und-:* cf. H. *būd* f.], *bādal*^{u} m. cloud (*vārdala-*) [*b-* < *v-*, *-l-* < *-l-:* cf. H. *bādal*]. *bacaṇ*^{u} to be left (Pkt. *vacca-*) [*b-* < *v-:* cf. H. *bacnā*]: *bār*^{u} m. load (Persian *bār*), etc.

If the loan were early enough, *b* became *ḇ:* *ḇuḍhō* old (cf. Pa. *buḍḍha-* beside *vaḍḍha- vuddha-*. H. *buḍḍhā bāṛhā:* Skt. *vṛddhá-*).

I have found no instance of *ḍ* for *ḏ*.

Except after *n*, *d* does not occur in Sindhī proper. All words containing *d* in any other position are loans. In many cases the *d-* of a loan-word has been changed to *ḏ-:* e.g. *ḏāṇ*^{u} m. gift, *ḏuṣṭ*^{u} wicked, *ḏēs*^{u} m. country, beside *dāṇ*^{u} *duṣṭ*^{u} *dēś*^{u}.

j: in *jaḍāl*^{u} m. stupid fellow (*jada-*), after which also *jaṛ*^{u} stupid, and *jāgaṇ*^{u} to be awake *ōjāgō* m. sleeplessness (Pa. *jaggati*, Skt. *jāgarti*), there may be dissimilation of the glottal closure before the following recursive.

In *jāi* f. jasmine (lex. *jātī*). *ujaṛ*^{u} waste (**ujjaṭa-: jaṭā*) it is not certain that we have to do with original *j-*, though the existence of Pa. *jātī*, Sgh. *dā*. and Pa. *jaṭī* points to it. If *j-* is original, these two words must be loans in Sindhī (cf. H. *jāī ujṛā*). *Jar*^{u} m. water (*jala-*) is perhaps a tatsama.

There are numerous instances of *j* in words, many of which are obvious loans: *janōī* f. breast-strap (*yajñōpavītá-*) beside *ja̤ṇyō, jalaṇ*^{u}

to burn (*jválati*) and *kajal*^{u} m. collyrium (*kajjala-*) [*-l-* < *-l-*: cf. H. *jalnā kajjal*], *jas*^{u} m. fame (*yáśas-*) [*-s-* < *-ś-*: cf. H. *jas*], *jūṭhō* defiled (*juṣṭa-*) [*ū* < *u*: cf. H. *jūṭhā jhūṭhā*]. Tatsamas: *jananī* f. mother, *janma* m. birth, *japaṇ*^{u} to mutter prayers, etc. Loans from Persian and Arabic: *jabān*^{a} f. tongue, *jahar*^{u} m. poison, *jarō* a little, etc.

The most numerous exceptions are those words in which MI. *g- -gg-* appear as *g*, not *g̱*.

Ga̱dah^{u} m. donkey (*gardabhá-*), *ga̱ḍū* mug (*gaḍḍuka-*), *gāḍō* cart (**gāḍḍa-*), are explained by dissimilation. The following pairs, though without etymologies, are instructive: *ga̱raṇ*^{u} to drip, but *ga̱ḍaṇ*^{u} to meet: *ga̱ṛī* f. "lump", but *ga̱ḍī* f. bunch; *ga̱ṛō* m. hail, but *ga̱ḍō* m. bundle. There is no instance of initial *g-* followed by another recursive in the next syllable.

In *gugur*^{u} m. bdellium (*gúlgulu-*), *gajaṇ*^{u} to thunder (*garjati*), *gajar*^{u} m. an edible root (lex. *garjara-*) there appears to have been a simultaneous dissimilation. It is at least noteworthy that the sequences represented by the types *ga̱g ga̱j* do not occur in any words.

A number of words are obvious loans: *gā̃jō* m. hemp (*gañja-* would become in Sindhī **gañō*: cf. H. *gā̃jā*), *gāṇḍ*^{ī} f. anus (*gaṇḍa-*) *gēṇḍō* m. rhinoceros (*gaṇḍaka-*) [*-ṇḍ-* remains: cf. H. *gā̃ṛ gaiṇḍā*], *gaṅgāṭī* f. Ganges earth (*gangā-mṛttikā*) [*ṅg* remains], *gōlō* round (*gōla-*) [*-l-* < *-ḍ-* or *-l-*: cf. H. *gōlā*], *āg*^{ī} f. fire (*agní-*) [*ā* < *a*: cf. H. *āg* f.]. Tatsamas: *gat*^{ī} f. salvation, *gīt*^{u} m. song, *gupt*^{u} hidden, etc. Loans through Persian: *garm*^{u} hot, *gandō* stinking, *gujar*^{u} m. livelihood, etc.

There remain, however, a number of words, which show *g* for MI. *g- -gg-* and yet show no other distinctive non-Sindhī sound-change.

gaū f. *gāī* f. cow (*gáu-*) beside *gā̃ñ gawār*^{u} *gāō ga̱ṭr*^{u}; *gãwāiṇ*^{u} to lose, waste (*gamayati*) beside *gāū* lost: *garō* m. neck (*gala-*) beside *ga̱rō* m. id. *gar*^{ī} *lagaṇ*^{u} to embrace [*galō* m. throat is an obvious loan: cf. H. *galā*]; *gũh*^{u} m. excrement (*gūtha-*) beside *guī* f. anus: *gōrō* fair-complexioned (*gaura-*) beside *gōrāiṇ*^{u} to become white.

In all the above instances there is a related form in Sindhī with *g*. The following seem isolated: *gusā̃ī* m. ascetic (*gōsvāmin-*: it is not certain whether *u* here is the regular treatment of *ō*), *gār*^{ī} f. abuse (*gālī*: cf. H. *gālī*), *gāū* m. village (*gráma-*: cf. H. *gāū*: Sindhī has another word, *gōṭh*^{u}).

All these we may legitimately assume to be loan-words either from without or within the Sindhī area. But we have had cases of apparent dissimilation of *g-* and *j-* before other recursives, whereas

ḇ and ḏ remain in a similar position; e.g. *ḇaḇur*^{u} *ḇāḇurō ḇuḏaṇ*^{u} *ḏēḏar*^{u}, etc. Further, the sequence *jag* is tolerated, while *gag* and *gaj* are not. The reason is that the further back in the mouth the stop is made, the greater is the difficulty of accompanying it with a glottal stop. This is a fact which a learner of Sindhī at once appreciates. Hence *g* is less stable than *j*, and *j* less stable than *ḏ* and *ḇ*.

The following comparative dates for the change of the simple voiced stops to recursives can be established.

The glottal closure was introduced—

A. After—

(1) *-rv-* > *-bb-*; for this > S. *ḇ*.

(2) *-yy-* *-ry-* > *-jj-*; for these > S. *j*.

(3) *ud-v-* > *ubb-* (through *uvv-*); for this > S. *ḇ*.

Probably after—

(4) *dv-* > *b-*; for this > S. *ḇ-*.

-dy- > *-jj-*; for this S. > *j*.

B. Before—

(1) *-vy-* > *-bb-*; for this > S. *b*.

(2) *y-* > *j-*: for this > S. *j*.

(3) The dissimilation of voiced aspirates before another aspirate or *h*; for in this position *gh jh ḍh bh* > S. *g j ḍ b*.

In the inscriptions of Aśoka *dv-* remains, *-rv-* and *-ry-* are represented only by *v* and *y* (= *vv* and *yy*).

Initial *y-* became *j-* after the first century A.D.[1] But it must not be forgotten that *y-* is still preserved in Singhalese and Kāśmīrī. But it will probably not be far wrong to place the development of the glottal stop between the time of Aśoka (but probably much later: since in Lüders' *Bruchstücke*[2] *-yy-* from *-ry-* was still preserved) and the first century A.D. The narrowest limits are between the changes of *-yy-* to *-jj-* on the one hand and *y-* to *j-* on the other.

[1] Bloch, p. 19. [2] p. 60.

A TREATISE ON HINDU COSMOGRAPHY FROM THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (Brit. Mus. MS. Sloane 2748 A)

By Professor JARL CHARPENTIER

HINDU cosmography—a vast science of rather complicated nature—has quite recently been made accessible to European scholars by the meritorious efforts of Professor Kirfel, who, in his excellent work *Die Kosmographie der Inder nach den Quellen dargestellt* (Bonn and Leipzig, 1920), has first of all given us a systematical treatise on this subject, based upon all available sources belonging to Brahmin, Buddhist, and Jain lore. At the beginning of each of the three chief sections of his work Professor Kirfel has mentioned his European predecessors: from these summaries we gather that, while Buddhist cosmography has often been dealt with, though never hitherto in a thoroughly systematic way, and Jain cosmography has scarcely ever been made the subject of profound research, no author except Wilford and Pullé has ever tried to deal exhaustively with the entire domain of Brahmin conceptions of the universe. It seems, indeed, remarkable that this large and interesting subject, which is, besides, of great importance for the study of Hindu religion, literature, etc., should have attracted the attention of so very few scholars: and although the present writer does not, in the main, venture or wish to dissent from the highest living authority on the subject, he would like to draw attention, in brief, to some earlier notices on Hindu cosmography occurring in European literature of centuries preceding the date when the literature of India began to be a subject of truly scientific research in the Western world.

Amongst the Sloane MSS. of the British Museum, the one carrying the number 2748 A consists of two wholly different parts; the first one is entitled "*Traité de l'antiquité du Christianisme dans les Indes Orientales en portugais*"; it runs from fol. 2*r* to fol. 39*r*, and consists, in reality, as the Portuguese superscription tells us, of a "short relation of the very old Christianity in the mountains of Mallauár in the East Indies; and in order to give a distinct description thereof one will deal with, first, the heathen princes of these countries; second, much will be said of whether this Christianity originates and how our Holy Faith spread in these parts, and also of the life of St. Thomas as afterwards of his martyrdom and death. And it will be told how those old Christians again became pagans after his death; and of the idols of every kingdom: and also in which way they converted them-

selves again until this day; and how many are the churches that are found in all this Mallauár: and the number of villages and towns and markets belonging to each church". Undoubtedly this manuscript contains materials of no small importance for the history of the Christians of St. Thomas, and I shall hope to deal with it in another connexion. It seems originally to have been bound up together with the *Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientaes* of Father Fenicio (Sloane MS. 1820),[1] as that manuscript was formerly marked 2747, and ends with p. 339,[2] while in this one there are traces of an older pagination beginning with 340. The handwriting undoubtedly belongs to the seventeenth century, and as the anonymous author does in one passage mention events that took place on certain days in the years 1675 and 1676 there can be little doubt that he was at that time in Malabar, and wrote his relation just about that self-same date.

The second part of 2748 A is in a wholly different hand, that does also, no doubt, belong to the seventeenth century. The pagination runs from fol. 41*r*-fol. 45*r*; but, as there are traces of an older pagination beginning with fol. 181*r*, there can be little-doubt that this is a fragment that did originally belong to another manuscript. It contains a short treatise in Portuguese on Hindu cosmography, and seems interesting enough to be given in full in English translation below. It carries no date, nor the name of an author; but there is little, if any, room open for doubt that the author was a Jesuit missionary in India in the seventeenth century, and that the manuscript belonged to a set of Portuguese papers, the most remarkable of which was the above-mentioned work of Father Fenicio, and which were, in a way not now known, transferred to Europe and came into the collection of Sir Hans Sloane during the earlier part of the eighteenth century.

This manuscript is the one seventeenth century source at present known to me that deals exclusively with Hindu cosmography and tries to give a complete, if very short, survey of its leading tenets. But undoubtedly there exist, in literature of a date somewhat older than this short treatise, passages dealing with the cosmography of the Hindus that have—mostly in common with the works in which they are found—for a long time escaped the notice of European scholars. Without the slightest aim at completeness—an impossible task while so many sources are certainly still only preserved in manuscript in

[1] Cf. this *Bulletin*, II, 731 sqq.
[2] Cf. loc. cit., p. 737.

Portuguese, Indian, and other libraries and archives—I shall here draw attention to some of these passages, occurring in works that seem, with a fair claim to certainty, to be of a somewhat older date than the second part of the Sloane MS. 2748 A.

Antique and mediaeval Europe never had, as far as we are able to ascertain, the slightest acquaintance with the literature and *śāstras* of the Hindus; nor do we know of any European from the most remote times up to the sixteenth century who possessed even the scantiest knowledge of either Sanskrit or any other Indian language. And though such individuals may, no doubt, have existed at times, they have, so far, left no traces behind in the literature of those epochs. The conditions were otherwise in the Moslem world; and we need only remember that very great scholar, Abū-'l Raiḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Albīrūnī from Khiwa (973–1048), who in 1030 finished his wonderful work on India, in which country he had made himself possessed of a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit and an extensive acquaintance with the Purāṇas and Śāstras. In this book, which is chiefly of astronomical and chronological contents, the chapters xix–xxx [1] in particular give a summary of the traditional cosmography of the Hindus. But as Albīrūnī's work did never influence early European knowledge of India, we need not further dwell upon it here.

The Portuguese conquistadores in India from the beginning brought with them missionaries for the conversion of the heathen: but we have little reason to believe that those early preachers of the Faith did interest themselves very much in Hindu language and lore until the arrival of the members of the Society of Jesus in the 1540's. Proofs may be gathered from the reports and letters of the Fathers then in India that already during the sixteenth century several Jesuits had gone quite far in their acquaintance with Hindu languages and had also acquired no slight amount of knowledge of Hindu religion and mythology.[2] That some Fathers had perhaps already at this time written tracts on Indian mythology—in which short abstracts on cosmography would also find place—may be surmised with a fair amount of verisimility, but so far none of these works has been found, though they may very well be stowed away in some archives. The first complete work on Hindu mythology still is that of Father Fenicio, which belongs to the first decade of the seventeenth century.[3] Before

[1] *Albīrūnī's India*, translated by Sachau, 1888, i. 213 seq.

[2] Extracts from Jesuit letters concerning these topics have been collected by Dr. De Jong in his edition of *Baldæus*, pp. viii–xvii.

[3] Cf. this *Bulletin*, II, 741. 745.

we turn to him, however, a few of the sources slightly older than his work must be mentioned.

Of the already celebrated *Commentarius Mongolicæ Legationis* of Father Antonio Monserrate,[1] that was finished in 1591, the second part, dealing with geographical subjects, is unfortunately still missing. But the whole tenor of the still existing part of the work makes it quite improbable that there should have been in the lost volume anything concerning Hindu cosmography: for, as remarkable as is the Father's accuracy and sound judgment in what concerns the history of his time and the topography of countries visited by himself, even so peculiar is his lack of interest in and acquaintance with Hindu religious and literary ideas. Still, it must be taken into consideration that he spent most of his time in surroundings wholly Mohammadan, and was probably only very slightly acquainted with the native languages of Northern India.

There is, however, a short notice of some tenets belonging to Hindu cosmography in a Jesuit letter from the exit of the sixteenth century. Father Emanual de Veiga (1549–1605), writing from Chandagiri on 18th September, 1599,[2] tells of several dealings he had with the natives at that place, and of their strange and foolish talk on matters of religion; thereupon he continues: "*alii de Diis suis, & mundi constructione, & fabrica inaudita quadam prodigia somniabant. Septem dicebant esse maria, unum aquæ salsæ, aliud aquæ dulcis, aliud mellis, aliud lactis, aliud lactis in acorem iucundum & pinguem spumam condensati, quod Tairum vocant, aliud sacchari, aliud butyri. Alii dicebant terram novem constare angulis, quibus cælo innititur. Alius ab his dissentiens volebat terram septem elephantis fulciri, elephantes uero ne subsiderent, super testudine pedes fixos habere. Quærenti quis testudinis corpus firmaret, ne dilaberetur, respondere nesciuit.*"[3]

[1] Published by Father Hosten in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, iii, 513–704; a translation of the text by Messrs. Hoyland and Banerjee (Oxford University Press, 1923) is far behind what might have been expected of it (cf. this *Bulletin*, III, 191 seq.).

[2] The letter is edited, together with several other ones, in a well-known letter of Father Nicolas Pimenta of 1600 that was translated into various languages (cf. De Backer-Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vi, 757 seq.); it is, perhaps, most easily accessible in the collection of Hayus (John Hay of Dalgetty), *De rebus Japonicis, Indicis, and Peruanis epistulæ recentiores* (Antwerp, 1605), p. 803 seq.

[3] The number and consistence of the oceans is correct, though they do not follow in the Purāṇic order. *Mel* is meant for Skt. *surā* "liqueur"; *Tairum*, of course, is Tamil *tayir* "curds". The world-elephants ought to be eight or four, not seven. What is meant by the words "*terram novem constare angulis*", etc., is not clear to me.

What de Veiga has to say is consequently very little, but may be mentioned as being a quite old notice on Hindu cosmography. His letter was used by Purchas, *His Pilgrimage* (1626), p. 561 (who, by the way, calls his authority Viega), where he tells us about the "vaine Discourses of the Creation" held by the Hindus: "as that there were seven Seas: one of Salt-water, the second of fresh, the third of Honey, the fourth of Milke, the fifth of *Tair* (which is Cream beginning to sowre), the sixth of Sugar, the seventh of Butter, that the Earth had nine corners, whereby it was borne up by the Heaven. Others dissented, and said, that the Earth was borne up by seven Elephants: the Elephants feet stood on Tortoises, and they were borne by they know not what." With the exception of this single passage there is little or nothing in Purchas that can be referred to Hindu cosmography. Extremely well-read as he was in all sorts of literature dealing with his subject, this seems to show that scarcely any sources touching upon this topic were ever at his disposal.

Let us now turn to the manuscript of Father Fenicio, the general contents of which have been given in this *Bulletin*, II, 737 seq. Already from that abstract it could be gathered that several chapters in the first book deal with cosmography, and of these it is chiefly the chapters v, vi, and x that are of interest to us in this connexion. They will consequently be given here in translation.[1]

"*Concerning the Form and Position of the World. Chapter the Fifth*

"As the Brahmins falsely contend that this world originated from an egg that split up into two parts, of which the upper one became the heaven and the lower one the earth,[2] it is no wonder that they tell all sorts of nonsense concerning its form and position. For, on behalf of this, they do not understand that the earth is in the middle, surrounded by heaven, but they say that heaven has its limit at the horizon and ends there, as it is nothing but the upper half of the egg-shell, and the earth is the lower half: and in consequence of this they say that heaven is immovable, and that it is not heaven

[1] A short cosmogonical passage from one of the letters of Father Fenicio and repeated from there by Purchas, *His Pilgrimage*, p. 549, has been quoted in *Bulletin*, II, 748 seq. Concerning Fenicio it should be mentioned here that in the work of J. P. A. da Camara Manoel, *Missões dos Jesuitas no Oriente* (Lisbon, 1894), is mentioned, amongst the missionaries going to India in 1583, "*Ir. Joam fenicio italiano*"; I was not aware of this when writing my former article.

[2] Of this Fenicio has told us in Book i, ch. 1: he calls the cosmic egg *andeʒamotta*, which is not quite clear to me; it seems to contain Skt. *anda* "an egg, the universe", as well as Tamil *muṭṭai* "an egg".

that moves but sun, moon, and stars, which, being animated, move through the heavens like fishes through the water: in daytime from the East to the West, and from the West they make a turn along the line of the horizon towards the North and then towards the East: all the time they move along the horizon, and when they arrive at the East they turn towards zenith accomplishing their diurnal course from East to West. And if you tell them that, if this were so, one ought to see the sunlight at the horizon the whole night through they will answer you that in the North there is an enormous mountain called *Maga Merù* [*Mahāmeru*], and that sun, moon, and stars pass behind it while turning eastwards: and that is the reason why one cannot discern the light of those luminaries. They will also tell you that if anybody journeys northwards he will find no exit there on behalf of that mountain-range; there is nothing like that in the South.

"Owing to this false supposition they infer also that the earth is not round but flat, as it appears to the eye. And they are most firmly convinced that the earth is supported on the top of a bull's horn, and when he grows tired he moves the earth from one horn to another, and from that movement and change arise the earthquakes. O, what a lot of errors on reason of a false first principle!"

[After this passage there follows an extensive refutation of the cosmological and astronomical tenets of the Brahmins founded on the principles of European astronomy as well as some ridicule on the fable of the bull supporting the earth, in which connexion the Father continues thus:—]

"While discussing that bull in the palace of the Samorim a certain Brahmin told me that on that point there existed different opinions: some say that the earth rests upon the horn of a bull, while others (whose opinion is looked upon as a more probable one) say on the back of the cobra *Ananta*; and when I asked him: 'Well, and upon what does that cobra *Ananta* support itself?' he answered me: 'On the back of a tortoise.' 'And, pray, upon what does that tortoise rest?' He answered: 'On the top of eight elephants.' 'Well, and those eight elephants?' But then he smiled and told me not to ask him any more, as he did not know how to answer."

. . . . .

"*Of the Earth, and of its Form; and of the Oceans. Chapter the Sixth*

"In the preceding chapter we have dealt with the form and position

of the earth in general: now coming to details we must know that there are in the heavens seven localities, viz. the first one *Purlongam* [*Bhūrloka*], the second *Puerlogam* [*Bhuvarloka*], the third *Suorlogam* [*Svarloka*], also called *Sorgalogam* [*Svargaloka*], the fourth *Maharlogam* [*Maharloka*], the fifth *Genalogam* [*Janarloka*], the inhabitants of which are leading a delicious and carnal life; in the *Sorgalogam* dwell the heavenly spirits called *devagal*. and because of that this place is also called *Deualogam* [*Devaloka*], the home of the *devagal*; in the highest or seventh, locality dwells *Brama* [*Brahmā*], and that is why it is called *Bramalogam* [*Brahmaloka*], home of *Bramâ*. The Brahmins also imagine, according to their cosmography, that there are seven continents which they believe to be surrounded by seven oceans, every one being an island; the first of these continents they call by name *Gembudiua* [*Jambūdvīpa*], which is the one in which we live, situated in the midst of all the other ones surrounded by the salt sea: it has an extension, from the north to the south, of one hundred thousand *ioxenas* [*yojana*], and the same measure from the east to the west. This continent of ours consists of nine parts divided from each other by mountains called *paruuadas* [*parvata*] situated between them: the nine parts of the earth are *Parida* [*Bharata*], *Quinpruja* [*Kiṃpuruṣa*], *Ariuariia* [*Harivarṣa*], *Padrâcxua* [*Bhadrāśva*], *Elembrada* [*Ilāvṛta*], *Quedumala* [*Ketumāla*], *Remmia* [*Ramya*], *Irulmaia* [*Hiraṇmaya*], and *Utaracurucal* [*Uttarakuravaḥ*] . . . each of which are nine thousand *ioxenas* in breadth, except *Padrâcxua* and *Quedumala*, which are thirty-three thousand, and *Elembrada* thirty-four thousand: [1] and every one of the mountain ranges is a thousand *ioxenas* broad." [1]

[After this passage there is a blank space at the bottom of the page, which was apparently meant to contain a map of the universe: this map is missing, but its main outlines may be reconstructed from the passage immediately following:—]

"*M*. In the centre of this our earth, in the circle *M* is the very famous mountain *Magâ Meru*, which is of gold and resembles those roses that grow in the lakes, and which are called *tamarapua*; [2] for it is slender at the bottom and large at the top: the base occupies 16,000 *ioxenas* [*yojana*], and at the top it is 30,000.[3] Its height is a 100,000 *ioxenas*, of which 16,000 are below the earth, and 84,000 from the surface of the earth to the top: and they say that it is

[1] Cf. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, p. 58.

[2] This is Tamil *tāmarai* "lotus" + *pū* "a flower".

[3] The usual figure is 32,000, cf. Kirfel, loc. cit., p. 93.

the supporting pillar of the earth which prevents her from wobbling from one side to the other or to get into disorder, the subterrestrial part of it being bulkier at the bottom. On the top of this mountain, so they say, is the paradise. *Magâ Meru* has 1,008 mountains branching off from it, and in every one of them some of their saints are living. They say that the cobra *Basugui* [*Vāsuki*] had wound itself round it; and that cobra, fighting at a certain time with the wind, expanded its hood and did not let the wind pass towards the south. As then the living beings, for want of air, had to suffer many ailments, *Ixora* [*Īśvara*] commanded the cobra to lower its hood: and the wind, blowing very fast, lifted that part of the mountain where *Baesserennia* [*Vaiśravaṇa*] lived and flung it into the Salt Ocean towards the south, and out of it arose the island of Ceylon.[1] Because of this there are so many pearls and precious stones in that island.

"*P.* means the island of Ceylon which is situated to the south of our continent in the Salt Ocean: formerly it was 700 *ioxenas* in length, but it is now much less, as the ocean has eaten a great part of it away.

"*R.* is a wall of earth running from this our continent towards Ceylon: *Siri Rama* [*Śrī Rāma*] had it made as will be told below.[2]

"This our continent, called *Gembudiua*, consists (as we have already remarked) of nine parts, and has a length and breadth of a 100,000 *ioxenas*: it is wholly surrounded by the Salt Ocean which they call *Leuana* [*Lavaṇa*], which is of double breadth, viz. 200,000 *ioxenas*.

"Outside this ocean is the continent called *Placxa* [*Plakṣa*], which is of double breadth and is surrounded by the Sugar Ocean called *Jexu* [*Ikṣu*], which is again the double or 800,000 *ioxenas*, the breadth always increasing with the double as well in continents as in oceans. Outside the Sugar Ocean is the continent called *Xaqua* [*Śāka*],[3] which is surrounded by the ocean of *Sura* [*Surā*], i.e. palm-wine; then follows the continent called *Cáxu* [*Kuśa*], surrounded by the ocean of butter called *Sarpi* [*Sarpis*]; after this comes the continent called *Croncha* [*Krauñca*], surrounded by *Dedi* [*Dadhi*], the Ocean of Curds (which they call *tairo* [4]). Then follows the

[1] This story is known also from other South Indian sources, cf. e.g. Wilson, *Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection*, ii, p. 254, etc. It is quoted from Ildephonsus (cf. *Bulletin*, II, 731 seq.) by Paulinus a S. Bartholomæo, *Codices Musæi Borgiani*, p. 108.

[2] In Book V, chap. ii.

[3] The author gives the continents and oceans in the usual order, except that he has exchanged the *Śāka* and *Śālmalidvīpa* (cf. Kirfel, loc. cit., p. 57).

[4] Tamil *tayir*.

continent *Xameli* [*Śālmali*], which is surrounded by *Crira* [*Kṣīra*], the Milk Ocean; and at the end of them all is the continent *Pucxara* [*Puṣkara*], round which flows the Sweet-water Ocean called *Suddudega* [*Svādūdaka*]."

[After this there are some lines pointing to a map and then a blank space at the bottom of the page.]

"*Of the Padalas* [*Pātāla*] *and their number. Chapter the Tenth*

"The Brahmins, with that same levity with which they imagine the continents and oceans to be seven in number, also tell us that there are seven *Padalas*, which are certain localities below the surface of the earth, just as we speak of the limbo and other subterranean places and caverns. These seven are *Adelâ* [*Atala*], *Videlâ* [*Vitala*], *Sudelâ* [*Sutala*], *Taladelâm* [*Talātala*], and *Sadelam* [*Satala*], *Mahadalâ* [*Mahātala*], and *Padalam* [*Pātāla*].[1] In these *Pātālas* they say that there live beings just as on earth. And as they are corporeal it seems necessary that they should want, above all other things, light and brightness to be able to see. As, consequently, I asked a certain Brahmin about this he answered me that there are in the *Pātālas* many cobras, which carry on their heads some very radiant precious stones that illumine the place."

So far the passages of Fenicio's manuscript that are necessary for our present purpose: they are by far the clearest and best remarks on Hindu cosmography that are known to me from these old sources, just as the whole of his work is much superior to all other early descriptions of Hindu mythology. From his cosmological chapters are derived the notices on that same subject that are found in Faria y Sousa, *Asia Portugueza*, II, 4, 1, § 5 seq., and in Baldæus, *Afgoderye der Oost-Indische Heydenen* (ed. de Jong), p. 180 seq.: the passage on the continents and oceans is, however, missing in the work of the last-named author.

The treatise on Hindu mythology in Do Couto, *Asia*, dec. v, liv. vi, cap. iii seq.,[2] contains next to nothing of importance for the knowledge

[1] This enumeration does not tally with any one of those given by Kirfel, loc. cit., p. 144 seq., from Purāṇic and other sources. Though *Sadelam* could scarcely mean anything but *Satala*, it is probably a corruption of *Rasātala*.

[2] This treatise has been translated into Dutch by Professor Caland in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde, 5 Reeks, 3 Deel*, 1918, p. 308 seq. Some remarks and corrections to this translation were given by Professor Zachariæ in his very important review of Caland's work in *Goettingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1921, p. 160 seq. (this review has been translated into English with some additional remarks by the Rev. Father Hosten in the *Journal of Indian History*, ii, 1923, 127 seq.).

of the Indian cosmography. There are only the passages on p. 28 seq. and p. 43 seq. of the edition of 1780: in the first one Do Couto simply mentions "a place in the second heaven, which they call *Xorvagó* [*Svarga*, Tamil *Çuvarkkam*, *Çŏrkkam*], where those who have led a good life are going to rest: and that in the centre of the earth there is another one, which they call *Naranca* [*Naraka*], which is all through only fire and tortures, whither the sinners have to expiate their sins": in the second passage Do Couto speaks of the seven heavens and their distances from each other. He then mentions the names of the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth heaven, viz. *Malougão*,[1] *Manalougão*,[1] *Genalougãa* [*Janarloka*], *Tapalougão* [*Tapoloka*], and *Jatalougão* [*Satyaloka*], together with some scanty notices on their respective inhabitants. The continuation is, unfortunately, not quite intelligible; here Do Couto tells us that, according to Hindu tradition, the whole universe rests on the shoulders of a woman called "*Adarasati*,[2] which means truth (*verdade*)". This is about all; but we must remember that Do Couto does not seem to have known any native language and could not get at the texts himself.

Still less material touching upon Hindu cosmography is to be found in the interesting little work of Henry Lord, the English Chaplain at Surat between 1624–29, called "*A Discoverie of the Sect of the Banians. Containing their History, Law, Liturgie, Casts, Customs, and Ceremonies. Gathered from their Bramams, Teachers of that Sect: As the particulars were comprised in the Booke of their Law called the Shaster*," etc., and published for the first time in 1630. The work is worthy of attention, and I hope to deal further with it in another connexion; but of cosmographical details it contains nothing except the myth of the mundane egg (Chapter I) and some very scanty names from Hindu geography which it would scarcely be worth the while to repeat here.

Also the famous work of Abraham Roger, *De Open-Deure tot het verborgen Heydendom*, first edited in 1651,[3] does not contain very much that touches upon Hindu cosmography. As far as I can see, only the first and fifth chapters of the second book[4] deal with such things:

[1] These two names make difficulties; the first one ought to be rendered *Mãloka* = *Mahãloka*, but there is no such name known to me. According to its position in the series, *Manalougão* ought to be read *Maha°* = *Maharloka*.

[2] This name has been left uninterpreted by Caland and Zachariæ; as far as I understand, it must be something like *Ãdhãraśakti* (or possibly *°satī*).

[3] New edition with notes by Professor Caland in 1915; it must be read together with the extremely important review by Professor Zachariæ in *Goettingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1916, pp. 561–615.

[4] Ed. Caland, pp. 88 seq. and 106 seq.

in the first of these passages Roger mentions that the earth is called *Bou-locon* [*Bhūloka*] and the heaven *Bramma-locon* [*Brahmaloka*]; between these two, he says, are situated the eight worlds of the *lokapālas*, viz. *Indraloka*, *Agniloka*, *Yamaloka*, *Nirṛtiloka*, *Varuṇaloka*, *Kuberaloka*, *Vāyuloka*,[1] and *Īśānaloka*. In the second passage Roger tells us that the *Pātāla* is situated under the earth; above it is the *Surgam* [*Svarga*], and still higher up the *Brahmaloka*, the *Kailāsa*, and the *Vaikuṇṭha*.[2] In the middle of the *Bhūloka* is Mount *Meru*, which is described in the usual way: then follows an enumeration of the seven continents and oceans, but without the Sanskrit names. The order is the usual one, except that the author has changed the position of the Ocean of Butter (*Ghṛta*) and that of Curds (*Dadhi*).

The famous Jesuit Father Athanasius Kircher (1602–80) in 1667 issued his *China Illustrata*, one of the numerous works in which this very learned man tried to compile the knowledge of his age on exotic and other subjects. In this book Kircher also published some remarks on Hindu mythology and Brahmin learning, which he had obtained from one of his brethren, Father Heinrich Roth, a missionary at Agra, where he died in 1668,[3] together with drawings of nine of the *avatāras* and five pages of *devanāgarī* types, which he calls "*Elementa Linguæ Hanscret.*"[4] One of the chapters dealing with things Indian (ed. 1667, p. 154 seq.) bears the superscription: "*De ridicula Brachmanum Religione circa hominum originem*," and in this Kircher also comes to mention some words on Hindu cosmography; unfortunately, it is by no means sure that Kircher did always correctly understand his authorities, and this may to some degree account for his many peculiarities. What he has to tell is simply this: After having mentioned, as an explanation of a drawing facing p. 154, the origin of fourteen worlds and fourteen different tribes of men out of the body of Brahmā, he proceeds in the following way (p. 155): "*in Mundo ponunt septem maria; Primum Aqueum: Secundum Lacteum; Tertium Ex coagulo lactis; Quartum Butyraceum; Quintum Salinum;*

[1] In a correct enumeration *Vāyuloka* (North-West) should come before *Kuberaloka* (North), cf. Caland, loc. cit., p. 89, n. 1.

[2] The chief authority of Roger, the Brahmin Padmanābha, was a Vaiṣṇava, and, accordingly, considered the heaven of Viṣṇu to be the highest one.

[3] Cf. Father J. Dahlmann, *Die Sprachkunde und die Missionen*, p. 18; *Indische Fahrten*, ii, 246; Father H. Hosten, *Jesuit Missionaries in Northern India*, p. 6; and, above all, Professor Zachariæ, *VOJ.* xxii, 86 seq. (reprinted in *Kleine Schriften*, 1920, p. 17 seq.); *Goettingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1919, p. 52 seq.

[4] Cf. Zachariæ, *VOJ.* xv, 313 seq. (reprinted in *Kleine Schriften*, p. 1 seq.).

Sextum Saccareum: *Septimum Vinosum*.[1] *In Aqueo ponunt quinque Paradisos*: *In Lacteo Religiosos et Sacrificulos, quos Iogues vocant, quæ gloria Siven dicitur. In tertio, quam gloriam Divenderen vocant, voluptatibus corporeis dedicatos*: *In quarto quæ est gloria Brumæ felicis fortis*; *In quinto quæ est gloria Visnu misericordes*; *In sexto, quæ gloria Cailasan dicitur, Eleemosynarios*; *In septimo, quæ gloria Vajacandam dicitur, omni bono affluentes*." The latter half of this passage is scarcely intelligible from the point of view of Hindu cosmography: but it seems clear that Kircher must in some curious way have mixed up the oceans and heavens with each other.

Follows a passage dealing with the substructure of the universe: "*Praeteraa quod Cabala Saracenorum de globo Terræ in cornu bovis firmata*,[2] *Brachmanes de serpente χιλιακεφάλῳ, id est, mille Capitibus monstruoso dicunt*; *& quoniam Serpentem seu hydram hanc phantasticam sustinendo globo Terrae insufficientem videbant, octo illi Elephantes, quorum robore sustineatur, supposuerunt*; *quia vero nec hi sine sustentamento, & substerniculo subsistere poterant, illis immensæ aquaticæ testudinis dorsum, supra quod firmarentur, substituerunt, quæ in infinito mari natans totam hanc monstrorum congeriem sustineat*." Finally Kircher also mentions the myth according to which the universe originated out of the web of a giant primeval spider.[3]

The French physician François Bernier (1620–88), who in 1670 issued the first edition of his well-known work *Histoire de la dernière Révolution des Etats du Grand Mogol*, has given in a supplementary letter to Jean Chapelain (1594–1674), despatched from Shirāz on 4th October, 1667, a series of valuable observations on Hindu religion and philosophy. He had access, in India, to the same authority as Kircher, viz. Father Roth (whom, curiously enough, he styles Roa), and repeatedly extols his learning and acquaintance with the lore of the Brahmins. But his remarks on Hindu cosmography are still poorer than those of Kircher; they may be conveniently looked up in the English edition by Constable and V. A. Smith (Oxford, 1916), p. 339 seq., and need not here be gone into in detail.[4]

[1] This would correspond to Sanskrit *Srādu, Kṣīra, Dadhi, Sarpis, Lavana, Ikṣu, Surā*; even if, as seems most probable, Kircher began his enumeration from the periphery of the cosmos, the order is, of course, an impossible one.

[2] This seems also to be a Hindu conception, cf. *Bulletin*, II, 743, 748 seq.; Caland, *Ontdekkingsgeschiedenis van den Veda*, p. 265, n. 1, and above, p. 322.

[3] A similar notion already seems to underlie the words in *Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*, ii, 1. 20 (cf. *JAOS.* xlii, 8); I hope to deal with this myth in another connexion.

[4] The one thing of some interest is the mention of the name *Someire*, which shows that Bernier's authority was conversant with the form *Sumeru*.

Of sources that may possibly be somewhat older than the manuscript dealt with here we have finally to take into consideration some of the Portuguese and French texts that have recently been edited by Professor Caland.[1] the Portuguese ones unfortunately in a Dutch translation, Portuguese being almost certainly easier to read than Dutch. Of these the first treatise in Portuguese must date from the year 1671, as, in chapter lix, it alludes to sixteen years having passed by since Sivājī conquered the land of the Rājah of Jāolī, an incident that took place in 1655 according to Grant-Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, i. 147 (1826); Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 426, etc.[2] We learn, however, next to nothing about Hindu cosmography from this treatise, and it is wholly sufficient simply to point at chapters xxii (presenting a very confused tradition concerning the *brahmāṇḍa*) and xlvii seq., that give some scanty notices on the planets, heavens, etc., said to be fetched from the *Jyautiṣaśāstra*.

The second Portuguese treatise, which was edited, as well as the first one, already in 1812 in the *Noticias para a Historia e Geografia das Nações ultramarinas*, i, 1–2, is certainly later than our manuscript and is mentioned in this connexion simply because I want to add here a short remark on its date. Professor Caland thought that the mention (in chapter xxxiv) of 4.876 years of the *Kaliyuga* having passed would fix the date, without any possible objection, at the year 1774; but this is by no means sure, seeing that in chapter xciv of the same work the same number of years is given as 2.176, which, assuming the *Kaliyuga* to have commenced in B.C. 3102, would fix the date of its composition at B.C. 926 (!). Burnell, *Tentative List*, p. 24, suggested that this treatise was "from the eighteenth century, v. p. 113, where Nâna Bâlaji Rao is mentioned": this refers to chapter lxxxv, where is spoken of "*Nana*, who is *Balayi Bagi Rao Pradando*,[3] King of the *Maratas* and supreme ruler of Asia": this apparently refers to the third Peshwā, Bālājī Bājī Rāo, and, he being spoken of in the continuation

[1] Cf. *Drie oude Portugeesche Verhandelingen over het Hindoeïsme* (*Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdeeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel* xvi, No. 2), Amsterdam, 1915 (to be read with the review of Professor Zachariæ in *Goett. gel. Anzeigen*, 1916, p. 561 seq.), and *Twee oude Fransche Verhandelingen over het Hindoeïsme* (ibid., *Deel* xxiii, No. 3), Amsterdam, 1923.

[2] This date was ascertained by Professor Zachariæ, *VOJ.* xxiv, 340, n. (reprinted in *Kleine Schriften*, p. 44, n. 1); cf. also *Goett. gel. Anzeigen*, 1916, p. 581 seq. Professor Caland in his *Inleiding*, p. vi, had overlooked this and dates the book in 1670, having got from Elphinstone's *History of India*, 5th ed., p. 621, the year 1654 for the conquest of Jāolī by Sivājī. It should be added that Burnell, *Tentative List*, p. 27, describes this text as being "perhaps from the seventeenth century".

[3] Apparently *pradhān* "minister".

of this passage as having already died, the date must be later than 1761. The same conclusion is to be drawn from chapter lxxvii, where the author mentions the *Kurukṣetra*, describing it as "the place where the camp of *Sodobah* was totally annihilated in the wars which the *Mogol* carried on in the years passed by". For with *Sodobah* (= *Sadōbā*) the author does not, of course, mean the Kanōjī Brahmin of that name, who in 1776 conquered part of the Konkan,[1] but simply Sadāsheo Rāo, the actual leader of the Marāṭhās in the warfare of 1761, and the event alluded to is the third battle of Pānīpat (13th January, 1761), the battlefield being, according to tradition, the same one as that where once Arjuna "sprinkled the heads of the noble warriors with hundreds of piercing arrows".[2] What we can say is, consequently, that this second treatise was written *after the year 1761*, and that Professor Caland's date (1774), even if not wholly ascertained, cannot be far from correct. There is in this treatise next to nothing dealing with cosmography.[3]

In the second work that I have just quoted Professor Caland has edited two manuscripts that were hitherto known only by some extracts and quotations found in authors of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The first one has the title: "*Relation des erreurs qui se trouvent dans la religion des Gentils Malabars de la coste de Coromandel dans l'Inde*" (pp. 1–92), the second one is called "*La Gentilité du Bengala*" (pp. 93–165). Only the first one need trouble us here, the second one dating almost certainly from the eighteenth century. The *Relation des erreurs*—as it may well be styled—was suggested by Professor Zachariæ (ere the complete text was published) in the *Goettingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1916, p. 592 seq., and in an article in the *Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Goettingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1919, pp. 1–34—an article which is a very storehouse of learning—to be a translation of an older Portuguese book, called "*Breve Noticia dos erros que tem os Gentios do Concão da India*", the original text of which is lost, or has not, at any rate, as yet been

[1] Cf. *Imperial Gazetteer*, xxi, 76; Caland, loc. cit., p. 126, n. 1.

[2] Kālidāsa, *Meghadūta*, 48.

[3] According to the Preface of the Portuguese edition (1812) this and the preceding treatise were accompanied by some twenty-eight coloured drawings, amongst which were pictures of the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu. Eleven of these are still in the Public Library of Evora, bound up with a manuscript of the second treatise, cf. the *Catalogo dos Manuscritos da Bibliotheca publica Eborense*, i, 346 (Lisbon, 1850): "O nosso MS. traz no fim onze desenhos, representando as oito [*sic*] incarnazões, que no impresso faltam." Through the kindness of Dr. F. W. Thomas I tried to get them lent to the India Office Library in 1921, but this was refused by the Director of the Evora Library.

recovered. However, Professor Caland would now [1] rather assume that the French text is the original—from which the *Breve Noticia* may possibly have been a translation—and that its real author was the famous Jesuit Father Roberto de' Nobili, the founder of the Madura mission (d. 1656), who is quoted in some passages of the text as the author: the text actually edited by Caland would then be a French translation of a work by de' Nobili, written probably in 1644 in another language, perhaps Latin.[2]

I cannot enter here upon a discussion of this rather intricate problem, the much less as I hope soon to be able to return to the very interesting book of Professor Caland. Only so much may be said here that I do not at the present moment see any cogent reason for assuming with its learned editor either that the *Relation des erreurs* is the source of the *Breve Noticia*, or that its original author was Father de' Nobili. In its *present* form the *Relation* seems to me almost certainly to be a work of the early eighteenth century: notwithstanding, its main materials may very well date from an earlier period of time.

In the *Relation des erreurs* the fourth chapter, called *Des erreurs touchant le monde*,[3] deals with some of the main tenets of Hindu cosmography, viz. the enumeration of the seven *pātālas*, of which the first one gets no name in the text, while the other ones are given as *Magadalam* [*Mahātala*], *Saladalam* [*Talātala*], *Bachadalam* [i.e. *Racha*, *Rasātala*], *Soudalam*, *Vidalam*, and *Adalam*, the enumeration of the seven oceans—without Sanskrit names—in the following order: Salt Ocean, Sugar Ocean,[4] Liquor Ocean, Butter Ocean, Ocean of Curds, Milk Ocean (" ou ils disent que leur Dieu Vichnou couche sur la belle couleuvre qui a cinq testes, qui luy servent d'ombre "), and Sweetwater Ocean, and the enumeration of the heavens, called *Choarcam* [*Svarga*], *Magalogam* [*Maharloka*], *Genalogam* [*Janarloka*], *Tabalogam* [*Tapoloka*], and *Satialogam* [*Satyaloka*]. Then follows a description of the *Magamerou paravadam* [*Mahāmeruparvata*] and some other details that are of little interest for the student of Hindu cosmography. On the whole, there is not much material of that sort to be drawn from sources like the *Relation des erreurs*.

[1] Cf. *Twee oude Fransche Verhandelingen*, p. vii seq.

[2] Latin would certainly have been the language if the original were to be found in the work of de' Nobili quoted by Kircher, *China Illustrata*, 1667, p. 152, under the title " De Brachmanum Theologia " (cf. Zachariæ, *Goett. gel. Anzeigen*, 1921, p. 164, n. 1); but this need not be the case.

[3] Ed. Caland, p. 37 seq.

[4] " La seconde (mer) de sucre candy " (Skt *ikṣurasa*).

These are the main things that I should wish to point out by way of an introduction to the manuscript which forms the chief subject of this little paper. I have already drawn attention to the fact that I can, unfortunately, lay no claim whatsoever to completeness: notwithstanding, I may hope that even the preceding scanty remarks may be of some importance to scholars interested in the complex and bewildering structure of Hindu cosmography.

I now let the text itself follow, presenting it in an English translation, the monotony of which may testify to its being fairly coincident with the original: it does not seem necessary, under such circumstances, to print also the Portuguese text, which would perhaps be of little use to at least some of my readers.

[41*r*] "The mountain which is in the centre between the eight ranges and is called *Meru* has five ramifications: that one in the Eastern parts is called *sueda saiga* [*śvetaśākhā*] which means 'the white branch'; that one towards the South is called *cristna saiga* [*kṛṣṇaśākhā*] meaning 'the black branch'; that one towards the West is called *retta saiga* [*raktaśākhā*] meaning 'the red branch'; that one towards the North is called *siama saiga* [*syāmaśākhā*], meaning 'the green branch', and that one in the middle is called *suarna saiga* [*suvarṇaśākhā*] which means 'the golden-coloured branch'. This mountain is four million *yogenas* [*yojanas*] high and beneath the earth four thousand (and every *yogena* counts four leagues);[1] the eight other mountain-ranges are of the same height.

"On the range called *Maliauan* [*Mālyavān*][2] stands a tree called *tanpagão*,[3] and because of that (the land) towards the East is called *tanpadiuu*: the said tree is a hundred thousand *yogenas* high.

"On the range called *Nipadão*[4] there is a tree called *Jembu* [*jambu*]

[1] According to Brahminical tradition the *Meru* has different colours on different sides (east white, south yellow, west black, north red) and is itself of pure gold. But the colours given in our text tally better with those found in the tradition of the Buddhists (cf. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, p. 187). Brahmins, Buddhists, and Jains all alike seem to ascribe to Mount *Meru* the height of 100,000 *yojanas*.

[2] In Brahmin tradition *Mālyavān* does not belong to the four ranges surrounding Mount *Meru*; but, according to the Jains, one of the four *vakṣāra*-mountains is called *Mālyavān* (cf. Kirfel, loc. cit., p. 233). The Brahmins call the mountain range dividing *Ilāvrta* from *Ketumāla* by this name.

[3] *Tanpagão* stands for Skt. *campaka* "Michelia champaka", *tanpadinu* for *campa(ka)dvīpa*, a name that does scarcely occur in Brahmin tradition (cf., however, Kirfel, loc. cit., p. 58).

[4] Read *Vipadão*, probably = *Vipula*. The author has mixed up this mountain and the *Gandhamādana*, as, according to Purāṇic tradition, the *aśvattha*-tree should grow on *Vipula* and the *jambū*-tree on *Gandhamādana* (Kirfel, loc. cit., p. 93).

and because of that (the land) towards the South is called *Jembudiuu* [*Jambūdvīpa*]: that tree is a hundred thousand *yogenas* high.

"A tree of that same name and species stands on the middlemost mountain that is called *Meru*.

"On the range called *Guendamàdenam* [*Gandhamādana*] there stands a tree called *axuestão* [*aśvattha*], and because of that (the land) towards the west is called *axuestãodiuu* [*Aśvatthadvīpa*]: (the tree) is a hundred thousand *yogenas* high.

"On the range called *Sirungui* [*śṛngī*][1] there stands a tree called *Xaitrão*, and because of that (the land) towards the North is called *Xaitradiuu*;[2] (the tree) is of the same height as the other ones.

"The people inhabiting the part called *Paturassuão canddão* [*Bhadrāśvakhaṇḍa*] is liberal and cultivated, support themselves by three kinds of fruits, and is a good-looking people that lives ten thousand years:[3] from there towards the East are eight rivers in which they bathe to obtain forgiveness of sins, and they are called rivers of *tirtão* [*tīrtha*]. The first river is called *Samartij*, the second *Uituhana*, the third *vari* [*vārī*], the fourth *cagini* or *cangini* or *cagi* [*Kāñcī*], the fifth *manddalam* [*maṇḍala*], the sixth *manipara*, the seventh *Sarasuadi* [*Sarasvatī*] or *vanni* [*vāṇī*], the eighth *Prachiodi* [*Prācyodā*].[4] From there towards the East it holds nine countries, the first one is called *Vigeam* [*Vijaya*], the second *samartão*, the third *sacattão*, the fourth *Manosiringão* [*Manaḥ Śṛṅga* ?], the fifth *Varanão* [*Vāraṇa* ?], the sixth *Colpassão*, the seventh *Samartigão*, the eighth *Samuresão*, the ninth *Pradiuixeão* [*Prativiṣaya*].[5] From there towards the East is a mountain-range called *Allaganixeão* [*Āḷakaviṣaya* ?]: there is also a river which is called *Callodegão* [*Kālodaka*][6] in which live the supernatural beings called *azuragel* [*Asuragaḷ*], who take hold of the shadows

[1] *Śṛngī*, according to the common tradition, is a *varṣaparvata* in the *Jambūdvīpa* (Kirfel, loc. cit., p. 57).

[2] Though *Xaitrão* and *Xaitradiuu* should apparently render a Skt. *caitra* and *caitradvīpa*, probably *caitya* is meant. There are several *caityavṛkṣa*'s in Jain cosmography.

[3] This tallies with Purāṇic tradition (Kirfel, loc. cit., p. 106).

[4] The names of these rivers do not correspond with those given by Kirfel, pp. 105–6, from Purānic tradition. There can be little doubt concerning the correctness of the identifications given in brackets above, but no rivers with those selfsame names are known to me (with the exception of *Kāñcī* and *Sarasvatī*). *Manipara* may mean something like *Maṇiprā* (Kirfel, p. 106), while nothing can be got from the words *Samartij* and *Uituhana*.

[5] Most of these names I am, unfortunately, unable to identify. The whole of this and of the passage that now follows is extremely unclear to me.

[6] *Kāloda(ka)* seems only to be known from the tradition of the Jains (cf. Kirfel, loc. cit., p. 249 seq.).

of people who pass by, and with this the people become enchanted, and they kill them and use them for food. From there towards the East is a red river called *Retaomodi* [*Raktāmbhodhi*] which means 'river of blood',[1] and to the East of that river is a cotton-tree,[2] and on the eastern side of this tree is the dwelling of *gueruda* [*Garuḍa*], who is a bird, and this place is called *gueruddapauenão* [*Garuḍabhavana*] or *guerulmapauenão* [*Garutmadbhavanam*], or *stàcheraleam*,[3] or *vainateapauenão* [*Vainateyabhavanam*], or *caguesuraseruão* [*Khageśvaraśarma ?*] or *nagadagapauenão* [*Nāgādakabhavanam*], or *Cristnavedapauenão*,[4] or *suparnapauenão* [*Suparṇabhavanam*], or *panegasenãopauenão* [*Pannagāśanabhavanam*]. From there towards the East is a place where dwell the *Azuregael* [*Asuragal*], who are sorcerers, and that is why *Arumugaperimal* [*Arumukaperimāl*][5] slays them. From there towards the East is a (tree) called *sahasrauedauurchão* [*Sahasravedavṛkṣa ?*],[6] and from there further towards the East is an ocean called *Xira* [*Kṣīra*] which means 'ocean of milk', or *Xiràmodi* [*Kṣīrāmbhodhi*], or *Xiràrnauom* [*Kṣīrārnava*], or *Xiràsàgueram* [*Kṣīrasāgara*], or *paijadi* [*Payodhi*]. In this same ocean is a mountain-range called *Amalamahàgueri iddenão* [*Amalamahāgiri*][7] on which range dwell holy maiden, I mean in the ocean. In that ocean is a cobra with a thousand heads that is called *Anãden* [*Ananta*] on which cobra sleeps *Narànna suàmi* [*Nārāyaṇasvāmī*], that is God. From there towards the East on the left hand is a mountain-range called *canagamalà* [*Kanakamālā*] which means the 'golden range', [41*v*] and the above-mentioned cobra with a thousand heads sometimes takes its resort there. Further towards the East are two countries, the one is called *Xuèda* [*Sveta*], and the other one *Hasti* [*Hastī ?*],[8] and further towards the East is a river called *callodagão* [*Kālodaka*]; from there towards the

[1] In Jain tradition there is a river called *Raktā* or *Raktodā* (cf. Kirfel, loc cit., p. 222, etc.).

[2] According to the Purāṇas *Garuda* dwells in a silk-cotton tree (Skt. *śālmali*, *Salmalia malabarica*) that grows in the *Śālmalidvīpa* (cf. Kirfel, loc. cit., p. 115); for similar traditions cf. Charpentier, *Die Suparnasage*, p. 350 sqq.

[3] This word is not clear; it seems to contain something like *carālaya*, but I cannot identify the first syllable.

[4] Although this word seems to correspond to a Sanskrit form *Krsnaredabharana* it very probably means *Krsnavāhabharana* "the dwelling-place of Kṛṣṇa's vehicle (= Garuḍa)".

[5] "The Lord with six faces" = *Skanda*.

[6] Although the formal identification seems fairly incontestable, no such tree is known in Hindu tradition.

[7] What is meant by *iddenão* (*dd* probably means *d*) wholly escapes me.

[8] No such country seems to be known in Hindu tradition.

East is a range called *Udeamalà* [*Udayamālā*] which means 'the range where the sun rises': on which they believe that there are dwelling a thousand *Asuraguel* [*Asuragaḷ*], who are sorcerers, in order to make war upon the sun when it rises. In this range is one part with the colour of gold upon which part *Bistnù* [*Viṣṇu*] put one foot and the other one on the above-mentioned Mount *Meru*, when he asked King *Mauelli* [Tamil *Māvali* = *Mahābali*] to give him three paces of earth of which there is no more towards the East.

"Towards the South from Mount *Meru* in the country called *Illàbruda canddão* [*Iḷāvṛtakhaṇḍa*] lives a white people that feeds upon the juice of sugar-canes, and lives for ten thousand years.[1]

"To the South of that (country) is a range called *Nixadão* [*Niṣadha*], and to the South of that range is the part called *Hary canddão* [*Harikhaṇḍa*].[2] From there towards the South is a range called *Hemacuddão* [*Hemakūṭa*]; and to the South of that is a country called *Quimpuruxa canddão* [*Kiṃpuruṣakhaṇḍa*]. Thence towards the South is the mountain called *Imaudn* [*Himavān*], on which mountain is a pagoda called *sravanão* [*Śravaṇa*] in which dwells *Naràenna sudmi* [*Nārāyaṇa svāmī*] in the shape of a lion.[3] From there towards the South is the country called *Pàrada cauddão* [*Bhāratakhaṇḍa*][4] in which is the river called *sripàdão* [*śrīpāda*] to which river people go to bathe in order to get their sins forgiven. Further towards the South is a pagoda called *Guengàduàrão* [*Gaṅgādvāra*] in which dwells *Bistnù* [*Viṣṇu*]. Still further towards the South are two countries, the first one called *Calingão* [*Kaliṅga*], the second *tànddauão* [*Daṇḍaka*], and thence towards the South is a wilderness called *Arunnião* [*Aranya*] in which the hermits live; some of them feed on wind, other ones on water, other ones on tender leaves, other ones on fruits, and still other ones on dry leaves. In that same wilderness is a river called *Godavari* [*Godāvarī*] in which people bathe to obtain forgiveness of sins, which river is surrounded by the wilderness. To the South of that river there is another one called *Samastapapaharão* [*Samastapāpahara*] in which sinners do also bathe. Further towards the South there are two

[1] *Ilāvṛta* is the part of *Jambūdvīpa* that forms the nearest surroundings of Mount *Meru*; the description of its inhabitants does not quite tally with Purāṇic tradition (cf. Kirfel, loc. cit., p. 105).

[2] Generally called *Hariṿarṣa*; but this text always uses *khaṇḍa* instead of *varṣa*.

[3] Viz. Viṣṇu as man-lion (*narasiṃha*); exactly what holy place is meant here escapes me.

[4] India. The following description, which is partly traditional and partly geographical, is extremely confused; nothing at all is said about the North of India and Hindūstān proper.

countries, one called *Panddeão* [*Pāṇḍya*], the other one *Chollão* [*Cōḷa*]. Further towards the South is a mountain called *Siahilão*,[1] which is 550 *yojanas* high, and further southwards another mountain, a thousand *yojanas* high, which contains ten peaks from which it is called *dexàparuadão* [*Daśaparvata*]. Further southwards there is another mountain called *Tiruvencàddu paruadão* [*Tiruvenkataparvata*] which is eighty-eight *yogenas* high. Thence towards the South is a country by name *Tonddagão* [*Toṇḍaka*] in which is a market-place called *Canjipurão* [*Kāñcipura*]: in that place are many pagodas and holy bathing-places. Further southwards there is a country called *Cholagavixeão* [*Cōḷakaviṣaya*], and to the South of that is a holy river called *Srirengão* [*Śrīraṅgam*]. One *yogena* further to the South is another holy river called *Tiruvanacàddu* [*Tiruvāṅkōḍu = Travancore*]: to the South of that is a mountain called *Sripadi* [*Śrīpadī*], or *Pattmàlecàpadi* or *Camelàsripadi* [*Kamalaśrīpadī*], or *Indiràpadi* [*Indirāvatī*], or *Logamadapadi* [*Lokamadhyapadī ?*], or *vemàpadi* or *ttemàpadi*, or *màpadi* [*Mahāpadī*], or *mangalasripadi* [*Maṅgalaśrīpadī*].[2] Further southwards is a river called *Caueri* [*Kāverī*] on the southern bank of which lives a holy man by name *Agastienmuni* [*Agastyamuni*] together with a lot of other saints. Still further to the South is another river called *Nixàxarì* [*Niśācarī*] in which lives a woman of the caste of *Asuras* by name *Chayàgraheni* [*Chāyāgrāhinī*].[3] Further southwards there is a pagoda called *Siadànamdapurão* [*Sadānandapura*], and to the South of that a holy bathing-place called *Caniàtirtão* [*Kanyātīrtha*].[4] To the South of those places are two countries, the one called *Chingalão* [*Siṃhala = Ceylon*], the other one *Chonagão* (*?*),[5] in which countries live the *Siganos* [*Sinhalese*]. Further southwards is a mountain called *Sriguddão* [*Śrīkūṭa*] in which is a town called *Yllangà* [*Laṅkā*], the which town used to belong to a king by name *Vaixiervanne* [*Vaiśravaṇa*] but now it belongs to *Vibixanen* [*Vibhīṣaṇa*], the king of the *Azureguel* [*Asuragaḷ*], that is the demons. Further to the South is a river called *Sravanão* [*Śravaṇa ?*], and to the South of that a country by name *Andegapurì* [*Antakapurī*] where there are twenty-eight crores [*coddy*] of

[1] This name I am not able to identify; the reading is not quite clear.

[2] Some of these names cannot be identified; it is not clear what mountain is meant by the author.

[3] With this name cf. the story told above on p. 333 seq. about the *Asuras* preying upon the shadows of human beings.

[4] This, of course, means Cape Comorin.

[5] This word could scarcely represent anything but a Tamil word *Çoṇakam*; but I know of no country of that name.

towns (and each crore is a hundred thousand).[1] To the South of that are three countries, the first one called *Anendão* [*Ananta*], the second one *Disàpão* (?), and the third one *Saindavão* [*Saindhava* ?] or *Sindùrtão* (?).

[42*r*] " Still further southwards is a darkness called *Mahacálão* [*Mahākāla*], and then there is nothing more in the South.

" From Mount *Meru* towards the West is a mountain range called *Guendamàdenam* [*Gandhamādana*]. From there westwards is the part called *Quedamàla canddão* [*Ketumālakhaṇḍa*] where live the *munis* who are the saints.[1] Further towards the West is a country called *Sornadipa* [*Suvarṇadvīpa*], and still further westwards is a range by name *Sornaparuadão* [*Suvarṇaparvata*].[2] Still more towards the West are two countries, the one called *Cuxollaparamão* [*Kuśalaparama* ?], the other one *Dàmão* [*Dāma* ?]. Further westwards there is a desert called *Arunnião* [*Araṇya*], in which is a purifying river by name *Samastàpàpaharão* [*Samastapāpahāra*]. To the West of that place stands a magnificent palm-tree with a hundred clusters, the which cannot keep alive because of the rays of the sun. Still further westwards is a mountain-range called *Astamanaparuadão* [*Astamanaparvata*] on which the sun goes to spend the night ; and on that mountain are living a hundred thousand *Asuras* who want to fight the sun. Then there is nothing more in the West.

" From Mount *Meru* towards the North there is a country that holds seventy *yojanas* in breadth, and at the northern frontier of that country is a desert called *punddarigão* [*Puṇḍarīka*] in which live ten thousand sons of *Piramen* [*Brahmā*], rejoicing in the same privileges as their father.[3] Further northwards is another vast desert called *Adicangenão* [*Atikāñcana* ?], to the North of which is a lake called *tamarapoiga*, in which grow *tāmara*-roses that are called *mirasol*,[4] and in that place lives *Arumugaperimal* [*Arumukaperimāḷ*] for which reason it is just as well called *Sarauananadi* [*Śaravaṇanadī*] ; on the north bank of this lake stands a teak-tree of a hundred thousand *yojanas* height. Further northward is another lake, which in its southern part is of the green colour called *maragadão* [*marakata* ' emerald '] and in its northern part is of that same colour, though a shade darker, which is called *vaydurão* [*vaiḍūrya* ' beryl '] : in its eastern part it is of golden and in its western

[1] This does not seem to tally with Purāṇic tradition (cf. Kirfel, loc. cit., p. 108).

[2] These names are not familiar in Brahmanical lore ; *Suvarnaparvata* " the golden mountain " is generally a name of Mount *Meru*. The two following names are quite uncertain.

[3] It is by no means clear what is meant by the " ten thousand sons of Brahmā ".

[4] This word, as well as *tamarapoiga*, cannot be identified.

part of silvery colour. In that lake dwell *Piramen* [*Brahmā*] and *Bistnù* [*Viṣṇu*]. And to the North of it is a country called *Cungerão-racheão* [*Kuñjararājya* ?]: further northwards grow some trees from which, at sunrise, proceed some ladies who, at sunset, return and die. And still more northwards are other trees that grant every wish.[1] To the North of (those trees) is a mountain-range called *Guendamàdenão* [*Gandhamādana*] on which lives the ape *Anumàn* [*Hanumān*], who is a son of the wind. Further northwards are two mountain-ranges, the first one is called *Malli* [*Māli*], and the second one *Sumàlli* [*Sumāli*]. And still further northwards is a fire called *uaddanàmuccàagni* [*Vadavāmukhāgni*].[2] Then there is nothing more in the North.

"NOTE [3]

"To the North of Mount *Meru* is a mountain-range called *Sirungui* [*Śṛṅgī*] and then follows a country, etc., up to *Adicàngenão* and then a mountain-range called *Suheta* [*Śveta*]. Above that range is the lake called *tàmarapoiga* or *Sarauananadi* and all the other places up to the mountain *Guendamàdenão* and then the range *Nilla* [*Nīla*].

"On the other side of *Nilla* is the mountain-range called *Màlli*, and then *Sumalli* and further on the fire *uaddanàmuccàagni*, and then there is nothing more in the North.

[42*v*] "In this *Gembudiui* [*Jambūdvīpa*] in the easternmost parts resides a king called *Indiren* [*Indra*], his kingdom is called *Ameràpadi* [*Amarāvatī*]; the people who live in that country are masters of all things, and besides there are two races, viz. *guendaruà* [*Gandharva*] and *Quimpuruxà* [*Kimpuruṣa*]. And that king has a thousand eyes.[4]

"In the southernmost parts resides a king called *Yemaràgen* [*Yamarāja*], he is black and like a buffalo;[5] his country is called *Baiuassudà* [*Vaivasvata*], in it live demons and *Azureguel* [*Asuragaḷ*].

"In the westernmost parts resides a king called *Varunnèn* [*Varuṇa*], dressed in a white suit and carrying a rope[6] in his hand; the country is called *sutapadì* [*śuddhavatī*], in which are living snakes and musicians called *quinarão* [*kiṃnara*].

[1] Apparently the *kalpavṛkṣa*.

[2] The *vadavāmukha*, the submarine fire, is, according to Brahmin cosmography, situated at the South Pole.

[3] This note contains a slightly deviating version of the description of the Northern regions.

[4] *Indra Sahasrākṣa*.

[5] This is apparently a slip, as Yama is not himself like a buffalo, but has a buffalo for his vehicle.

[6] Or rather a noose (Skt. *pāśa*).

" In the northernmost parts resides a king called *Vaysrauanèn* [*Vaiśravaṇaj*], a lord of much jewelry and gold, the country is called *Mahàpurì* [*Mahāpurī*], and its inhabitants are the *Ecxemàri*.[1]

" Between North and East, in the utmost parts, resides a king called *Isanden* [*Īśāna*], that country is called *Axòpadì* [*Yaśovatī*], in it live many different peoples, chiefly *deuegual* [*devagaḷ*] who are the pious ones.

" In the utmost parts between East and South resides a king called *Aquinideuen* [*Agnideva*], his country is called *texòpadì* [*Tejovatī*], the inhabitants of which are *deueguel*.

" In the utmost parts between South and West resides a king called *Nirudipagauan* [*Nirṛtibhagavān*], that country is called *Cristnàpadì* [*Kṛṣṇavatī*], and the inhabitants are *Azureguel* and demons and witches.

" In the utmost parts between West and North resides a king called *Vayupagauan* [*Vāyubhagavān*], who is copper-coloured, and lives in company with the *Eregis* [*ṛṣi*], i.e. the saints and lords of the Universe ; that country is called *Guendapadì* [*Gandhavatī*].

" The above-mentioned king called *Nirudipagauan*, who resides between South and West, has a round face, round and carmine-coloured eyes, teeth curved at the top like those of a hog,[2] and is jet black.

" This *Gembudiuy* has a length of a hundred thousand *yojanas* from West to East, and its circumference is three hundred thousand.[3]

" The ocean called *Leuanão* [*Lavaṇa*] is 200,000 *yojanas* broad and has a circumference of 1,500,000 *yojanas*.

" On the other side of this ocean is the continent called *Placxão* [*Plakṣa*] ; after it follows the ocean called *Hicxu* [*Ikṣu*]. On the other side of that ocean is the continent called *Xaga* [*Śāka*], and then comes the ocean called *Surà* [*Surā*]. Follows then the continent by name *Cuxà* [*Kuśa*], beyond which is the ocean called *Sarpì* [*Sarpis*]. Further on is found the continent called *Craunjão* [*Krauñca*], and then the ocean called *Dedi* [*Dadhi*]. Beyond that ocean is the continent called *Xamali* [*Śālmali*], and then the ocean called *Ichirão* [*Kṣīra*]. Follows a continent by name *Puxcarão* [*Puṣkara*], and finally an ocean called *Suarùpinão* [*Svādupānīya* ?].[4]

[1] This apparently corresponds to a Tamil pl. *iyakkanmār*.

[2] This is one of the general characteristics of demoniac beings in Hindu mythology.

[3] This corresponds to the general tenets of Hindu cosmography (cf. Kirfel, loc. cit., p. 57) ; the following figures are, however, not quite coincident with those usually quoted.

[4] This identification is not incontestable.

"And just as the breadth and the circumference of the ocean *Leuanão* is the double of that of *Gembudiui*, in that same way the other continents and oceans go on doubling their measures according to that selfsame rule.

[43*r*] "Outside all these seven continents and oceans that have now been mentioned there is a circumjacent mountain-range called *Manderà paruadão* [*Mandaraparvata*], which is, in its turn, surrounded by another range, viz. the *Chacrauànaparuadão* [*Cakravālaparvata*]. Another range, the *Sornaparuadão* [*Suvarṇaparvata*], surrounds this one, and is surrounded by still another one called *Logàloga paruadão* [*Lokālokaparvata*].[1] The *Anddagapàlam* [*Aṇḍakapāla*] surrounds this one; this means 'the half of an egg-shell', as they think that the lower part of the Universe is encased in the half of it while the other half is on the top of it. This *Anddagapàlam* is surrounded by fire, the fire by wind, and the wind by ether.

"*Centre of Jambudvīpa*

"The first concavity, which is called *Qxididalão* [*Kṣitītala*],[2] is 640,000 *yojanas* broad and has a circumference of 7,590,000 *yojanas*; the king who governs this part is called *Mahèu*, the inhabitants are *Azureguel* and the king as well.

"The second concavity, which is called *Videlão* [*Vitala*], is 320,000 *yojanas* broad and has a circumference of 3,750,000 *yojanas*. This country is quite black, its king is called *Changùcarnen* [*Śaṅkukarṇa*],[3] the inhabitants are *Azureguel* and the king as well.

"The third concavity, which is called *Nidelão* [*Nitala*], is 160,000 *yojanas* broad and has a circumference of 1,830,000 *yojanas*. The ruler of this concavity is a snake called *Tacxaguèn* [*Takṣaka*],[3] who is a younger brother of the snake *Anāden* [*Ananta*]; this snake has 500 heads. The inhabitants of this place are *Azureguel*.

"The fourth concavity, which is called *Sudelão* [*Sutala*], is 80.000 *yojanas* broad and has a circumference of 770,000 *yojanas*. The earth is of a golden colour, of the inhabitants some have only one leg, others have the faces of horses, and still others have very different faces; they live without a king.

[1] This passage contains a curious jumble, as the *cakravāla* belongs to Buddhist, the *lokāloka* again to Brahmin tradition. That the mountains *Mandara* and *Suvarṇa* surround the universe does not, as far as I know, occur in Brahmin or other sources.

[2] What is here called *Kṣitītala* as a rule goes under the name *Tala* or *Atala* (cf. Kirfel, loc. cit., p. 144 sq.). I cannot identify the name of its king, *Mahèu*.

[3] *Śaṅkukarṇa*, according to the common tradition, resides in the first of the *pātālas*, and *Takṣaka*, as a rule, has his place in the second one (cf. Kirfel, loc. cit., p. 145).

"The fifth concavity, which is called *Talàdelão* [*Talātala*], is 40,000 *yojanas* broad and has a circumference of 390.000 *yojanas*. The earth is saffron-coloured; the king is a devil with a stick in his hand, the inhabitants are *Azureguel*.

"The sixth concavity, which is called *Resàdelão*, is 20.000 *yojanas* broad and has a circumference of 150.000 *yojanas*. The king is called *Virogena hirenniacxen* [*Virocana Hiraṇyākṣa*],[1] and is of the race of *Asuras*; the inhabitants are *Azureguel*.

"The seventh and last concavity, which is called *Mahàdelão*, is the centre of the earth, is 10.000 *yojanas* broad and has a circumference of 30.000 *yojanas*. The king is called *Nagaragen* [*Nāgarāja*]: he is green-coloured, has four hands, is king of the cobras, and dresses and feeds as well as possible.[2] Besides, there are still two other kings, the one called *Muchukunden* [*Mucukunda*], the other one *Màuelli* [*Mahābali*, Tamil *Mābali*], both of the *Asura* race: the inhabitants are *Azureguel*.

[43*v*] "*The Heavens*[3]

"From the earth to the first heaven, called *Megamanddelão* [*Meghamaṇḍala*], it is a distance of 100,000 *yojanas*.

"From the first heaven to the second, called *Aditamanddelão* [*Ādityamaṇḍala*], it is 200,000 *yojanas*.

"From the second heaven to the third, called *Chandramanddelão* [*Candramaṇḍala*], it is 2,800,000 (!) *yojanas*.

"From the third heaven to the fourth, called *Pudaxetrão* [*Budhakṣetra*], it is 800.000 *yojanas*.

"From the fourth heaven to the fifth, called *Naxatràmanddelão* [*Nakṣatramaṇḍala*], it is 1,600,600 *yojanas*.

"From the fifth heaven to the sixth, called *Agaxaguengà* [*Ākāśagaṅgā*], it is 8,400,000 *yojanas*.

"From the sixth heaven to the seventh, called *Dernalogão* [*Devaloka*], it is 12,800,000 *yojanas*.

"From the seventh heaven to the eighth, called *Piramalogão* [*Brahmaloka*], it is 25,600,000 *yojanas*.

"From the eighth heaven to the ninth, called *Bistnulogão* [*Viṣṇuloka*], it is 1,000,000,000 *yojanas*.

[1] *Virocana* and *Hiraṇyākṣa* are, of course, two different individuals; according to the Kūrmapurāṇa (Kirfel, p. 146) they reside in this same *pātāla*.

[2] What individual is meant by this description is not quite clear; that *Bali* and *Mucukunda* reside in this deepest *pātāla* is the general tradition of the Brahmins

[3] The names of the heavens, as given in the following passage, do not tally with those familiar to the current Brahmanical tradition as quoted by Kirfel, loc. cit., p 128 sqq.

" From the ninth heaven to the tenth, called *Civalogão* [*Śivaloka*], it is 3,200,000 *yojanas*.

" The first heaven, *Meghamaṇḍala*, is the ' heaven of clouds '.

" The second heaven, *Ādityamaṇḍala*, is the ' heaven of sun '.

" The third heaven, *Candramaṇḍala*, is the ' heaven of moon '.

" The fourth heaven, *Budhakṣetra*, is the ' heaven of a planet called Mercury '.

" The fifth heaven, *Nakṣatramaṇḍala*, is the ' heaven of stars '.

" The sixth heaven, *Ākāśagaṅgā*, is the ' heaven of ocean '.[1]

" The seventh heaven, *Devaloka*, is the ' heaven of planets except the three highest ones '.

" The eighth heaven, *Brahmaloka*, is the ' heaven of certain gods called *Brahmā* '.

" The ninth heaven, *Viṣṇuloka*, is the ' heaven of another god called *Viṣṇu* '.

" The tenth heaven, *Śivaloka*, is the ' heaven of another god called *Isuaran* [*Īśvara*] '.

" Just as in *Jambudvīpa* there are seven continents, seven oceans, and seven concavities, there are also seven principal heavens, viz. the second, third, fourth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth. The other ones, viz. the first, fourth, and sixth, are not equal to those ones."

After the text there follow on fols. 44*v*–45*r* and 46*v*–47*r* two drawings, the first of which represents by seven concentric circles the seven *pātālas* with the names inscribed, while the other one consists of ten concentric circles representing the ten above-mentioned heavens.

As the remarks that I am able to offer upon our text have already been put forth by way of introduction and notes, nothing need be added here. Short and incomplete as this document is, it still remains the oldest known document in a European language dealing exclusively with Hindu cosmography, and I can only hope that someone better acquainted with its tenets than myself will be able to correct and complete my identifications of the names occurring in it, a far too considerable part of which does still, unfortunately, remain unidentified.

[1] Port. *o cco do mar*, a curious translation of the Sanskrit word.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ERGEBNISSE DER KÖNIGLICHEN PREUSSISCHEN TURFAN-EXPEDITIONEN. Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien von A. VON LE COQ. Erster Teil: Die Plastik, Berlin 1922. Zweiter Teil: Die Manichäischen Miniaturen, Berlin, 1923.

Between 1902 and 1914 the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde sent out four successive Turfan expeditions. The results of these expeditions are being gradually published. In 1912 appeared Grünwedel's *Alt-buddhistische Kultstätten*; in 1913 Le Coq's *Chotscho*: in 1920 Grünwedel's *Alt-Kutscha*, which contains, in spite of its disadvantages, many valuable plates.

The first volume of the present work consists of a short introduction, followed by forty-five plates, of which seventeen represent not finds of the Turfan expeditions but typical specimens of Gandharan art. The whole thesis of the book is that Gandharan art is the parent of the Buddhist arts in Turkestan, China, Korea, and Japan. The author speaks of a Gandharan style which stretches from Samarkand to Peshawur, and by Gandharan art he seems to mean any art in the Far East which shows traces of Hellenistic influence. Personally I cannot see any reason to use the term Gandharan in this huge acceptation. The Buddhist arts of Gandhara and Turkestan seem to me to stand in the relation of sister to sister (or even cousin to cousin !) rather than parent to child. Both show Hellenistic influences. But in the first centuries of the Christian era there was little art in the world which did not show such influences. The Buddhist art of Turkestan was Hellenized East-Iranian: the art of Gandhara, Hellenized Hindu. It is true that Gandharan art was (historically, not artistically) an extremely important manifestation. In this district were produced many iconographically influential images, copies of which permeated to Central Asia and even to China. The caves at Yün-kang show some work which is closely akin to Gandhara. But much of the sculpture there shows no influence of India nor of Hellenism at all, as for example the Life of Buddha reliefs.[1]

[1] Of which some are published by Mr. Ashton in his recent work, *The Study of Chinese Sculpture.*

Nor have we at present any historical grounds for thinking that Hellenized Buddhist art spread from Gandhara to Central Asia. It may, on the contrary, have been brought from Central Asia to India by the Kushans.

A further tendency to derive everything from his favourite district is shown on p. 25, where the author mentions Gandhara as the original home of metal body-armour (Panzer). It would be interesting if he could prove this, for the invention of such armour is generally attributed to the Egyptians and it is depicted on Egyptian monuments of the thirteenth century B.C.[1]

One small point is worth noticing. In the chronological table (p. 17) the entry under the year A.D. 67 runs: "Der Han-Kaiser Ming-ti von China empfängt buddhistische Missionäre: Beginn der Einführung des Buddhismus in China." That the story of the introduction of Buddhism by Ming-ti is purely apocryphal was shown by Maspéro as long ago as 1910, and Maspéro's contentions have since been accepted by all scholars.

The illustrations are technically admirable. One of the most interesting (to my mind certainly the most beautiful) objects in the book is the fourth century Meditating Buddha (in wood), pl. xlii *c*. It would be interesting to know whether this date is given on stylistic grounds or because of the place (north side of the Great Stupa, Tumschuk) where it was found. The author speaks of it as "Vorbild der in Hinterindien üblichen Buddhatypen". Is it not possible that the figure is actually Tibetan, and of a considerably later date?

The second part of the work, which deals with Manichean miniatures, is a completely satisfactory volume. The general account of Manicheism and of Mani's influence upon the arts is admirable in every way. The coloured reproductions are masterly and the miniatures themselves in many cases show exquisite delicacy of handling.

I cannot agree with the view that the headdress of the officials on pl. v *a* is a misunderstood rendering of the Sassanian "mit Adlerfittichen verzierten Kappe". It seems to me to be a typically Chinese headdress, the "pien", which occurs so often in connexion

[1] See Laufer, *Prolegomena on the History of Defensive Armor*, p. 273. The particular type of armour upon which Herr von Le Coq is here commenting seems to be "scale" armour (using the word in Laufer's sense). This was, according to Herodotus, vii, 61, in use among the ancient Persians. The other variety of metal armour, chain-mail, was known in Iranian lands centuries before the Gandharan period. Cf. Laufer, loc. cit.

with the "kuei"-sceptre (which the figures here represented are carrying). This headdress was part of the official costume of the Chou dynasty.

These two volumes are of the highest importance, and all students of Eastern art will be deeply grateful to Dr. von Le Coq and to those who made it possible for them to appear at a time when publication of such works is of immense difficulty in Germany. The above criticisms are for the most part stray remarks suggested by the perusal of the volumes. To undertake serious and systematic criticisms of such a work would require a dozen qualifications which I wholly lack.

ARTHUR WALEY.

THE CENTRAL CONCEPTION OF BUDDHISM AND THE MEANING OF THE WORD "DHARMA". By TH. STCHERBATZKY, Ph.D., Professor in the University of Petrograd, Member of the Academy of Science of Russia. pp. xvi, 112. London: Royal Asiatic Society. Prize Publication Fund, Vol. VII, 1923.

It was a wise decision of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society to transfer the publication of this work from the narrower limitations of space necessary to their *Journal* to the wider field of their series of monographs. Even in its present form, it is a little congested with all that it has to tell us. This egg is very full of meat. In a way, it is a throw-off or by-product of the distinguished author's fuller works on (not early, but) early-mediaeval Buddhist metaphysic, as it exists in Sanskrit and Tibetan documents. And, in some degree at least, the stimulus to the making of the by-product would appear to have been Professor and Mrs. Geiger's essay[1] on the word *dhamma*, as it is found, not in those Sanskrit and Tibetan documents, but in Pali literature. The authors, namely, describe the excellent thesaurus of contexts and meanings they have assorted about the term Dhamma as having a "purely philological", or, rather, lexicographical object. They wish to give an exhaustive presentation of this "so-called central concept of Buddhist teaching" in its many different meanings. To Professor Stcherbatzky the one meaning it holds as a "central conception" is that which he has found it bear in the series of works containing the Abhidharma, or analytic and metaphysical categories and discussions of the Sarvāstivādins, notably the *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu. All other meanings of *dhamma* he waves aside, as "not presenting any serious difficulty".

[1] In *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, xxxi, 1921, 1.

This remark will make Pali translators feel small. For they will be mindful of many laborious hours spent in coping with just this difficulty: how rightly or least wrongly to render the word in their own language. They know that there is no way of pinning down *dhamma* by any one word, whether it be *dhamma* in the singular (with or without a capital *Dh*), or whether it be *dhammā* in the plural. But there is a way of reconciling the various Pali meanings with Vasubandhu's Sanskrit meaning. And that is by considering the notions covered by *dhamma* in their historical perspective.

The subject will still bristle with difficulties. But we shall, by that perspective, be prepared to concede that, in the long history of a church *plus* the culture it dominates, there may well have been a shifting, once or oftener, of the so-called "central conception". A shifting, too, without any change in the 'ism—Buddhism, Christism (or Christianity), Muhammedanism—which serves to denote both church-influence and culture. Can this not be shown to have been true of Buddhism? And, anyway, we see that the monograph appears to have shifted at least its title in a very much briefer time-perspective, and to have been listed in the Royal Asiatic Society's publications as *Vasubandhu on the Fundamental Principles of the Sarvāstivādin School of Buddhism and the meaning of the word Dharma.*

This title makes us ever so much happier. *Dharmā* may well have *come to be* all, for his early-mediaeval school, that Vasubandhu said it was. But for anyone, who has spent much time groping after the true historical perspective in the teaching of the Pali Piṭakas, to see in *dhammā*, as "metaphysically conceived elements", a "central conception" is impossible. He will know, it is true, that in so saying, he does not find it easy to lay his finger on any other term or shibboleth and say, "this is, this was, always the central concept." The Founder's chief aim is fairly clear; so is his charge to his first missionaries; so are his last injunctions; so is his very marked silence, his impatience, his switching off, where metaphysical speculations were brought forward. He was a gentleman admittedly of no philosophical education, very earnest to help his fellow-men by substituting, as the best way to heal sorrow, the good life, the being one's "best" (*sammā*) for decadent, moribund cults, cults so moribund that in his addresses they are a negligible quantity, and not they, but the carnal life and the ascetic life are the only alternatives to the good life of the middle way he takes into account. But his church became overwhelmingly monkish, developing the ascetic outlook and aspiration; his

church developed a Buddhology, placing in his own mouth preposterous assumptions. His church developed analyses and a meticulous system of numbered categories for nearly every term that had been gathered into the stock of its knowledge. So that, as Professor Stcherbatzky reminds us, even in the anthologies we see these last pre-occupations creeping up. And we get three sisters each grateful, poor souls! to a Mother Superior for teaching them about

the factors, organs of sense, elements[1]

of their little selves—just like that, as if they had been taught so many sections of a Vasubandhu manual. And the number-obsession, the stoichomania of the church-editors, we know, is everywhere, from the very first sermon down to the total number of texts (*dhammā*), 84,000 in number, burdening the memory of faithful Ānanda.[2]

All this should be fairly evident to one who reads translations of Vinaya and Dhamma, and early Abhidhamma, and who also reads between the lines thereof. Much more fully does he realize it who, from the platform of historical perspective, has plunged many times into the work of Pali translation. He knows, he sees that with Vasubandhu's pages before him, he is in a different world from that of the beginnings of the Sakyaputta's mission, from that of the Sāsana patronized by Asoka. Both of these "worlds" are blended in the Vinaya and Sutta Pitaka records. And the world of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka indicates a further development. Yet none of these worlds is that in which Vasubandhu moved, any more than his corner is the corner in which Buddhaghosa moved.

Is it likely, then, that we should find *dhamma* bearing the identical meaning and position in all this long and branching perspective? To look for this were to resemble an ancient worker in bas-relief putting a series of episodes into one foreground. Is it likely that in it we shall find any much-meaning word, such as is *dhamma*, always the central concept, if, indeed, it ever was such? Was it not rather a name for more than one concept? This is really all that our two learned friends' expression *Zentral-Begriff* comes to, for very rightly they group their material under four heads with sub-groups. No other Pali word (except perhaps *sankhārā*) is so untranslatable by one, sometimes even by any, European word. It is hard to find even an analogous word in European languages. When we read "to be in the world, but not of the world", and "God hath . . . spoken unto us by

[1] *Theragāthā*, ver. 43, 69, 103.

[2] *Theragāthā*, ver. 1024.

his son, by whom he made the worlds", we lightly adjust two or three meanings successively to one word. But *dhamma*-adjusting is harder work.

Nor is this the right occasion for saying much about it. But we are coming back to the monograph on Vasubandhu's *dhammā* (concerning which we, ignorant, sit at our author's feet) by way of a brief flight over the older world in which Professor and Mrs. Geiger have been making adjustments. And we will dismiss that world with this one word more: When we are considering the birth and the first church of Buddhism, the one word that matters, as between *dhamma* and *dhammā*, is *dhamma*. This is the word put by the recorders into Gotama's thought when he was seeking his first listeners. This is the word put into his mouth when making some decisive utterance: "Enough of all that! I will teach you *dhamma*." This is the word used by questioners: "Whose *dhamma* have you studied?" "What is this *dhamma* by which you train your disciples?"

The plural form does occur from the first. But just as clearly as *dhamma* means teaching, doctrine, gospel, so clearly do *dhammā* mean either doctrines, or "things", and *not* the metaphysical irreducibles of Vasubandhu. And here I am fain (be the occasion fit or not) to break up my one word more into three remarks:—

(1) À propos of this occurrence of *dhammā* from the first, Professor Stcherbatzky writes: "The formula of the Buddhist Credo (*ye dhammā*, etc.)—which professedly contains the shortest statement of the essence and spirit of Buddhism—declares that Buddha discovered the elements (*dhammā*) of existence, their causal connexion, and a method to suppress their efficiency for ever (*nirodho*). Vasubandhu makes a similar statement about the essence of the doctrine . . ." [1]

Concerning these lines, we take it from the writer as conclusive that Vasubandhu makes such a statement. And therein this statement is similar to that by Professor Stcherbatzky, but it is not similar to any statement in the Buddhist (Pali) Canon. What is this alleged "Credo"? "Whatsoever things (*dhammā*) have become from a cause, of these the Tathāgata has said the uprising, and of these what is the ceasing: such-a-speaker (is this) great recluse." [2]

It is a clumsily worded stanza, and found, so I have read, on many

[1] p. 3. We have not yet seen the De La Vallée Poussin translation (I).

[2] Ye dhammā hetuppabhavā tesaṃ hetuṃ tathāgato āha,
tesañ ca yo nirodho evamvādī mahāsamano. *Vinaya*, i, 40, 41.

monuments. But I have been unable to trace it in any single book of the Piṭakas save in this one episode of the Vinaya narrative. A really competent *tipeṭakī* may correct me, but not of gross mis-statement. How is it that a church so insistent on formulas, in verse and prose, as the Sangha should have so neglected to reiterate a verse, the *later* use of which has justified some writers in calling it "the Buddhist confession of faith briefly comprised?"[1]

Surely because it is an interpolation of a later date than the prose narrative. The very contents of it support this idea. The *verse* claims that it says what the great recluse taught. But the *prose* narrative phrases that part of his teaching otherwise. For, surely, this is so—listen! The *verse* says, this teacher assigns its arising and its ceasing to every thing that is caused. The *prose* equivalent says that when the verse is pronounced to the inquirer (Sāriputta), he sees by a flash of insight that what thing soever is an uprising thing is also a ceasing thing (*yaṃ kiñci samudayadhammaṃ, sabbaṃ taṃ nirodhadhammaṃ*). This is not what the verse said. The prose only says everything that happens, ceases, i.e. everything is impermanent (*anicca*). Or, at most, it says, all *caused* things can be stopped (if only you stop the cause). But the verse says, this teacher tells us what is the cause and the ceasing of all caused things.

Here the word *hetu* (cause) is only in the verse. The verse claims for the teacher omniscience (implicitly). The verse occurs only here. The prose occurs very often and in several books.

No help do we get from the two men said to have uttered the verse. Assaji is a mere name. Sāriputta is anything but that. He may well have chafed at his teacher's scepticism (if this teacher, Sañjaya, were the sceptic of the Dīgha's first sutta), and have welcomed a "This is so" and "That is so", after "If it be so, I know not". But Sāriputta's mind was not at all philosophical. A study of the discoveries and verses ascribed to him shows a quite lovely picture of the thoroughly good, lovable man (the *sappurisa*), so simple as to seem slow of wit:—

Ajaḷo jaḷasamāno.[2]

I cannot see him attracted by a teaching of this nature. I do not believe that Sāriputta had any part in the stock prose refrain, or in the inserted verse. He passed away before the "editing" began.

(2) Does the reader feel baffled at this confusion in the old books, at these varied judgments in the new? Let him spend a few years

[1] e.g. Oldenberg, *Buddha*, 6th ed., 154, n.

[2] *Theragāthā*, ver. 981–1017, esp. 1012, 1015.

translating from the Pali canon. There is evidence of much devotion, of much labour, of good will, of some care. There is much wisdom and goodness shown. There is, in parts, literary beauty, there is in parts logical sequence. For all that, it is one of the greatest pieces of literary botchwork in the world, if measured by our present estimate of good editing. It was not the work of men we should now class as competent scholars. And this is my second point. The men of the Order who handed on the half-forgotten teachings of the founders, the men who later threw them into a semi-mnemonic form, the men who later still in quite another environment wrote them down—none of these transmitters and editors were capable, as academic thinkers, of theorizing about irreducible ultimate *dhammas* and *dhātus* as Vasubandhu's little world had come to do. Down to the beginning of the Christian era, in the *written* canon, we have the work of men largely drawn from village and countryside. We gladly concede that they were good, worthy men; some of them more psychically gifted than bookish men would be; some of them earnest preachers. But their very poor editing, their evasion of philosophical issues, of intellectual exposition, their subsidence in a formula just when a vital, a pioneer, word has been led up to, all such shows that they were unquestionably no more.

(3) And, lastly, if for such men *dhammā*, discounting its meaning of "doctrines", meant just "things", and not noümena, this does not rule out the importance they may have attached to the term. Indeed, there is in our own word "things" an etymological kinship with that elusive import in the Pali word so hard to reproduce. Namely, the import of something that is right, fit, that ought to be, is norm. This, if we are to believe Skeat's sagacious guesses, lies at the root of both "thing" and *dhamma*. Not only was a "thing" the place, the occasion, the object of old European folk-motes, to settle laws and right measures. It appears also in Lithuanian (*tik-ti*) as "what is fit" or "right". And its Aryan root is *tak*, which we get both as hand-fitting in *texo*, Pali *taccheti*, and as mind-fitting in *takka*, *tarka*. These root-romances may be myths, but the quondam ethical importance of "thing" is fact, is history.

But, Pali readers will say, can you maintain *dhammā* mean "things" when they are used for the objects of mind (*mano*), just as "sounds" are for objects of hearing? I do, and I now think "things" a better rendering here than "ideas" or "states of mind". To use these terms is the mistake of putting modern ideas into old-world minds. The old-world mind is herein more like a child's. Sometimes

it sees more truly because it sees more simply, with less wording intervening. When we smell, or feel, or see, we get a smell, touch, shape and colour. When we perceive—using our whole available apparatus of sense and recognizing—we have got "a thing". Similarly, when we recollect, or imagine, say, an "orange" and the like. And the function of *mano* was stated in the Suttas to be one of collocating or co-ordinating the five streams of sense-impressions. Mind was their "resort", "enjoying" all they brought. Mind gives us "things". Similarly *-dhammo*, as "quality of", literally means "-thing". Thus, to say a pot is *khayadhammo, bhedanadhammo*, decayable, breakable, is only to say it is a decay-thing, a breaking-thing.

We now come to Professor Stcherbatzky and Vasubandhu. Had the genial author only omitted the book-title of his monograph and the first three pages, not a word of the foregoing need have been said. But there are "visions about", that A, B, C, or D is the "central conception" of Buddhism. And seeing that, under Buddhism, we include many centuries of time, many corners of the world, and an old literature of very botched editing, I have so far tried to show that much greater historical timidity is advisable before we can make any such sweeping generalizations.

I do not myself hold that either the *dhammā* of Vasubandhu, or the *yaṃ kiñci dhammaṃ*, that is Impermanence, of the Geigers is the quintessence of Buddhism, *if* by that word we mean the inspired message of the man Gotama. I have said elsewhere what that message was, for me.[1] But his church, as happened later in another great church, while it taught the message, put forward ascetic and other ideals as "central".

It is difficult to realize that the literary idiom, the lucidity, the verve of this little book, are not the work of an Englishman using his native diction. Only in two or three minute slips do we find it out.[2] A subject that many would have presented in a method half unreadable, half incomprehensible, wholly unenjoyable, is here made little less than really fascinating. The expositions are so much more

[1] *Old Creeds and New Needs*, 1923, V, cf. IV, pp. 44–7. *Buddhist Psychology*, 2nd ed., 1924. Last (additional) chapter.

[2] Those on p. 29, ll. 8, 9, and on p. 33, ll. 17, 21 ("course" for "cause") are mere printer's errors. On p. 29, l. 21, "intentionally," I *suggest*, should be "according to disposition", or as we should say *ad hominem*: a usual term in Pali Commentaries for Sūtra-method as opposed to that of Abhidharma. For "trans.", p. 105, l. 17, we should of course read "distinguishes between", or the like.

attractive, to even the uninitiated reader, than the titles threatened they would be: Skandhas, Āyatanas, Dhātus, Matter, Elements of Mind, Forces, and so on. In the Sanskrit and Tibetan survivals of the writings of a mind infinitely more habile than the canonical writers in dealing with concepts as ultimates, and in realizing to some extent that *it was dealing with such*—that it was postulating, was using hypotheses—we are in a different world from the more archaic, more childlike Piṭaka editors. We are in an academic world, not in a world of teachers of a gospel, or even of monastic doctrines. We are in a world of penmen, not of editors of oral tradition. The culture of this world has annexed all it could of its day and its world-corner, and it has grown by all such.

And Professor Stcherbatzky is at home here, none more expert than he. The work he expounds is a classic and a vade-mecum of even longer standing than the more concise Pali digest Abhidhammattha-sangaha, translated as *A Compendium of Philosophy*.[1] Every Japanese candidate for ordination, Sir Charles Eliot informs me, must be proficient in it. It is an exposition, our author reminds us, of the earlier *Abhidharmavibhāṣā-śāstra*, and that is a commentary on the yet earlier Abhidharma of the Buddhist school of the Sarvāstivādins. For a digest of this collection we are indebted to Professor Takakusu's essay in the *JPTS*. 1905, "The Abhidharma Literature of the Sarvāstivādins." This school is believed to have been one of the older dissentient branches in the Buddhist church. Yet our testimony to this, in Pali literature, is scarcely older than Vasubandhu himself is believed to be. We read of it first in the commentary on the *Kathā Vatthu*,[2] the text giving us controversies with the school, but not alluding to it by name.

It is good that the great lacunæ in our histories of philosophy of the intellectual progress made in early mediaeval Buddhism should be to some extent bridged by this slender manual. We need less theorizing about problems: we need expositions—such as it gives—and translations—such as that in Appendix I. Our own problems are more pressing than those of this little dead world—yes, the problems may be ours, too, but we confront them as new-world citizens.

And just as we should be wary in reading mediaeval ideas into a more ancient world, so we need to be wary in reading late-mediaeval or

[1] By S. Z. Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids, PTS. 1910.

[2] Cf. The trs. *Points of Controversy* by S. Z. Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids, P.T.S. 1915, p. 84.

modern ideas into that early-mediaeval world. For instance, I venture, though ignorant of those Abhidharma works, to question whether *saṃskārā* can justly be rendered "forces". *Sankhārā* did not satisfy Pali writers when, long after Vasubandhu's time, they began to feel the need of a term for force, e.g. in cause producing effect. For they were using in Burma in the fifteenth century the word *satti* (*śakti*) in that particular connexion.[1] Hence *saṃskārā* could not have included a sense of force, else the new word had not been needed. Aristotle hints at βιᾳ, "by force," in groping after world-movement and will. But not till Archimedes advanced physical science did the Stoics bring "forces" really into philosophy. If their thought had gone eastward it might have lent a new, more dynamic meaning to *saṃskārā* than this word had for Pali writers. But there is little to show that *saṃskārā* called up for Vasubandhu's school the ideas "force" calls up in a modern reader of Western culture.

True, *cetanā* is the first in the list of *saṃskārās*, and is translated by "will". But *cetanā* is a poor makeshift name for will (*viriya*, *pradhāna*, etc.), so poor that it is literally "thinking", and is more "intention", or thought concerned with action, than the working of the self expressed in the splendid word "will". So that even *cetanā* does not raise the *saṃskārās* into forces: and the rest of the *saṃskārās* do so far less, save *viriya* and *prīti*, rapture—a small proportion of fifty or more items.

True, to use "heredity" with Western readers for a stream of individual rebirths, in which parents are merely birth-vehicles of earth-life, is misleading (p. 34).

And with regard to that "stream", the author seems unaware that the name for it of *santāna* is long post-canonical. I have only found in one sutta an approach to it: *kacci (te) santānakā natthi*: hast thou no little-stretching-out-things? meaning children as descendants (*Saṃy.* i. 8).

Again, in presuming for all Buddhism, that the "heart-base" was not the flesh-organ, but a subtle "stuff", he goes too far. In the Nidāna (of the Jātaka Commentary) we have the phrase: *mayhaṃ . . . hadayamaṃsantare patiṭṭhitā*, "(the Ten Perfections) are established within the flesh of my heart."

Finally, one would venture to think that *adhvan* is rather transience than transition (p. 45), that *śunya* is scarcely "contingent" (p. 67), and that it is a trifle forced to render *duḥkha*, a word which has already

[1] Cf. the present work, p. 45, on Vyāsa's use of the term.

so much to express, by "unrest". The writer's supposition is that philosophy saw in the term what popular teaching did not. Now there is in the whole of ancient and early-mediaeval Pali literature a curious absence of "rest", both as an explicit ideal and even as a term. Where, in one Sutta, fortunate rebirth as man or deva, and also the *summum bonum* itself are figured as happiness after a perilous journey, the word "rest", "repose", strange as it seems, is not introduced (*Majjh.* i. 75 f.). Nor have I met the word in Abhidhamma. I submit therefore that it is regrettable to have imposed the negation of rest as the *salient feature* of *duḥkha*. I submit it is *not a Buddhist tradition*.

For those whose work has not lain within that tradition may this little pioneer book be not only as little misleading, but, on the other hand, as singularly stimulating and instructive as it has been for the reviewer! And the solution he finds and gives—simple, when given, as Columbus's egg-balancing—of the threefold world division into two: (1) Rūpadhātu = (*a*) kāma loka, (*b*) niskāma loka; (2) Arūpadhātu—a solution which no Pali student, European or Oriental, has ever given us—is one for which such students owe him much gratitude.

C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

The Administrative System of the Marathas. By Dr. S. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Maratha History and Literature in Calcutta University. Printed at the Calcutta University Press.

This book is the result of a wide and careful study of original documents, chiefly Maratha and English, and only needs a more comprehensive glossary.

It describes the administrative system of a people of Western India which overran in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the greater part of Hindustan as far as Calcutta—*teste* the Calcutta Ditch outside the city.

The reputation of the Marathas has suffered because their methods have been compared with those of modern times, but Dr. Sen has rehabilitated it by instituting a fairer standard of comparison—that of their English contemporaries. He shows that this reputed horde of robbers had in reality an excellent system of administration developed from the principles of ancient Hindu lawgivers modified by the influence of Mussulman rulers.

He explains the causes of the system's decay and points out certain of its features copied by the British Indian Government.

Beginning with the great founder of the Maratha Empire, Sivaji Raja (1627–80)—the Robert Bruce of Western India, who freed it from the Mussulman yoke—Dr. Sen at once touches on a vital point by his remark that "He" (Sivaji) "knew that the great defect of the Maratha character was its selfish individualism". The Raja knew his countrymen too well to trust them.

This was the reason that caused him to put his forts each under the command of a committee of three officers of equal powers but different castes—that made him take security for good behaviour from every recruit who entered his army, and induced him to establish a system of spies on his revenue officers.

But if lack of patriotism in its subordinates weakened the Maratha Government, its power was rendered precarious by the fact that its head was an autocrat.

In it everything depended on the personal character of the ruler.

While Sivaji was alive it grew and flourished, it survived under those Peshvas who were able men, but finally collapsed under the miserable Baji Rao II, who was overwhelmed by British arms at Kirkee in 1818. Dr. Sen remarks that—

"The revenue policy of the Peshvas was based on the principle of securing the prosperity of the taxpayer."

This they did by remission of rent in times of drought and disturbance, by advances of cattle and seed to needy cultivators under the name of "tagai" (both measures adopted by the British Indian Government), and by total remission or partial reduction of taxation during a period of years to persons who took up waste land for cultivation or established new industries.

Moreover, they prohibited the sale or mortgage of their permanent leases by tenants of Government land.

This check on the rapacity of moneylenders has been adopted only of late years by the British Indian Government in the Punjab. Again, they frequently intervened between the cultivator and the usurer by forcing the latter to accept reasonable interest on money borrowed on the security of crops.

Finally they regulated the prices that retail traders were allowed to ask for their goods. O! si sic omnes!

Besides income derived from the rent of land collected by the village headmen (*patels*) under the supervision of the district revenue

officials—according to the Indian theory all land is the property of Government—the Maratha ruler had other sources of revenue. The chief of these were Customs, octroi, "*chauth*," and loot.

Octroi (*zakat*) was a Mussulman device adopted by the Hindus

It was originally intended by the Prophet of Mecca to be a cess for the relief of the indigent, but as time went on was appropriated by the ruling powers for their own benefit.

"*Chauth*" was 25 per cent of the revenue of foreign territories overrun by the Maratha forces and was a tribute (like the Danegeld) paid to obtain immunity from future attack.

Loot was a regular source of revenue to Sivaji.

He ordained that for eight months in every year his forces (chiefly cavalry) should invade foreign territory, live on the invaded land, and loot (rob) its inhabitants at will.

But on their return home at the end of the annual campaign the soldiers were searched at the frontier and all the loot they could not conceal was appropriated by Government. In compensation they were paid their wages regularly and the widows and orphans of soldiers killed in action or the soldiers themselves, if disabled, were cared for by the State.

Sivaji arranged that his army should be recruited by himself and paid by civil officer (*Karkuns*).

The Peshvas, however, permitted Sardars (Chiefs) to raise their own forces and to pay them from the revenue of grants of land (*Saranjams*) given by the State for military service. The inevitable result was the aggrandisement of feudal barons which finally brought low the Maratha empire, a parallel case to that of France in the fifteenth century.

Sivaji also established a small navy chiefly to protect from pirates his merchant fleet which traded with the Malabar coast and Arabia.

The legal administration of the Marathas was simple. There was practically no law.

Guidance was obtained from the dicta of ancient Hindu writers such as Manu and Yajnavalkya (which were at times contradictory) and from custom.

Justice was administered in the first instance by the village headman (*patel*), assisted by a committee of villagers (*panchayet*), and appeals lay to the Brahman judge (*nyayadhish*) appointed by Government for the district. Amicable settlements were aimed at.

There were no Court or lawyers' fees, but the successful suitor in

a civil case had to pay to Government 25 per cent of the amount recovered by him (*harki*).

Under Sivaji murderers were punished by fine, though capital punishment was introduced by the Peshvas.

But thieves were liable to mutilation.

This was barbarous, but it must be remembered that in England Prynne's ears were cropped because he libelled Henrietta Maria, wife of Sivaji's contemporary Charles I, and up to the beginning of the nineteenth century thefts were punishable by death.

Accused persons could claim trial by ordeal—generally by the grasping of heated metal—and witchcraft was punishable under the Peshvas by fine and imprisonment.

Per contra it must not be forgotten that thousands of English men and women were condemned to death for witchcraft under the Tudors and Stuarts, and that in the early part of the nineteenth century in England a certain person charged with murder was acquitted because the nearest male relative of the deceased refused to accept the accused's challenge to ordeal by battle.

The Marathas punished adultery by penal servitude or slavery for the female offender, and fine for the male.

They had no idea of equal marriage laws.

The Maratha ruler, like the king of England, was head not only of the State but the Church. He not only reigned but ruled.

Thus he frequently inflicted on a convict both punishment for a crime and penance (*prayaschitta*) for the sin involved in the crime. The case would be parallel if English forgers and embezzlers had not only to suffer imprisonment but to stand in white sheets outside the Bank of England.

Religious tolerance, however, was a feature of the Maratha administration.

Mussulmans were often promoted to posts of honour, and Mussulman shrines were supported by endowments just as those of the Hindus. Compare with this the contemporary maltreatment of heretics by the Spanish Inquisition and the harrying of Roman Catholic priests in Ireland by the English Government.

But the great blot on Maratha justice was the fact that the treatment of convicted prisoners depended entirely on the wealth of the individual or the influence of his friends.

Moreover, the wives and children of absconding offenders were liable to inprisonment.

In the chief towns the police were maintained by the Government, but in the villages police duties were performed under the orders of the patel by low-caste men (*Mahars* and *Jaglias*) and by members of criminal tribes (*Ramosis*), who were remunerated by the villagers.

The Marathas had no State departments of education and medicine.

They, however, made some provision for both by endowing scholars and physicians with State grants on the understanding that they were to teach and heal—in the case of the indigent free of charge.

Slavery was permitted, but slaves were treated as domestic servants, and a slave girl who bore a child in marriage, even to a fellow slave, was manumitted.

Currency was provided by licensed private mints, the licensees of which were under contract with Government to maintain "the standard proportion in the alloy and the purity of the metal".

Dr. Sen sums up the administration of the Marathas under Sivaji and the Peshvas as follows:—

"The villages of Maharashtra were so many States within the State, self-contained and isolated. The head of the State was a despot helped, but by no means controlled, by a council. The villages at the base were linked by a chain of royal officers with the supreme Government. Such also has been the case in the past" (i.e. in Ancient India).

It may be remarked that the above-mentioned council consisted of eight ministers (*Ashta Pradhan*), and was based on the writings of ancient Hindu sages (such as the Shukraniti).

The ministers performed much the same duties as those of the members of the Viceroy's Council of to-day—the chief difference being that the present Public Works Minister fills a vacancy caused by the omission of the head of the ecclesiastical department (*Panditrao*).

Here it may be noted that when the Peshvas, who were originally the chief ministers among the Ashta Pradhan, established an hereditary dynasty of their own, after ousting Sivaji's degenerate heirs, the latter were still maintained as Rajas of Satara, and though without real power were acknowledged as the heads of the State and the fountain of honour like the Mikados of Japan in the days of the Shoguns.

In conclusion, reference may be made to Dr. Sen's statement that there is a statue of Sivaji at Malwan, a port of Western India.

This " statue " (as seen by the present reviewer) is placed in a Hindu temple and is worshipped as the image of a god. Sivaji has, in fact, been deified by his countrymen. Has not Joan of Arc been canonized by a great Christian Church ?

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THE ARAB CONQUESTS IN CENTRAL ASIA. By H. A. R. GIBB. JAMES G. FORLONG FUND, Vol II. pp. viii + 102. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1923.

The modest size of this volume does not give any measure of the work involved or the results attained in it : and, since long-windedness is a standing temptation to scholars, Mr. Gibb's successful compression adds to the merit of his book. His subject is that century of Central Asian history which opens with the arrival of the Arab conquerors at the N.E. frontier of the former empire of the Sasanids, and which closes with the definite incorporation of the Oxus and Jaxartes basins in the Arab Empire in A.D. 741—an event which thus only just anticipated that movement in the adjoining country of Khurasan, which overthrew the Umayyads and raised up the 'Abbasids to reign in their stead.

Mr. Gibb's careful and detailed reconstruction of events is based, in the first place, upon a critical study of the scattered, fragmentary, and often contradictory Arabic sources. In this study he has mastered the work of previous scholars, but has not taken their results for granted. He has always tested them by his own researches among the original authorities, and has thus succeeded in throwing new light upon a group of obscure and confused but historically important transactions. In addition to this, he has made full use of such work as has yet been done by Western scholars upon the Chinese material. During the whole of that century the Chinese and the Arabs were manœuvring against one another in order to win the political and commercial ascendency over Central Asia, and either body of tradition ought therefore to supplement and illustrate the other. Mr. Gibb shows skill and judgment in the difficult task of bringing these independent sources into relation. A good example of this is his analysis (p. 60) of the embassies noted in the Chinese records as having been sent to the capital of the T'ang by the local powers of the Oxus and Jaxartes basin, by the Arabs on their own account, or by the Arabs acting in

concert with one or more of their Central Asian protégés. He shows how the fluctuations in the frequency of these embassies correspond with what we can learn from the Arabic sources regarding the fluctuating fortunes of the Arabs in their long-drawn-out wars of conquest in the area concerned.

The writer opens with an illuminating picture of Central Asian society as it was at the beginning of his period: a highly civilized Iranian sub-stratum of population, which for centuries past had known how to assimilate the successive waves of ruder and numerically weaker conquerors from the Eurasian steppe: a high degree of political decentralization (due to the concentration of population in oases separated by stretches of steppe, desert, or mountain)[1]; a foreign commerce with wide ramifications (due to the potentialities of Central Asia as a kind of switch-board between such economically powerful importing and exporting regions as the Far East, India, the Middle East, and the Eurasian Steppe); and a mixture of religions (Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, Buddhism, and Nestorianism being already established in the land before the advent of Islam). Religions spread with trade, and this commercial and eclectic Central Asian society was not fanatical. Mr. Gibb argues convincingly that it was not religious hostility towards Islam, but national self-consciousness and commercial interest that inspired the Central Asian resistance to the Arabs; and, at the close of the book, he shows how that resistance abated in proportion as the Arabs began to concern themselves for the welfare of Central Asian trade and to offer tolerable social and political conditions to the conquered peoples.

This picture brings out a striking contrast between the Central Asian city-states and the Sasanid Empire at the time of the Arab conquest. The racial kinship between the principal elements in the population of the two regions was outweighed by the social and political differences. Persia—a comparatively centralized empire with a great king, an established church, and a feudal aristocracy—collapsed with the destruction of the Sasanian armies and submitted to the invader. The Central Asian principalities, though relatively weak individually and usually divided against each other, held out for a century and extorted substantial concessions from the Arabs as the price of their ultimate submission.

[1] Mr. Gibb aptly compares the political life of these states to that of the city-states of Ancient Greece, whose particularism was also largely the result of the local geographical environment.

Mr. Gibb brings out the fact that the resistance to the Arabs was mainly the work of the local sedentary population (Iranian or Iranized) in the Central Asian oases. The loose usage of the name " Turk " in the Arabic sources has obscured the fact that the Arabs had no serious encounter with a genuine nomadic Turkish power from the steppes until the year 720. On the other hand, during the following seventeen years, during which this Türgesh tribal confederacy was actively supporting the Central Asian Nationalists, the Arabs found themselves in greater difficulties on their N.E. frontier than at any other time during the century under consideration. The Nomads, when they did intervene, proved more formidable than the great civilized power of the Far East, which supported the exiled House of Sasan unto the second and third generation and (as the political heir of the Western Tou-Kiue) claimed suzerainty over the Oxus and Jaxartes basins from A.D. 658 until more than halfway through the eighth century after Christ. The only serious direct encounter between Arab and Chinese military forces was the celebrated but in itself inconclusive battle fought at Talas, beyond the N.E. extremity of Farghana, in A.D. 751. From beginning to end, the Chinese proved (in this remote western hinterland of their sphere of influence) a broken reed: and the letters from their despairing Central Asian vassals, which Mr. Gibb quotes from the Chinese records, read curiously like the letters from Syria which had come to King Akhen Aten at Tell-el-Amarna about 2,000 years before, when certain Amorite kinsmen of the Arabs were pressing upon the outlying protectorates of an earlier Oriental empire.

One of the most interesting points in Mr. Gibb's work is his valuation of Qutayba bn Muslim. Without unduly depreciating the great soldier with whose name the Arab conquest of Central Asia is traditionally associated, he brings evidence to show that his conquests were superficial and inconclusive. The real test of Arab military power in Central Asia occurred between the years 724 and 737, and the writer shows in how large a measure the eventual consolidation was due to Asad bn 'Abdullah and Nasr bn Sayyar. In A.D 732 the outlook for the Arab Empire in the Central Asian hinterland of Khurasan was hardly more promising than it was in the Trans-Pyrennaean hinterland of Spain after the Battle of Tours. In the course of the next few years, however, the fortunes of the empire (and of Islam) took a very different turn—with momentous historical consequences—in Central Asia and in N.W. Europe respectively. Evidently the happier issue on the N.E. frontier was partly due to the statesmanship of Asad and

Nasr, and Mr. Gibb makes it clear that they won Central Asia by a policy of conciliation as much as by force of arms.

By the date at which the Arab conquest of the Oxus and Jaxartes basins at length brought that region under the same Arab government as the Iranian plateau, the two areas had followed independent lines of political and social development for something like a thousand years: and it was therefore not surprising that, a few years later, they should react differently towards the internal crisis which overtook the incorporating empire. The newly conquered Central Asian Iranians were not with Abu Muslim when he raised his standard in Khurasan. Like the Sikhs in the Indian Mutiny, they remained loyal to their recent conquerors during the years when the Arab Empire was shaken by internal convulsions at its core; and they even remained loyal to the Umayyad Dynasty until Abu Muslim's victory was beyond all doubt. Incidentally, Mr. Gibb questions how far, even in Khurasan, Abu Muslim was supported by anything like a mass movement of the Iranian population. That question stretches beyond the limits of the book, but Mr. Gibb has at least made it clear that the Central Asian Iranians were not a factor in Abu Muslim's success—except, possibly, in the very indirect sense that a century of arduous border warfare with the independent states across the Oxus had led the Arab authorities in Khurasan to recruit, arm, and train local military forces among the Iranian population of the Khurasan border, which Abu Muslim afterwards enlisted in his cause.

ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE.

ANALYTIC DICTIONARY OF CHINESE AND SINO-JAPANESE. By BERNHARD KARLGREN. pp. 436. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1923.

Dr. Karlgren has been unfortunate in his reviewers. A writer in the *Journal* of the North China Branch (1920, p. 201) announced in a review of *La Phonologie Chinoise* that he was distrustful of "all this phoneticism". "There are," the critic continued, "very few phonetic languages really . . . Chinese is far from being so." But since phonetics is the science that analyses the sounds of a language, and since all languages are composed of sounds, it is hard to see how one language can be more "phonetic" than another. At least two other reviewers betrayed by their petulance the dread of having to learn something new. In the hostility of such people Dr. Karlgren may take comfort, for it is a testimonial to the originality of his work.

The long introduction to the "Dictionary" is to some extent a summary of, but also an appendix to, the *Phonologie*. The dictionary itself gives Mandarin, Cantonese, ancient and Sino-Japanese pronunciations, with etymological commentary. Henceforward those who are studying foreign sidelights on Chinese history or Chinese information about foreign countries will be able in a moment to discover the approximate early T'ang pronunciation of any Chinese character that occurs in the transcription of names, etc.

That, merely from this point of view, the *Analytical Dictionary* was badly needed has sometimes been illustrated even by articles in this *Bulletin*: and from how many fantastic comparisons would it, for example, have saved Dr. C. J. Ball in his *Chinese and Sumerian*![1] It has put an end to the days when each scholar constructed an Ancient Chinese *de fantaisie* out of the southern dialect which he happened to know best, an attitude of which De Groot in his *Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit* gave an example as recently as 1921. It will, one hopes, also put an end to etymologies such as Fulin 拂菻: πόλις, to which Herr Albert Hermann still clings,[2] though he is, on the whole, an enlightened and able supporter of Dr. Karlgren's system.

The dictionary itself is arranged in phonetic groups and is followed by admirable indices which make the finding of any desired character a very easy task. The arrangement of the dictionary makes it serve to some extent (in addition to its lexicographical functions) as a treatise upon the phonetic groups. Chinese characters usually consist (*a*) of an element which gives the sound, called the phonetic; (*b*) of an element which gives the sense, often called the "radical", but by Dr. Karlgren more wisely called the "significative".[3] Now these series of phonetics show some very curious irregularities. Some of them are obviously due merely to typographical or clerical confusions.

[1] A painstaking book, which, however much one may disagree with its conclusions, is deserving of all respect.

[2] Sven Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, vol. viii, 239. One of the difficulties of this identification is that the various characters by which the second syllable is transcribed all had an original final *m*, not *n*. Concerning the transcription used by Hsüan-tsang (*Hsi Yu Chi*, xi, 37, 38) Herrmann says that 懍 had an original final *n*, and refers the reader to the index of transcriptions at the end of the volume. But, in the index (p. 441), the "alte Umschreibung nach Karlgren" appears with final *m*. There has here obviously been some negligence. I do not know whether Dr. Karlgren would accept the transcription of 富 as *pjĭuət*, which occurs in the next line and is also labelled "nach Karlgren". It certainly needs some comment.

[3] Actually, he calls it the "signific", which does not make a very good English word.

When, for example (Wieger, *Triple Lexique*, No. 205), we find the character 𩦋, turning up in the series 夆 *kiang*, but pronounced *p'ang*, we guess at once that in 𩦋 the right-hand portion is simply a graphic variant for 夆 *feng*. Other irregularities are due to the fact that sounds which were originally very closely akin have developed in different directions. But it is worth noticing that in some cases the reverse has happened and that the modern discarding of final consonants has reduced to regularity series which in earlier times were irregular. Certain very interesting series of phonetics are examined by Dr. Karlgren in his introduction (pp. 16–33). The characteristic of these series is that whereas one member (sometimes more) lacks an initial consonant, the others possess one. In these cases Dr. Karlgren postulates the loss of initial ordinary *b*, *d*, *g*, etc., consonants which were unknown to T'ang dynasty Chinese. It is, however, very remarkable that (at any rate, in all the most typical series) it is the phonetic itself (i.e. the simple, uncompounded form) which lacks the initial consonant and therefore originally had an initial unaspirated sonant (*b*, *d*, *g*, etc.). I do not think that Dr. Karlgren's theory fully explains this phenomenon.

There is a slight tendency throughout the work to exaggerate the unity of the phonetic series, and in numerous cases irregular members have been omitted: for example, 鈸 and 𧾷 in the 及 series, 沂 in the 斤 series, 秺, 鵜, etc., in the 弟 series: 嫉 in the 𠬜 series: 騁 *ch'eng* in the 粦 *p'in* series.

In the case of the 枼 group the *tiehs* (喋, etc.) are quoted, but not the *hsiehs* (媟, etc.), which makes the treatment of this group rather unsatisfactory. The character 葉, the commonest member of the group, had indeed all three pronunciations. In the sense "leaf of a tree" it was pronounced *i̯äp*; in the sense "writing-leaf, tablet" it was pronounced *d'iep*; finally, the surname (and place-name) 葉 was pronounced *śi̯äp*: "the old pronunciation of the family-name 葉 was *śi̯äp*," says Chēng Ch'iao writing in the *T'ung Chih* (*c.* A.D. 1150), "but in later times it came to be pronounced like 葉 'a tree-leaf'." The pronunciation *śi̯äp* is reflected in the use of this character to transcribe Sanskrit *-śyap-*, as in *Kāśyapa*: also in the fact that the Japanese still transcribe the surname 葉 *sefu* (for earlier *sepu*).

Dr. Karlgren hypothecates an original *di̯äp*, but this does not explain the *śi̯äp* variants. Are we to regard *śi̯äp* as a halfway-house between *di̯äp* and *i̯äp*, with possibly a *θi̯äp* as stepping-stone between the *d* and *ś* forms? The variant pronunciations of individual characters

are often omitted in this dictionary, which is a pity, for they constitute a problem which cannot be properly studied apart from the question of the phonetic groups, and their presence would not have materially increased the size of the book. To give an example of what I mean—under 𤇾 (No. 52) we find *pi̯əu*, but not the interesting variant *pi̯ĕt* which is indicated by K'ang Hsi.

The above remarks are, as Dr. Karlgren will easily recognize, the casual observations of an amateur. They do not constitute serious criticism of a work which has rendered an immense service, not only to sinology, but also to Orientalism in general.

ARTHUR WALEY.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF CHINESE PAINTING. By ARTHUR WALEY. pp. xii, 262 + 49 pl. Benn, Ltd., 1923.

The casual reader can form but an inadequate idea of the long training and the sheer hard work that must have gone to the making of this book. He will enjoy its copious extracts from Chinese literature without suspecting that a few minutes' easy reading may have cost the author as many weeks or even months of the most exacting toil. Mr. Waley has resisted the temptation to pad his work he indulges in few rhapsodies, but tells us a great deal of what Chinese critics have said and thought—a much more important contribution to the history of Chinese art. He is rather long, it is true, in getting to grips with his subject, the first four chapters being devoted to a survey of early Chinese poetry and philosophy. Incidentally we get some charmingly rendered specimens of the *Odes*, exhibiting just that magic touch which transmutes the leaden literalness of prose into the gold of true poetry. Take this stanza from Legge :—

My mind is not a stone ;—
It cannot be rolled about.
My mind is not a mat ;—
It cannot be rolled up.
My deportment has been dignified and good,
With nothing wrong which can be pointed out.

And compare it with Mr. Waley's :—

My heart is not a stone
To be rolled aside ;
My heart is not a mat
To be folded away.
What have I done ? If I a jot have erred,
Show me my fault !

These and other snatches of poetry which appear throughout the book are not really out of place ; for they shed a light on the thoughts and feelings of the Chinese without which the study of their art is apt to become a profitless groping in the dark.

A long and interesting chapter is allotted to Ku K'ai-chih, who is well known as the reputed painter of " The Admonitions of the Instructress to the Court Ladies " in the British Museum. As to the genuineness of this scroll Mr. Waley comes to no positive conclusion. In his opinion it must be the one which the Emperor Ch'ien Lung possessed and which the great connoisseur Tung Ch'i-ch'ang admired ; but that takes us back no further than the Ming dynasty, and is quite consistent with its being a T'ang copy. Even if it be not from the actual hand of Ku K'ai-chih, it preserves one of his designs, and is probably the earliest of all extant Chinese paintings on silk. There is less doubt about the " Thirteen Emperors " of Yen Li-pên (seventh century), part of which is here reproduced. Of Wu Tao-tzŭ, alas ! nothing now remains, but we are glad to see a photograph of the magnificent " Snake and Tortoise ", now in the British Museum. This is only a rubbing from an incised stone. The design may be Wu Tao-tzŭ's, but as the pose of the two creatures was probably standardized long before his time, it tells us little about the master's individual style. Several of the Tun-huang paintings have been selected for reproduction, notably the beautiful Avalokiteśvara on pl. xxii. We learn, however, that they belong to a comparatively late and decadent period, the earliest dated picture being of A.D. 864. If this was T'ang art in its decay, what must not have been its glory in the " grand siècle " preceding ! On the whole, after hearing so much about the great painters of the past, we are naturally disappointed to find that so little of their work is extant or available for illustration. Pining for Wu Tao-tzŭ and Wang Wei, one almost resents being fobbed off with small fry like Mao I, Liang K'ai, and Lin Liang, about whom little or nothing is said in the text. Still, there is much to be grateful for. The " Persimmons " of Mu Ch'i, for instance, is a masterpiece of superb simplicity, though it needs the eye of an artist to see in it " passion congealed into a stupendous calm ".

In no carping spirit, but with a view to the second edition which we all hope may be forthcoming, I will now set down a list of corrigenda (some of them debatable, perhaps) that I have noted during my perusal of the book.

p. ix and pl. vii. For "Piao-lan" read "Piao-luan".

p. 27. For "Tung Chung-cho" read "Tung Chung-shu", if 董仲舒 is meant.

p. 29, note 3. The *Lun hêng* was not composed in the second century, but between A.D. 76 and 84.

p. 38 *et pass.* For "Eumorphopoulos" read "Eumorfopoulos".

p. 45. For "Chi K'ang" read "Hsi K'ang".

p. 45, note 4, and p. 49. For "Idlers" read "Sages". The Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove 竹林七賢 (third century) have been confused with the Six Idlers of the Bamboo Brook 竹溪六逸 (eighth century).

p. 61, note 1. It was not Chiao-fu who gave his girdle-gem to the two river-sprites, but *vice versa*. See Liu Hsiang's *Lieh hsien chuan*.

p. 114. It is stated that "Mi Fei" 米芾 should be read "Mi Fu". On what authority? K'ang Hsi gives both pronunciations.

p. 125. For "Wei-chih" read "Wei-ch'ih".

p. 132. The stanza from a Stein MS. on the transience of human life is too loosely translated:—

> "His days, like the swift top that seems asleep,
> Their secret motions keep."

Apposite though the simile may be, it is not in the Chinese: 人生日月閙催將轉忙忙 "Unnoted, the days and moons of man's life press on, revolving busily". And the following is even further from the idea of the original:—

> "Who [i.e. man] while with Magic Wheel he holds
> the world in sway
> Doth still decay."
>
> 直饒便是轉輪王
> 不免也无常

The meaning is that even Chakravarttī-rāja himself (the king who turns the wheel of ceaseless transmigration) is not exempt from the process of decay.

p. 139. Ku K'ai-chih's landscape is described as "hieratic". This does not seem a good word to use in the domain of Chinese art, however applicable it may be to that of the Egyptians.

p. 141. "At the Inn side green green—the new willows' tint" is a sentence that requires some sort of verb. A mere *mot-à-mot* like this is an easy, but hardly a scholarly, way of translating 客舍青青柳色新.

"Western Pass." 陽關 Yang Kuan is, literally, the Southern Pass (as opposed to the Jade Gate Pass which stood north of it).

從岐王過楊氏 does not mean, "With a concourse of attendants Prince Chi picnics at Master Yang's cottage," but simply, "Attending Prince Ch'i on a visit to Master Yang."

玉珂 are not "bells of jade", but small white shells used for ornamenting horses' bridles.

p. 142. "The guests are seated, the incense-beasts are full," is a bad mistranslation of 座客香貂滿. Apparently Mr. Waley was thinking of jade incense-burners carved in animal shapes. But this poem of Wang Wei's is describing a joyous revel, not a sacrificial ceremony, and the line is intended to bring a scene of luxurious comfort before our eyes, contrasted with the chilly bleakness of the mountains outside :—

"The party is assembled, with perfume and sables in profusion."

飛泉 is a cascade, not "the fountain's spray". I do not like "Frozen Pearl Lake" as a rendering of 凝碧池, where *pi* emphasizes the colour as that of blue-green jade. This lake, by the way, was not at Ch'ang-an, but in the Imperial Park at Lo-yang.

"With fallen leaves of the autumn *kuei* the Palace paths are blocked."

Kuei is a misreading for 槐 *huai* (the sophora-tree). And "blocked" is too strong a term : Wang Wei simply says that the leaves "fall inside the empty Palace".

p. 156. To remark that Han Huang's "duties as Special Commissioner of the Fleet were perhaps not more arduous than Pepys's duties at the Admiralty" is to cast a wholly unmerited sneer at one who has been justly termed the Father of the British Navy. "For Pepys's industry and capacity," says R. L. Stevenson (who was by no means too well disposed towards the diarist), "no praise can be too high."

p. 159 *et al.* The use of the word "plastic" in reference to painting smacks of journalese.

p. 168. It is not fair to say that "Kuan T'ung set himself to imitate with passionate assiduity the works of Ching Hao". 師荊浩 merely means that he studied under him.

Mr. Waley is too inclined to put down a word because it sounds well, without much attention to the meaning. Thus, he translates 其竦擢之狀 "all such strange cloven or tapering forms".

Not one of these three adjectives is to be found in the Chinese, which means "these towering shapes reared on high".

蒼翠 surely means "verdure", not "blue mists", and 橋徇 are not "bridges or stiles". The latter character denotes a plank bridge thrown across a stream.

p. 169. Painters are divided into four classes, 聖. 妙. 奇. 巧, which are here translated as the Divine, the Mysterious, the Marvellous, and the Skilful. I would indicate the gradation rather by "Divine, marvellous, clever, and dexterous". The whole passage is a difficult one, and I do not think that Mr. Waley has grasped the meaning of the paragraph relating to the 奇 class.

p. 173. Mr. Waley says of Confucius that "Europeans . . . are astonished to find in his sayings no inquiry into the nature of knowledge, or truth, or of good, but only dogmatic assertions about the right sort of bonnet to wear or the most genteel way to lie in bed". Such shallow flippancy, though it may amuse the million, cannot but make the judicious grieve. If the utterance is to be taken seriously, it only seems to show that Mr. Waley's reading of the Analects has been confined to the tenth book, which, as he knows well enough, was penned not by the Sage himself, but by some of his over-zealous disciples. Let me refer him to Tzŭ Kung's famous retort to some one who was disparaging his Master: "It is no good. Confucius is proof against detraction. . . . A man may choose to cut himself off from the light of the sun and moon, but what harm will that do to them? It only shows that he has no sense of proportion."

At other times, it must be admitted that Mr. Waley's turn for humorous epigram serves him well. For instance: "The Mongols were merely policemen. They did not influence the development of Chinese civilization any more than the officials at the gate of the British Museum influence the studies of the gentlemen who work inside."

Or, in discussing the much-quoted statement that Wang Wei's pictures were poems: his poems, pictures: "This is, of course, quoted in approbation of his work, for to many people the arts are unpalatable except when jumbled up together: hence the popularity of opera." He then proceeds to show that the dictum is based on a misunderstanding of a passage in one of Su Tung-p'o's critiques.

Again, *à propos* of a family called Ch'in, all the members of which (at the beginning of the Manchu dynasty) were expert in picture-

forging: "European collections of Chinese painting must be very rich in examples of the Ch'in family's art—one which is indeed deserving of every encouragement, since it not only provides its exponents with an easy affluence, but also gives much harmless pleasure to its patrons." With this delightful piece of cynicism we may fitly take our leave of a most entertaining and instructive work. LIONEL GILES.

CHINA. By ÉMILE HOVELAQUE; translated by Mrs. LAURENCE BINYON.

Mrs. Binyon has achieved a happy as well as accurate translation of M. Émile Hovelaque's *La Chine.*

Although there are passages in which the English style has been made subordinate to a literal translation, so that one is conscious that one is reading "from the French", yet these are more than counterbalanced by other passeges in which, while losing nothing of the author's meaning, the translation has a vividness which catches exactly the spirit of the original:—

"Each man must find in himself his own truth, his own beauty, his own virtue; the salvation of the soul, like genius, can neither be bought nor taught. Everything is unique, though the essence of all things is one . . . In very truth the essence of everything is ineffable and incommunicable; life cannot be defined, genius cannot be bestowed: 'Those who know do not speak; those who speak do not know.'"

For inaccuracies in the original the translator is not, of course, accountable, but one wonders where in all China "the lowest coolie cannot only read and write, but can paint and write poems, can enjoy a delicate work of art, show a cultivated appreciation for fine speech and polished manners, and is profoundly and completely saturated with the essence of his civilization which is the patrimony, not of a chosen few, but of all". E. D. EDWARDS.

THE CAMBRIDGE MEDIEVAL HISTORY. Vol. IV. Edited by J. R. TANNER, Litt.D., C. W. PREVITÉ-ORTON, M.A., Z. N. BROOKE, M.A. 50*s.* net.

The University of Cambridge has assuredly merited well of letters in undertaking the great task of producing collaborative histories that will when terminated comprise summaries of the fullest knowledge available of the history of almost the whole world. The system has

necessarily the defects of its qualities. Collaborative histories cannot possess the unity of outlook and conception that may be impressed on a work by a master-mind ; and different scholars will take different and conflicting views of the same episode. But these disadvantages are far outweighed by the benefits of bringing together the views and especially the knowledge of specialists. The *Cambridge Medieval History* is amply fulfilling the promise of its predecessors in these respects ; and its editors deserve all the congratulations they will receive for their achievement of an exceedingly difficult and delicate task.

The present volume is of more than usual interest to students of the East, for it continues that story of the interplay of East and West which formed so interesting and valuable a part of vol. ii of the same series. The chapters of the earlier volume dealing with Eastern affairs were peculiarly welcome, because they summarized and rendered accessible to English readers the fruits of the last half-century of European research into Muslim origins—a period singularly active in research and fruitful in results, but almost wholly unrepresented in English writings. Vol. iv does a similar service for a later period. It provides the student with well-informed narratives of the struggle which the Eastern Empire had to wage first against the Saracens and then against the Turks ; Sir Thomas Arnold adds a most valuable chapter on the civilization of the 'Abbāsids, full of matter which one might seek in vain in other English writings : and there are separate accounts of the Seljuks and the Mongols. All these chapters are provided with the usual excellent bibliographies, though we must note the improper omission of Professor Barthold's name from the last, where he figures merely as an unnamed contributor to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, so that his voluminous and authoritative work elsewhere is wholly ignored. This is scarcely proper treatment of a scholar of the widest European reputation on his particular subject. We are gratified to note that Oriental names are at last spelt with a technical accuracy hitherto unknown in works of general history.

These specifically Eastern chapters will attract the attention of all who are interested in Oriental studies, but other chapters too have great bearing, though perhaps indirectly, on the history of the East, and especially on the relations between the Eastern and the Western worlds. The Eastern Empire itself, the central theme of this volume, merits more study than it usually receives from Orientalists, who perhaps should oftener remember what a remarkable position was held by Rūm between the two rival worlds, alike morally and geographically.

Byzantium in the middle ages, like Russia of our own day, was a political and moral hybrid. It was based on the strong traditions of the Roman law, but Roman law working in the atmosphere of an Oriental despotism. The empire derived at once from Rome and far-away Eastern capitals, combining with these disparate elements touches of the alert Greek mentality. It was, as Professor Bury rightly claims, the only civilized state in early mediaeval Europe: but for the Byzantine love of reading, the treasures of Greek literature could never have been carried to Italy on the fall of Constantinople; and while the lay aristocracy in every other European capital was illiterate, in Byzantium it was composed of educated men. But while this is so, perhaps Professor Bury and those who follow him are inclined to cast away somewhat too much of the formerly received opinion regarding the Byzantines. We read, for instance, of their "intellectuality" in the conduct of war as compared with "the rude dullness" of Western tactics. We would not dispute the difference: but no inference can thence be drawn favourable to the Byzantines. The proof of the military pudding is in the eating. For all their tactical ingenuity the Byzantines failed to defend Syria, they failed to defend their European provinces, they lost Constantinople first to the rude dullness of a Crusading attack, and then to the equally rude dullness of a Turkish siege. In short, the old judgment of their degenerate cleverness must stand. But, in spite of that, modern researches into the progress of their fall was well worthy of the elaborate abstract now provided.

Venice, too, offers a subject of great interest to the students of the East. In the short compass of 30 pages Dr. H. F. Brown has given an admirable résumé of a subject which he has made peculiarly his own: and the part which the famous city took in the Fourth Crusade is related in the following chapter by Dr. Diehl. Like Byzantium, Venice was largely Orientalized: like Great Britain her power was that of commerce and the sea; and until the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope she and Genoa divided between them the Eastern trade and held distant Eastern factories in the Black Sea. For these, if for no other reasons, her story merits study here. Indeed, we think that the story of these Venetian and Genoese stations on the Black Sea might with advantage have received a fuller treatment in this volume. For instance, Kaffa is barely mentioned twice, and its interest in connexion with the Eastern trade seems to have been entirely overlooked.

H. H. DODWELL.

THE EAST INDIA TRADE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By SHAFAAT AHMAD KHAN. Milford, 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

This interesting work was produced, we believe, as a thesis for the Litt.D. at Dublin, and it gives evidence of a most praiseworthy acquaintance with the voluminous pamphlet-literature arising out of the controversies to which the early Eastern trade gave occasion. The century was one in which even theologians deviated into humour: but even in that age of vigorous English the economic pamphleteer remained dull and pedestrian, however much he deserves study. Dr. Khan has therefore performed a useful task in reviewing the numerous pamphlets on trade policy which he found at the British Museum, the India Office, and the Bodleian: and his numerous quotations will prove very useful to the student who wishes to form an idea of the general attitude of Englishmen towards the Indian trade without the labour of examining numerous wearisome volumes.

Besides these sources, Dr. Khan has also examined a number of unpublished documents, particularly for the second half of the seventeenth century, where the existing calendars give little aid.

The most interesting part of his story is undoubtedly that which deals with the great struggle between Sir Josiah Childe and his opponents: and of the old Company's policy and of its great defender he gives a full and judicious account. He very rightly defends the view that an open trade would have been unprofitable and short-lived: and ascribes with great probability to Childe as the principal motive of his policy of fortifications the jealousy and suspicion with which he regarded the Dutch. Many of the quotations from this period have a curiously modern ring. A Parliamentary enemy in 1677 complains that the India trade encourages "the heathens who work for a penny a day". Later controversialists declare the Company's forts useless, propose a League of Commerce with the Indian princes, and declare that Englishmen traded as securely in India as foreigners in London. The Company should rely on ambassadors instead of musqueteers.

The principal omission from the volume seems to be the neglect of the Dutch records. Dr. Khan observes that he found the most authoritative information regarding the Dutch in the English Company's records; but he will agree that this was relying upon strongly prejudiced witnesses: and we should have thought that where so much labour had evidently been spent on a volume, a little more to complete the research would have been well worth while. Although Dr. Khan's subject is the English trade, yet he is concerned with its effects upon

foreign policy; and so the matter is not unimportant. For instance, the account of Downing's negotiations at the Hague of 1661, etc., merely deals with the English point of view, and so is necessarily far from conclusive. Indeed, English scholars have neglected Dutch sources far too much; and in this respect Dr. Khan has erred in regrettably good company.

H. H. DODWELL.

VITA PROPHETARUM AUCTORE MUḤAMMED BEN 'ABDALLĀH AL-KISĀ'Ī. Edited by Dr. ISAAC EISENBERG. Brill, Leiden, 1922–3.

The lives of the Prophets assumed a special importance in Muslim historical literature, because of the frequent references to them in the Qur'ān, and from the first century of the Hijrah such biographies began to appear as a separate branch of Arabic literature. The oldest work of the kind that has survived is that by Wahb b. Munabbih, who died at an advanced age early in the second century of the Hijrah; manuscripts of it are rare, though later writers, such as Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr, made abundant use of it. So far, the earliest contribution to this class of literature that has been published is found in the first part of Ṭabarī's monumental *History of Prophets and Kings*. Tha'libī's *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā*, written about a century later, has been printed in the East more than once; but Kisā'ī, his contemporary (at the beginning of the fifth century H.), has had to wait until now to find an editor, though much of the subject-matter of his book was made known to European writers by Weil in his *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner* so long ago as 1845. The Arabic text has been admirably printed in the clear type which makes the publications of Messrs. Brill, of Leiden, so attractive to students of Arabic, and the work of the editor has been carefully executed. This edition will be found very suitable as a reading-book for young scholars, the language is easy, and the matter interesting and often entertaining.

T. W. ARNOLD.

HANDBUCH DER ISLAM-LITERATUR. Von Professor D. GUSTAV PFANNMÜLLER. Berlin und Leipzig, 1923.

Since the publication of *Orientalische Bibliographie* has been discontinued, Orientalists have felt the lack of this valuable adjunct to their studies, and to none has it been a greater loss than to the

students of Islam, for recent years have witnessed an enormous output of literature, in most of the languages of Europe, on the religion of Islam and the political life and institutions of Muhammadan countries. These are subjects that are of interest not only to professed Orientalists, but also to a much larger circle of readers—publicists, students of religion, and many others. To such students Professor Pfannmüller's bibliographical handbook will prove very welcome, and it may well be expected to give a fresh impulse to Islamic studies. One special feature of his work is that it is not primarily addressed to Orientalists, but is intended for the use of all persons interested in the religion of Islam and Muhammadan civilization generally, and thus supplies a need that no existing book attempts to meet. The author has divided his material under the following seven headings—the bibliography of Islam in general, Muslim countries, the political history and culture of Islam, religion (in twelve chapters), philosophy, art, and literature. The section on religion takes up considerably more than half the book, and the account of the biographers of the Prophet and the varying estimates of Muhammad's life and character from St. John of Damascus, through the Middle Ages, down to modern times are of especial interest. The work consists of no mere list of books, but gives an account of the growth of each separate branch of Islamic studies, accompanied by a critical and discriminating valuation of the available sources of information. Such a useful guide to a widely scattered literature is sure of a welcome from all students of the Muhammadan world.

T. W. ARNOLD.

LA MÚSICA DE LAS CANTIGAS: estudio sobre su origen y naturaleza por JULIÁN RIBERA. Madrid, 1922.

Professor Ribera's name is well known to all students of Arabic, and especially to those interested in the history of the civilization of the Arabs in Spain. His latest investigations have been devoted to Arabic music, and he has published in a stately volume a photographic reproduction of 295 songs (together with transcriptions in modern notation), forming a collection of songs made by Alfonso the Wise, king of Castile, in the thirteenth century, and contained in two MSS., one in the National Library, Madrid, and the other in the Escurial, both of them written during the life-time of this king. As is well

known, King Alfonso was an enthusiastic admirer of Muhammadan culture: his court was full of Muslim men of letters, whom he employed to translate from Arabic works of science, history, and religion. A similar patronage he extended to Muhammadan musicians, and it is Professor Ribera's contention that in these songs are preserved the Arab music that was introduced into Spain by the Umayyads and cultivated there by succeeding generations both of Muslims and Christians. The interpretation of this notation has hitherto baffled the skill of experts in musical science, but Professor Ribera has found the clue in the musical system of the Arabs, and has recognized in the metre of these songs such familiar Arabic metrical forms as *hazaj*, *ramal*, and *tawīl*. The detailed elaboration of these identifications is of primary interest to the student of music; but if Professor Ribera's contention is true, that from this music is derived the music of mediaeval Provence, we have an important contribution to the solution of the long-debated question of the origin of Provencal poetry and its relation to the Arabic poetry of Spain. It is not, however, only to students of music that Professor Ribera's work appeals; his introduction contains the fullest account that has yet appeared in any European language of the cultivation of music in the courts of Baghdad and Cordova, and may thus be commended to students as a valuable chapter in the history of Muhammadan culture.

T. W. ARNOLD.

CLASSICAL SANSKRIT LITERATURE. By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, D.C.L., D.Litt. (The Heritage of India Series.) 8vo, pp. 153. Calcutta and London, 1923.

Professor Keith's wide and accurate learning and his vigorous and independent judgment are well manifested in this little book. The title is, indeed, somewhat ambiguous, for the subjects treated in the volume are limited to poetry, the prose romance and *campū*, folk-tale, didactic fable, and lyric and gnomic verse, with an introductory chapter on the nature and use of the classical Sanskrit language and a final account of the theories of poetry, so that it excludes from its purview not only the gigantic literatures of philosophy, theology, art, science, and law, but even the drama, to which a separate volume in the series has been assigned. It would, perhaps, have been well to make plain this limitation by an expansion of the title. But the book, though thus restricted in scope, is very welcome. It contains

in little an enormous amount of carefully collected and digested information—

Μοῖσαι σποράδες ποκά, νῦν δ' ἅμα πᾶσαι
ἐντὶ μιᾶς μανδρας, ἐντὶ μιᾶς ἀγέλας—

and it will be exceedingly useful to all students.

The author's knowledge and judgment are as a rule so sound that one rarely feels disposed to question his conclusions. There are, however, a few points of minor importance on which we venture with all due humility to raise our voice in modest dissent. On p. 17, n., in denying (rightly, in our opinion) the identity of the grammarian Pāṇini and the poet of that name, he remarks that "the forms *gṛhya* and *apaśyatī* of the poet Pāṇini disprove his identity with the grammarian": but on p. 71 (cf. p. 126) he refuses to admit the cogency of a somewhat similar argument to disprove Daṇḍin's authorship of the Daśa-kumāra-carita, because, he says, "it is much easier to preach than to practice [*sic*!]." He is characteristically positive as to the authorship of the now famous plays discovered by Pandit Gaṇapati Śāstri: "Bhāsa certainly," he says (p. 31). *Chacun à son goût*: but perhaps the evidence recently published in this *Bulletin* may shake his certainty, which is not shared by many Sanskritists in the West. With equal positiveness he writes, on the subject of Kālidāsa's date, that "the allusion to the horse sacrifice in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* is almost inevitably to be explained as a reminiscence of the performance of that rite by Samudragupta" (p. 31). Why "almost inevitably"? Samudragupta was not the only Gupta who performed a horse-sacrifice: Kumāragupta I did the same. While mentioning with just reserve the ascription of the Sētu-bandha to Pravarasēna of Kashmir (p. 61), he ignores the possibility that the author (or patron) may have been the Vākāṭaka Pravarasēna II. On pp. 66, 67, and 147 we find the mis-spelling *Heketaios* for *Hekataios*. The discussion of the origin of the Campū on p. 88 is hardly adequate, and slightly misleading: but lack of space forbids us to consider the point here. On p. 89 Professor Keith ascribes to the author of the Pañca-tantra or Tantrâkhyāyika "the creation of a new literary genre". This is surely too bold: all that we can safely say is that this work is the earliest known specimen of its genre. There may have been, and probably were, others of the same kind before it—*vixere fortes ante Agamemnona*—but it so utterly eclipsed them that they fell into desuetude and disappeared. The author is on the whole right in his insistence upon the dominance of fatalism in Sanskrit

poetry (p. 128): but he neglects to make the necessary limitations. Again and again in literature, from epic times downwards, there rings out from time to time another note, that asserts the freedom of the moral will and calls for *puruṣakāra*.

An occasional tendency to lapse into obscurity and tortuousness of style suggests that the book was written in some haste. Thus we read that the Ṛtu-saṃhāra "has paid the penalty of juvenility by condemnation by modern, though not ancient, opinion as the product of some other hand" (p. 32): that Candrāpīḍa in the Kādambarī "goes back to Ujjayinī without, through excess of reticence on either side, assuring himself directly of their mutual passion" (p. 80). On p. 90, l. 4, "the latter" is wrong. On p. 92, ll. 9–11, the words "before the growing disuse among other causes of Paiśācī induced the translations into Sanskrit" are ambiguous and of dubious correctness; and so are ll. 1–2 of p. 138. There are also a few misprints, which the reader can correct for himself; not being γωνιοβόμβυκες, we will not dwell upon them.

L. D. BARNETT.

VĀSAVADATTĀ. Being a translation of an anonymous Sanskrit drama Svapanavāsavadatta [*sic*!] attributed to Bhāsa. By V. S. SUKTHANKAR. 8vo, pp. iv + 94. Oxford: University Press: Bombay, 1923.

So much has been published in the *Bulletin* on the subject of "Bhāsa" that we refrain from discussing that theme here. No exception can possibly be taken to Dr. Sukthankar's title-page and to his statement concerning the Trivandrum Series plays that "several well-known critics, men whose researches in Sanskrit literature entitle them to speak with authority, agree in attributing them to . . . Bhasa", while he himself assures us that he has "only tentatively accepted the theory of his authorship". It is therefore with sincere pleasure that we greet the appearance of a work by a competent scholar who has the candour and courage to admit this much; it is a welcome sign that the tide has turned.

As to the merits of the play itself, "East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet" in a verdict. Dr. Sukthankar calls it "the glorious heritage of the whole civilized world". Undoubtedly the figures of Vāsavadattā, the loving wife restored after tragic separation, and Yāugandharāyaṇa, the loyal and resourceful minister, are well drawn with simple and firm lines. But as to the handling

of the plot and the other characters there must be a difference of opinion. The outline of the story was fixed by ancient legend, and left no option to the dramatist: but it was not necessary for him to make Padmāvatī accept so complacently a second place—indeed, no place at all—in her lord's affections, and voluntarily restore her rival to the rank of chief queen with unruffled cheerfulness. Even in India the *pati-dēvatā*, the perfect woman whose husband is her god, does not do these things without a wriggle. As to Udayana, he is a hero in whom the West can see nothing heroic—a flabby sensualist who has been unfaithful to Vāsavadattā in the old days, and after her supposed death allows himself for political reasons to be affianced to another lady for whom he cares little or nothing, while he sheds at intervals maudlin tears over his first love. Granted that the legend presented him as a rather poor creature in *affaires de cœur*, was it necessary to show him up on the boards as such an utter worm?

Dr. Sukthankar has, on the whole, discharged his task very well. He has added to the translation only a preface of four pages and two pages of brief notes, with an abridgment of the story in the version of the Kathā-sarit-sāgara. The translation is generally correct; but in a few places it is rather loose. For example, on p. 5, l. 4, the words "which are the riches of the hermits" are wrong; they mean "of the hermits", and should follow "the forest" in l. 3. On p. 6, for "I feel reassured" read "be reassured" (*vissasihi*); and Padmāvatī's words "Invite here . . . want anything?" (p. 7) are not in the text of the edition of 1912. On p. 10, l. 7 from the bottom, the words "Yes, I know" are also not in the text; and on l. 4 from the bottom "feeling sure of their ground" is not quite correct, for *dēśâgatapratyayā* rather means "feeling confidence inspired by [the influence of] the place". On p. 54 we read with some surprise of a "lotus creeper", which is a compound somewhat resembling the "hare's horn" dear to the scholastics, since a lotus cannot be a creeping plant under any circumstances: *padminī* means a bed of lotuses, and should be so translated. On p. 64 "faithful to thee" is hardly adequate as a rendering of *bhavad-guṇa-ratāḥ*. On p. 70 *bhāgyāiś calāir mahad avâptaguṇôpaghâtaḥ* is rendered "fickle fortune has brought about the obliteration of the merit I had acquired"; but it rather means "having through fickle fortune suffered an injury to morals" (*mahad* being joined as adverb to *bhītaḥ*). On p. 72 again *prabhāvaḥ* is not "prowess". And do ladies in English literature and life use the interjection "humph"?

L. D. BARNETT.

Ayan. Edited by Bireśvar Sen. Indian Society of Oriental Art. 12, Samavāya Mansions, Calcutta. Price of each number, 12 annas.

This is a new Bengali magazine devoted mainly to art. The first three places in the letterpress of the Baisākh number are given to members of the Tagore family. Rabīndranāth contributes a new song which is set to music by Dinendranāth, while Abanīndranāth defends the thesis that the artistic level of any production is determined by the degree in which it succeeds in transcending racial, climatic, and temporal limitations. Pramatha Chaudhurī discusses the true nature of art. Nandalāl Basu contributes an article on the use of natural objects in decorative design, and Yāminīkānta Sen writes on the "Liberation of Beauty", claiming that beauty does not depend upon truth or usefulness, but makes an independent appeal of its own.

Besides the song by Rabīndranāth the number contains two longer poems, and also two stories.

There are two coloured pictures, one by Abanīndranāth Thākur, taken from his new book *Śilpakalā*, and the other, *Sandhyā* by Nandalāl Basu, a remarkable study of a white-robed woman passing at sunset between huge forest trees. These two modern pictures are in striking contrast with the photographic reproductions of four paintings in the style of the Mogul period.

It is a pity that the magazine should be disfigured by an advertisement exhorting readers to "try their picture frames to" a certain firm. This advertisement unfortunately faces a striking black and white sketch by Nandalāl Basu called "Ālpanā".

The magazine is a proof of the reality of the artistic revival in Bengal under Abanīndranāth Thākur—a revival from which great things may be expected, if only those who represent it can escape from the fallacy that the bizarre is necessarily beautiful.

W. Sutton Page.

Hatim's Tales. Recorded, with the assistance of Pandit Govind Kaul, by Sir Aurel Stein, and edited by Sir George Grierson. pp. lxxxvi + 527. Price 30*s*. net. London: John Murray, 1923.

This volume appeals to both linguists and folklorists. Dr. W. Crooke, the well-known authority on folk tales, supplies an introduc-

tion of 17 pp., in which he deals specially with the tales in their international aspect, drawing attention to many parallels in other countries. The chief appeal, however, is to students of Kashmiri, and they will be grateful to the authors for this elaborate treatment of the stories from the linguistic point of view. There are twelve stories in all, averaging 800 words each. Printed in the style of the introduction they would take about 25 pp. We might almost say that they have been told four times over. First we have Sir Aurel Stein's record accompanied by a free translation: they are told again in a different spelling by Pandit Govind Kaul, and with his narrative there is an interlinear translation. Thus we have the Kashmiri version twice over and two English translations. Originally the Kashmiri versions were sent home with a Sanskrit rendering and certain notes by Sir Aurel Stein. Sir George Grierson has prepared the two English translations and furnished us, as he did in the Kashmiri Manual, with a detailed analysis of all the words, explaining their grammatical features. There are two indexes. It will be seen that we have a very full account of old Hatim's vocabulary. It must be left to readers to decide whether he was born great or achieved greatness or had greatness thrust upon him. In any case, he and his are now probably the proud possessors of a copy of this work with his photograph for frontispiece showing him as he appeared in the Sahib's camp.

Kashmiri is a language which lends itself to this kind of treatment more than most north Indian languages. It is rich in inflexions: changes, both consonantal and vocalic, abound. To discover the rules which underlie them is a task of no ordinary difficulty: it is the task which Sir George Grierson has imposed upon himself both here and in the Kashmiri Manual. With great pains and great success he has sought out and tabulated and explained every form. This the beginner could not have undertaken. Even with the aid of Kashmiri teachers he would have found it beyond him: bewildered with wandering in a maze from which the Pandits could not have shown him the way out, he would have hopelessly given up his labour, and contented himself with blundering along, satisfied if he could make himself understood: but here he has been given the key to the labyrinth and he will be grateful.

The phonetic interest of the volume is very great. Sir Aurel Stein modestly warns us against expecting too great accuracy in his record of the sounds. He has in mind, of course, the distinction between cerebrals and non-cerebrals on the one hand, and between aspirated and

unaspirated sounds on the other, distinctions practically impossible to European scholars unless they have been accustomed to make them in childhood. Kashmiri in both cases makes the distinction very clear, as clear as it is in north India. It has *ṭ, ḍ, ṛ*, as well as *t, d, r*. *ḷ* and *ṇ* are not found as independent sounds. In this it differs from the Dard languages further north and west. Thus Shina, in addition to the cerebrals just mentioned, possesses *ṇ* and in one dialect *ḷ*. It has further a series of four cerebrals not heard in Kashmir or north India. Kashmiri pandits do not use cerebral *ṛ* and are unable to recognize it when they hear it. They, however, form a very small proportion of the population. When the Muhammadans in the villages pronounce cerebral *ṛ*, as they regularly do, the Pandits record it as either *ḍ* or dental *r*. This will be found exemplified over and over again in Govind Kaul's transcription of Hatim's stories. His record alters words in which Hatim, like all village Kashmiris of his religion, used *ṛ*, and represents the sound in one of the two ways just alluded to, viz., cerebral *ḍ* or dental *r*.

It is important to note that there is no confusion at all in the villager's pronunciation. I have travelled extensively in Kashmir and visited countless villages: cerebral *ṛ* and the other cerebrals are just as distinct as in Urdu or Panjabi. It was always with great satisfaction that I turned from the city pronunciation of the pandits to the strong virile village speech. The same clear-cut distinction is observed between aspirates and non-aspirates.

From what has been said it will be seen how wide is the appeal of this book. The student of folklore will follow his pet subject in these stories, which may be hundreds of years old. The Indo-Aryan philologist will find material for the examination of sound changes and for the deduction of their laws. The beginner in Kashmiri will go over each word and grammatical form in order to obtain a practical knowledge of the language, while the scholar who has had many opportunities of speaking it will rejoice in the reminders of things he has heard and said, and will note many words and forms which he should have employed but never remembered in time.

It is with great regret that we have to mention the death of two of the collaborators in this volume. Pandit Govind Kaul's death is referred to in the introduction, but Dr. Crooke died only a very short time ago. His place among the students of Indian folklore and anthropology will be hard to fill.

To Sir Aurel Stein and Sir George Grierson, who amid many other

labours brought this work to so successful a conclusion, must be tendered the grateful thanks of all who are interested in Kashmir and its people.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

THE BALOCHI LANGUAGE: A GRAMMAR AND MANUAL. By Major G. W. GILBERTSON, assisted by GHANO KHAN HADDIANI. Published by the author. pp. xvi + 312. 1923.

This grammar, by its good humour and cheeriness, ought to be welcome to those who wish to have the task of language learning made easy; for a merry heart is a good medicine, and helps the student as well as the breadwinner. There are several features which distinguish Major Gilbertson's work. Every chapter ends with one or two lists of words "to be remembered", a series of sentences, and a questionnaire. Still more notable is the device of marking the most important portions of the grammar in order that they may be studied first and a general idea of the language obtained. There is a special section of 17 pp. on idioms. Seven pages of idioms which should have been included in this chapter appear to have lost their way; they turn up along with conjunctions and interjections under the heading "Words and their ways". The principles of the syntax are conveniently summarized in a set of thirty-two rules (chap. xix). The last 90 pp. of the book are given up to examination papers. Parts II and III contain conversational sentences and longer passages respectively which have been set in recent examinations. They are accompanied by translation and notes. They will afford admirable practice for students who will be able to compare their own hesitating efforts with the easy flight of the model translations.

As we may hope that a second edition will soon be called for, perhaps the author will allow me to make two suggestions. Among the words which we are told to remember are many which, comparatively speaking, are of little use. If the author were to make a careful selection of the thousand most useful words in the language, he would, I dare to expect, find that a number of those in the present lists had to be omitted, and that a number more, not found now, had to be included. The questionnaires are thoroughly relevant, but the sentences do not bear upon the chapters which precede them. It might be possible to alter or distribute them in such a manner as to secure that each chapter should be followed by sentences illustrating the

subject which had just been expounded. It would be a pity to omit them, for they are well chosen and most useful. They might be re-arranged. This would render them still more helpful. To a certain extent the numerous examples scattered here and there may serve as translation exercises and increase accuracy in composition. Gratitude is cynically said to be a sense of favours to come. In expressing our gratitude to the author for a valuable and interesting book, we look forward to the other volumes which he promises to bring out at no distant date.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY. Vol. II, Pts. II, III, and IV. Oxford: 151 Iffley Road.

In all three parts Dr. Sampson continues his Welsh Tales with translation. In Part ii Bernard Gilliat Smith writes on the language of the Russian Gypsy Singers, an illuminating contribution. In Part iii Principal Sir Donald MacAlister has a Romani translation of a song by John Buchan. It is not generally known that the distinguished head of Glasgow University is an accomplished Romani scholar. In Part iii Dr. Sampson has an unusually interesting article on the origin of the Gipsies, in which, like nearly all scholars who are first and foremost Gipsy scholars, he rejects the Dard theory. I must correct his statement that Dard and Kafir languages make no distinction between cerebrals and dentals. The distinction is perfectly clear.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

THE LAY OF ALHA. A Saga of Rajput Chivalry as sung by Minstrels of Northern India. Partly translated in English Ballad Metre by the late WILLIAM WATERFIELD, of the Bengal Civil Service. With an Introduction and Abstracts of the untranslated portions by Sir GEORGE GRIERSON, K.C.I.E. Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford, 1923.

In the fatal year 1192, Prithīrāj, king of Delhi and Ajmir, was vanquished by Muhammad Ghori in the great battle fought near Thanesar. The Chauhan king was captured and slain. Delhi was taken in 1193 by the Turki invaders. In the following year the kingdom of Kanauj, then ruled by King Jaychand, who had refused to assist Prithīrāj in his struggle against the Mohammadans, was

conquered. Jaychand was killed, and a few years later the whole of Northern India was in the power of the foreign rulers.

This success of the invaders had been greatly facilitated by the bloody feuds which were continually fought between the chiefs of the Rājpūt dynasties, who, in the twelfth century, were the lords of Northern India, viz., Prithīrāj the Chauhan, king of Delhi: Jaychand the Gaharwār, king of Kanauj: and Parmāl the Chandēl, king of Mahōbā.

The name of Prithīrāj, the first and last Chauhan ruler of Delhi, is still famous among the modern population of Hindostān. His court poet Chand Bardāī, who was finally killed at the side of his master, composed a verse chronicle consisting of 100,000 stanzas, the Prithīrāj Rāsau, which, in substance, is a universal history of his time. Like other court chroniclers in the service of Rājpūt rulers, Chand was a scholar, well versed in the rules of *alaṃkāra* and of other *śāstras*, and the facts narrated in his work are naturally represented from the Delhi point of view.

Every Rājpūt ruler kept such a chronicler at his court, and the works of these poets still exist in manuscripts. But in the case of the bloody wars fought between Prithīrāj and his opponents there is a quite independent tradition besides, a tradition not supported by manuscripts, but by *illiterate minstrels*, called "Ālhā Gānēwāla", or "singers of (the exploits of) Ālhā". Up to this day these minstrels are found in Northern India from Delhi to Bihār, and like the old Kuśīlavas, or the "spilman" type of the "varnde diet" of our own middle ages, they live on reciting parts of their great epic which is called the "Ālh-khaṇḍ". The text of this poem is handed down in their families from generation to generation by purely *oral* tradition. It, therefore, varies from place to place, and in course of time its language has undergone strong alterations. As we have it, it contains such modern words as *culverine, bombard, falconet, gun, rockets, cannon, powder-bags, arquebusier, pistol, bomb, shell*, and even *sappers and miners*. No student of Indian literature will be astonished at such a fact. The Indian turn of mind, from the oldest times of Indian history onward, tends towards continual modernization. A complete lack of the sense of historical development is one of the most striking features of the Hindu mind, and even the Indian Mohammadans have undergone this influence. The well-known Hindu scholar V. Sh. Apte, in his *Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 986, translates the Sanskrit word *vimāna* by "a balloon", and in the *Akhlāq-e hindī*,

that famous Mohammadan *remaniement* of the Hitopadeśa, the birds' army is equipped with muskets, rifles, and artillery.

On the other hand, the *contents* of the *Lay of Ālhā* are undoubtedly old. This does not, of course, mean to say that the events related in the poem should be regarded as strictly historical. In this as in other respects the Ālh-khaṇḍ resembles our own mediaeval epics. As in other quasi-historical productions of India, as well as of mediaeval Europe, the supernatural has its due share in the account, and we shall scarcely be astonished to learn from the minstrels' verses that, on different occasions, some of their heroes were changed into parrots by sorceresses and how they were afterwards released.

These sorceresses are not only gipsy girls, like Subhiā Biṛini (canto xvii), but sometimes princesses, like Chittar-rekhā, who turns Indal into a parrot and takes him away in her magic cage (p. 212), or like Bijmā, who casts spells on the hostile heroes and turns Ūdan into a ram (p. 128), or like Sunwā, who destroys the fatal spells of other sorceresses by counter-spells (pp. 194, 202, 258). Such sorceresses are deprived of all their powers when their hair is cut (pp. 194, 202, 258). King Naipālī casts a spell on the marriage arbour; but a counter-spell of the bride, his own daughter, renders it ineffective (p. 184). The Mahōbā ruler possesses five magical horses and a philosopher's stone, and the Rāja of Naināgaṛh owns a magic drum, the sound of which restores his dead soldiers to life (p. 163 ff.). Prithīrāj, king of Delhi, has a magic arrow which makes him invincible (p. 215). We hear of magic powders (p. 213), magic pills (p. 257), magic spells and counter-spells, a magic fire which consumes a camp (p. 258), and even of a whole magic army (p. 257).

Throughout the whole of this romantic epic, indeed, history, legend, and fairy tale have been amalgamated into an harmonious unit.

On p. 13 Sir George Grierson points out that in Chand's *Prithī Rāj Rāsau* the story of Malkhān's death "altogether disagrees with the version of the *Ālh-khaṇḍ*, and the same statement is true with respect to a third version of the same story as given from the mouth of a Barhaut bard in the Meṛaṭh district by Temple in his *Legends of the Panjâb*, vol. iii, p. 39 ff.

In this cycle of Rājpūt chivalry tales, moreover, students of comparative legendary lore (*Vergleichende Erzählungskunde*) will find many of the well-known novellistic devices common to all the Indian story-tellers. Such devices are, e.g., parrots employed in taking letters to distant addressees (pp. 146, 210), warriors' corpses rising from the

battle-field to continue fighting (p. 133), weeping, crying, laughing, and speaking skulls (pp. 85, 91, 139), a speaking elephant (p. 120), an eater of human flesh (p. 159), disguises of the heroes or of the heroines as jogīs, as females, as a milkmaid, as a horse-dealer (pp. 201, 165, 239, 200, 174, 187, 188), the gardener's wife as a helpmate for obtaining access to a princess (p. 200), eyes and liver of a deer sent instead of those of a man sentenced to death, but spared by the executioner (p. 213), cutting off one's head in order to gain a boon from a goddess, and restoration of the corpse to life by the same deity (p. 269), and the aid afforded by deities in general, and especially by Śāradā, i.e. Durgā, the tutelary deity of Mahōbā (passim), lioness' milk (p. 121), transmigration of souls (p. 192), seven consecutive incarnations of the same couple (p. 262 ; cf. p. 140), and remembrance of former existences (p. 201).

But as our own mediaeval epics afford us an excellent idea of what was the general state of things prevailing at the time of their composition, and in the respective countries of their poets, even so the *Ālh-khaṇḍ* is a treasury of information of the manners and customs of those remarkable Rājpūt tribes which, in the twelfth century A.D., were the rulers of Northern India.

Psychologists as well as students of history and of folklore will be highly interested in features of these ballads like the following. Young Ūdan, disguised as a jogī, comes as a spy to the court of Māṛō, where his father has been murdered by being crushed in a stone-mill, his skull being nailed on a tree. The youth is recognized by the murderer's daughter, who induces him to swear that he will marry her. After the defeat of her father, she and her mother are forced by the three princes Ūdan, Ālhā, and Malkhān to see him put to death in the same horrible manner in which he had had executed Ūdan's and Ālha's father. In spite of this, she is ready to become at once Ūdan's wife. Ūdan, who is deeply in love with her, wishes to have the ceremony performed on the spot ; but the two other princes strongly oppose this, and Malkhān kills her with a terrible stroke of his sword. Before dying she foretells her lover that she will be his wife in her next existence. As Ūdan killed her four brothers, her father's skull asks to be taken by him to Benares Tīrtha, and Ūdan obeys without a word.

The Banāphar princes never hit the first stroke in a single combat, because such an action would violate a law strictly observed by their clan. Generally speaking, they endure three consecutive attacks

before they strike their first blow. But their Rājpūt honour does not in the least prevent them from treacherously murdering an ascetic who, at their request, is about to give them a cup of water to quench their thirst, or from penetrating as spies, and under various disguises, into the palaces of their enemies, and even into those of their enemies' wives.

Fictitious as most of these incidents are, they are highly characteristic of the notions of duty and of honour prevailing amongst those Rājpūt clans. In his introduction to canto iv, Sir George Grierson[1] draws the reader's attention to the quaint marriage customs observed by them. "The father of the bride," he says, "dares suitors to come, and when one does come, he has to meet force by force, and is treated with the foulest treachery. The most solemn oath of friendship, not to speak of safe conduct, is taken with no intention of its being kept, and is broken without hesitation. Ālhā succeeds, after many perils, in bringing away his bride, and it would naturally be expected that, in future years, his relations with his wife's people would, at least, be strained. Yet we find them subsequently on the most friendly terms, and fighting side by side as allies."

In respect to its form, as well as to its contents, the *Ālh-khaṇḍ* shows a strong resemblance to the Jain epics called *rās*. But together with the resemblance there is a fundamental difference. Whereas in the Jain epics, at least in those which are known to the present writer, the hero, or heroine, of the story invariably becomes rich and happy, the conclusion of the *Ālh-khaṇḍ* is as tragic as that of our *Nibelungenlied*. The tragic development sets in at canto xiii. The author of the ruin of the Delhi as well as of the Mahōbā dynasty is Māhil the Parihār, a character who, in a certain respect, reminds us of *Hagen*. Unlike the latter, however, he does not adhere to anybody, and the motive of his foul actions is exclusively his thirst for revenge. In the middle of the eighth century the Parihār dynasty had been subdued by that of the Chandēls, to which belongs his brother-in-law, Parmāl, king of Mahōbā. The destruction of the Mahōbā dynasty, therefore, is Māhil's secret aim, and he pursues this aim throughout the whole of the poem. At his instigation Prithīrāj, king of Delhi, and father-in-law of Parmāl's only son Brahmā, takes the stronghold of Sirsā. Its gallant defender Malkhān has but a single vulnerable spot on the sole of his foot.

[1] Cf. Sir George Grierson, "The Lay of Brahma's Marriage," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. II, p. 573 ff., where, together with an introduction, a complete translation of canto vi is given.

Māhil contrives to draw her son's secret out of Malkhān's mother, and in consequence of her indiscretion her son is killed. When Brahmā starts at the head of his army to take home his wife Belā from Delhi, Prithīrāj, again at the instigation of the traitor, has his son-in-law treacherously murdered. But before the young prince dies, Belā dresses in her husband's armour, and in a single combat beheads the principal murderer, her own brother Tāhar, whose head she brings to her dying husband. After Brahmā's death she ascends the pyre on which her husband's body reposes, and dies as a *satī*, the fire which consumes her having burst from her hair.

In the battle which develops round the pyre all the warriors of Mahōbā, with the only exception of immortal Ālhā and of his son Indal, are killed, and all of Prithīrāj's sons and his general with the greater part of his army are slain. With the scanty remnants of his troops Prithīrāj returns to Delhi, whereas Ālhā and his son set out for the "Land of Darkness", where the former still lives, waiting for his moment to reappear and to avenge Mahōbā's ruin. All the widows of Mahōbā die as *satīs*. "Parmāl starves himself to death, and Mahōbā disappears from history." But the traitor Māhil survives.

From what has been said in the preceding lines, it will be seen that the *Ālh-khaṇḍ*, besides being most interesting for students of Indology, of Folklore, and of Comparative Literary History, is a truly poetical production. Out of its twenty-three cantos, five were totally, and two were partially, rendered into English verse by the late Mr. William Waterfield, who was an excellent scholar, well versed in ancient as well as in modern Indian languages. "His translation," Sir George Grierson says, "is so accurate and follows the original so closely that I have not thought it necessary to alter a single word." Still it reads like the original work of a really gifted poet. Again the present writer fully agrees with Sir George when, Introduction, p. 10, he writes as follows: "The style adopted by him, that of the English Border ballads, is excellently suited to the subject, and the occasional use of antique words and phraseology gives just the right idea of the rough and somewhat antique Bundēlī Hindī dialect of the original."

It is to be regretted that the author of this excellent translation did not translate the greater part of the *Ālh-khaṇḍ*. Still, the present volume gives a good idea of the whole work as well as of its parts. For it contains a lucid Introduction, a list of the many characters (pp. 27–37), abstracts in prose of all the cantos not translated by

Mr. Waterfield, and explanatory notes, all these supplements being written by Sir George Grierson's master-hand.

The present writer trusts that all the readers of this pretty volume will agree with him when he says that Sir George Grierson did extremely well in spending his precious time on this first publication which makes the *Lay of Ālhā* accessible to Western readers. And such a statement will be the best recommendation of the book.

JOHANNES HERTEL.

HARVARD AFRICAN STUDIES. VOL. IV: AN ENGLISH-NUBIAN COMPARATIVE DICTIONARY. By G. W. MURRAY. Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford.

In spite of the formidable list of "works on or referring to the Nubian language" which appears in Appendix I, this is the first published Nubian-English Dictionary; and the author is quite right in supposing that "English-speaking students will find it a convenience to have the scattered vocabularies of four or five German authors united in one volume". The production of this work had already been arranged by the late Professor Bates some years before the war, but various causes delayed its completion till last year.

Westermann includes Nubian in his "Sudanic family" and Mr. Murray follows him so far as to admit that "there are good reasons for associating, on grammatical grounds, both Nubian and Kunama with Dinka and Shilluk". But, as regards vocabulary, "no language has been found . . . predominantly cognate with Nubian. In fact, of the Nubian roots considered, a large part cannot be parallelled in any of the languages examined." It must be remembered, however, that—as philologists frequently remind us—"vocabulary alone is not a safe guide in dealing with a language which has been subjected to so many foreign influences," so that the existence of numerous Arabic and Hamitic loan-words proves nothing as to the affinities of Nubian. The recent discovery of tones in the more primitive dialects spoken in Kordofan seems to confirm Westermann's conclusion and "to indicate a Sudanic basis for the language, on which waves of Hamitic influence have been successively superimposed." This influence has even gone so far as to borrow personal-endings for the verb and case-endings for the noun, thus largely obscuring the true character of the language. The existence of Christian texts in Nubian, dating from the tenth century (some of which have been published by

Mr. F. Ll. Griffith), gives it some claim to be considered as a literary language.

The printing and general get-up of the volume are in accordance with the best traditions of the Oxford University Press.

A. W.

LIFE IN SOUTHERN NIGERIA: THE MAGIC, BELIEFS, AND CUSTOMS OF THE IBIBIO TRIBE. By P. AMAURY TALBOT, Resident, Nigeria. London: Macmillan and Co.

This, again, is a most valuable contribution to our knowledge of Africa. We are already indebted to Mr. Talbot for the careful study of the Ekoi people entitled *In the Shadow of the Bush*, and the present volume deals with their neighbours, the Ibibio. The latter, it may be necessary to state, inhabit the country between the Cross River and the Kwa Ibo, in the Eastern Province of Southern Nigeria, while the Ekoi are to be found on the eastern bank of the Cross, extending into what was formerly German territory. (A mass of information as to these eastern Ekoi is contained in Dr. Mansfeld's *Urwald-Dokumente*, 1908).

Mr. Talbot's book was ready as long ago as 1914, but its publication has been delayed by the war, and the lapse of time has added a painful interest to the numerous passages where the late Mrs. Talbot's share in the work is mentioned. Her book, *Women's Mysteries of a Primitive People*, 1913, broke new ground and gave promise—alas, unfulfilled—of still more important results later on.

The religion of the Ibibio is remarkable as exhibiting a more developed mythology than is usually to be found among the Bantu—at any rate in the eastern and southern parts of the continent, for among the Western Bantu, from the Congo northward, one observes a certain approximation to the belief and ritual of the Ekoi, Yoruba, and other West African tribes. This comes out especially in the investigations of the late Mr. R. E. Dennett, which (apart from the somewhat fantastic conclusions he based on them) no anthropologist can afford to neglect. Mr. Talbot, indeed, points out the coincidence between Mr. Dennett's account of sacred groves in the Lower Congo region with his own description of the objects found in an Ibibio grove. It is interesting that both contain, among other things, "mats said to represent the rainbow." One feature of the Ibibio grove not mentioned by Mr. Dennett is "a legendary python set to guard the waters, a leopard appointed to the same office by land, and a fish-eagle hovering as

protector in the clear air above". The python is regarded as sacred in various parts of Africa—e.g. by the Awa-Wanga, near the north-eastern corner of the Victoria Nyanza: the leopard everywhere has tabus of one sort or another attached to him: the fish-eagle figures in East African folklore, though as yet there seems to be no evidence of his having any special importance, unless, perhaps as a totem.

In this connexion the chapter headed "Affinities and Were-Beasts" is of peculiar interest. But, indeed, the same might be said of every chapter. That on "'Magic' Plays" presents facts probably new to most readers, who will no doubt suspend their judgment as to whether it is a case of marvellously clever conjuring, or of hypnotic and clairvoyant powers beyond anything hitherto proved to exist. It should be added that Mr. Talbot manifests a laudably open mind with regard to the "occult", and is quite free from the tendency to reject as incredible everything which cannot readily be explained. Whatever may be the explanation of the facts recorded, the book as a whole is certainly not calculated to detract from the uncanny reputation justly or unjustly attaching to West Africa.

The space at our disposal will allow of no further quotations, but it would be easy to fill many pages, and we can only add, while insisting once more on its scientific value, that Mr. Talbot has contrived to make his book as readable as a novel.

A. W.

NYASA, THE GREAT WATER, BEING A DESCRIPTION OF THE LAKE AND THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE. By the Ven. WILLIAM PERCIVAL JOHNSON, Archdeacon of Nyasa (Universities' Mission to Central Africa). Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford, 1922.

Archdeacon Johnson, one of the veterans of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, has condensed into this unpretending little volume the results of an experience extending over some forty years. Within the compass of its two hundred pages we have a mass of valuable anthropological facts collected in a region little written up as yet, and told in a simple, straightforward style, which makes very easy reading. The first chapter contains an interesting description of the Lake—its harbours, headlands, islands, prevailing winds, and other atmospheric phenomena—illustrated by an excellent map. The tribes who inhabit its shores are the Konde, Tonga, Mpoto, Akumatengo, Amapangwa, Nyanja, Yao, and Angoni—the most important being the three last-named.

" Except the Angoni, and there only partially, none of these tribes have any central organization or chiefs with widespread dominion. They are split up into numerous clans, each with its chief or headman, and the most important of the chiefs have only a few headmen under them . . . The idea of the family is interwoven with that of the village among the Lake people."

The difficulty of arriving at the traditional history of a tribe which has been frequently displaced by successive migrations is well illustrated in the chapter headed " The Old Chiefs (1864–84) ". But the author's careful and patient inquiries have recovered a considerable body of facts as far back as the first of the dates named. It is worth noting that what is usually described as the Yao invasion of the Shire Highlands, in the early sixties, was in reality a forced migration, they being expelled from their homes in the Lujenda Valley by the advance of the Alolo from the east. (The Alolo, in their turn, may have been displaced by the Portuguese, though this is not quite clear.) This puts a somewhat different complexion on the famous encounter of Bishop Mackenzie's mission party with a band of these same Yaos (p. 101). But Archdeacon Johnson—or his printer—is surely in error in dating this incident 1864 ; it actually happened in 1861.

The chapter dealing with " Wizardry and Superstition " contains much with which one is already familiar in the case of other peoples (and which is therefore valuable for comparative purposes) and some points new at any rate to the present writer—e.g. the alternative method of divinations, when " the diviner pretends to talk with an inane little image, often made up with parts of animals, skin, tail, etc." Again, while the " belief that the souls of men come back in the bodies of animals " seems common to all Bantu tribes : but one did not imagine that *all* animals were supposed to be re-incarnated spirits—indeed, the contrary has been expressly asserted by some natives. But Archdeacon Johnson heard a young man say—apropos of a discussion as to whether or no there were any animals on a certain small island : " How could there be wild animals on the island when nobody has died there ? "

There are many passages one would like to quote, but I must confine myself to two, which show a fine psychological insight. Speaking of divination, the author says :

" The whole thing seems utterly foolish until one tries to unravel some native case where grievous wrong has been done and no witnesses can be obtained, and then one understands the natives resorting to it.

It was probably the same reason which made people sanction ordeals and torture in old times."

And which, one may add, in much more recent times, has been seriously urged in defence of duelling.

And in the next chapter, leading up to a number of simple and touching narratives taken down exactly as told by natives :

" In presence of the unknown and impalpable danger [from witchcraft] we have found fear leading to cruelty ; where the danger is known and concrete we shall find courage and helpfulness."

For the " village stories " illustrating this dictum, we must refer the reader to the book itself.

Archdeacon Johnson's probably unrivalled knowledge of the Nyanja language is evidenced by a large amount of translation work for which, it being published without his name, he has scarcely received sufficient credit. His collection of native proverbs—the work of many years—will, it is hoped, see the light shortly. One cannot help feeling doubtful, however, as to the validity of certain etymologies suggested by him in the work under review—the more so when we find him taking seriously Father Torrend's identification of *Mulungu* and *Moloch*. He derives the Nyanja *mfiti* " wizard " from Portuguese *feiteiro*, and the Yao *msawi* (Swahili *mchawi*) from سحر. But it seems ungracious to insist on a small point like this, when it is so far outweighed by the profit and pleasure to be derived from the book.

A. W.

FOLK-TALES OF THE BATONGA AND OTHER SAYINGS (INGANO ZYA BATONGA E ZIMPANGALIKO ZIMWI). By J. R. FELL. Holborn Publishing House, Holborn Hall, Clerkenwell Road, E.C.1.

Mr. Fell has already published a vocabulary and a grammar of the Tonga language, spoken by a tribe living near the Victoria Falls—also known as Batoka, from the Sesuto pronunciation of their name. He has now issued, as a reading-book for native schools, a collection of stories, riddles, and proverbs, taken down by himself from the recitation of children in the school at Kanchindu. The book is very welcome—apart from its immediate object—as a linguistic document (the only published Tonga texts I know of are those contained in the appendix to Father Torrend's *Comparative Grammar*) and a contribution to folklore. Their value from the latter point of view is slightly impaired by the fragmentary character of some (e.g. Nos. 18, 22, 37,

52). But this is very often the case when stories are obtained from children, who are usually readier to tell them than their elders, but do not know them so well. The first three stories contain several of the well-known incidents in the career of the Hare—here called *Sulwe*; among others the stratagem by which he enables the lion to entrap a number of animals by feigning death, and the episode of the animals digging a well, but in a somewhat unusual setting. (A fairly typical example of this last is the Swahili *Sungura na Mgomba* in *Masomo ya Pili*.) No. 89, "The Expert Singing Drummer" (a translation of *Siamadizumininangoma*) is a variant of the Swahili *Watoto na Zimwi* and numerous other tales, including Jacottet's "Tselane", and Dudley Kidd's "Child in the Drum". In "The Man who turned himself into a Lion" (102) a frog saves some women by swallowing them—an incident which is also found in "L'Homme au Grand Coutelas" (Junod, *Chants et Contes des Baronga*), and, in a far distant region, is told by the Jaluo ("Kavirondo") of the Tortoise.

A few proverbs may be quoted as specimens:

"The last remaining is taken by the river."

"The old woman longing to die runs away when she sees a snake."

"The new trumpet makes the mouth sore."

"I was afraid of the darkness which had no lion."

"I fled from the straight spear, I went into the barbed spear."

A. W.

IN WITCH-BOUND AFRICA. An Account of the Primitive Kaonde Tribe and their Beliefs. By FRANK H. MELLAND, B.A. (Oxon.), F.R.G.S., etc. Seeley Service & Co., 1923.

This is one of the most satisfactory anthropological books which have come our way for some time and quite entitled to rank with Mr. Driberg's *Lango*. Mr. Melland has resided for eleven years among the Kaonde, as Magistrate for the Kasempa District (between the Kabompo and Lunga Rivers, to the north of the Zambezi, and directly south of the Belgian territory of Katanga), and had already, before entering on this office, had eleven years' experience among Bantu peoples. The careful record of Kaonde customs contained in this book shows a degree of insight and sympathy too rarely attained (one fears) by administrators in primitive countries. The chapter entitled "The Future of the Native" contains so much sound sense that one wishes it could be studied by every candidate for a Government appointment in Africa.

The notes on Kaonde religion are full of interest and calculated to throw light on various matters hitherto obscure. It has always been a moot point whether the Bantu believe in evil spirits *per se*, i.e. spirits other than those of the dead (who may be well-or ill-disposed according to circumstances). These ghosts of the departed are called *vimvule* or *wafu*, and, if belonging to the speaker's own family, *wakishi* (sing. *mukishi*). The *wakishi* are prayed to and propitiated, and the fear of offending them may be called the chief factor in native morality, so far as it depends on external sanctions. Shades of a man's enemies—or of any one whom he has injured, or in respect of whom he has an unfulfilled obligation—become hostile ghosts, *mitala*. Some forms of these can assume material substance, e.g. the particularly gruesome one described on p. 145—which in some ways recalls the *umkovu* of the Zulus. (The latter, however, is deliberately called into existence by a wizard, like the *milombe* and *tayewera*, of which Mr. Melland gives an account in his sixteenth chapter.) The whole subject of witchcraft, as here treated, is extremely interesting and instructive, though perhaps the author has allowed undue weight to the conclusions advanced by Miss Murray in *The Witch-cult in Western Europe*.

Another fascinating subject is that of the *kongamato*, a kind of kelpie said to haunt certain rivers. It is possibly mythical, but Mr. Melland shows good grounds for thinking that Pterodactyls may have survived in this region long enough to have passed into the traditions of the people. The *kongamato* is described as "a bird—but not a bird really"; like a lizard, with wings like a bat—four to seven feet in wing-spread, red, with no feathers, but with teeth in its beak. Natives who were shown a book with pictures of extinct monsters immediately picked out the Pterodactyl as the *kongamato*. The swamp between the Jiundu and Mwombezhi Rivers is supposed to be its especial home. A. W.

TROPICAL HYGIENE FOR AFRICAN SCHOOLS. ENGLISH AND SWAHILI. London: Sheldon Press. Price 1*s*.

This is a most useful little book, which ought to have a wide circulation among educated natives in Kenya Colony, but is also likely to be very helpful to students of the language, the English and Swahili texts being given on opposite pages. The dialect used is that of Mombasa (as shown by the use of the forms *kutoma*, *ndia*, *wakwe*, etc.), but there would probably be no difficulty in understanding it at

Zanzibar or Dar-es-Salaam; and, in any case, the slight alterations necessary could easily be introduced in an alternative edition.

A. W.

A CONCISE ENGLISH–KAFIR DICTIONARY. By J. MCLAREN, M.A. Longmans, Green & Co. Price 9*s*.

Mr. McLaren's *Grammar* and *Concise Kafir–English Dictionary* have been in use since 1906 and 1915 respectively, and, though not quite unexceptionable from a philological and, more especially, from a phonetic point of view, have been found valuable helps to the learner. An English-Kafir Dictionary has been sorely needed, but this, somewhat strangely, is the first work of the kind that has been produced, those of Perrin and Roberts dealing with the Zulu dialect. Xosa, which is the proper designation of the language usually called "Kafir", spoken in the eastern and north-eastern parts of the Cape Province, is practically identical with Zulu as far as grammatical structure is concerned, though there are some interesting minor points of difference; the chief divergence is in the vocabulary: thus "boy" is in Xosa *inkwenkwe*, but in Zulu *umfana* (a word also used in Xosa, but in a somewhat different sense); "infant," X. *usana*, but Z. *ingane*; "bird," X. *intaka*, Z. *inyoni* (a widely distributed Bantu stem), etc.

A. W.

A HAUSA PHRASE BOOK. By ALLAN C. PARSONS, M.R.C.S., of the West African Medical Service, revised by Rev. G. P. BARGERY, Superintendent of Education, Nigeria. Oxford University Press. 7*s*. 6*d*.

Some years ago Dr. Allan Parsons, of the West African Medical Service, compiled this Phrase Book with the help of a number of administrative officers in Northern Nigeria. The Government of Nigeria having now secured the copyright have issued a new edition revised by Rev. G. P. Bargery, of the Nigerian Education Department. The revision has mainly taken the form of bringing the spelling of Hausa words into line with the standard set by the latter Department.

The transliteration of Hausa words into Roman characters has been the bane of students of the language, who find in the books already published, on Hausa folklore and the like, words spelt according to the individual fancy of each compiler. Much confusion has been the natural result. It is even doubtful now if the standard spelling of the

Nigerian Education Department is really the best that can be devised in the absence of some application of phonetics. Native scribes use the Arabic alphabet with modifications for transliterating Hausa phonetically. Though not an ideal medium it at least leaves no doubt about long and short vowels, which the English spelling fails to indicate. In a negroid language like Hausa, where there are a large number of words spelt alike in English which have different meanings according to whether the vowels are long or short, the confusion to a beginner is enhanced. This, however, is by the way. The Phrase Book itself serves a very useful purpose, is extremely comprehensive, and is a valuable help to those to whom the acquisition of the colloquial tongue is a necessity for the proper performance of their duties in the wide area of Nigeria in which Hausa is the *lingua franca*.

All sides of life in Hausaland are covered by the phrases given—household management, travelling, stable management, hunting, political and administrative, military and police, public works, forestry and agriculture, customs, commercial, mining, nursing, and medical. It is an invaluable aid to the learner in that it indicates in numerous examples not only the grammatical structure of sentences, but also the way in which ordinary English turns of phrase should be translated for the proper understanding of the native hearer. To all engaged in administrative work in Nigeria it has great practical value.

J. WITHERS GILL.

NOTES AND QUERIES

INDO-ARYAN ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES

1. Sanskrit *ánas-*

The majority of words common to the Indo-European languages can be referred to groups comprising both nouns and verbs, and their relationship within the group is conveniently indicated by the expression "root". Thus the noun represented by Skt. *bhēdáḥ*. Eng. *bait*, and the verb represented by Skt. *bhinátti*. Lat. *findere*. Eng. *bite*, can be referred to a root **bheid-*, of which the essential elements, the consonants and sonant, appeared in all members, whether nouns or verbs, of this word-group.

M. Meillet, however, very truly remarks [1] that all words do not belong to roots, and that many noun-stems cannot be analysed into root and suffix even where the final syllable has the form of a known suffix. He quotes as an example of such words Skt. *ánas*-n. cart = Lat. *onus* n. load, which have the form of the common noun-stems with suffix *-es-*.

It is true that both these words have derivatives in their own languages: e.g. Skt. *anaḍváh-* ox. *ánasvat-* yoked to a cart, Lat. *onustus* loaded, *onerāre* to load. But these are derivatives only from the noun-stems *ánas- ones-*.

In this particular instance, however, it is noteworthy that the words in question not only show the form of a common suffix, but also (as far as the Sanskrit word indicates) have the accent appropriate to the formation of stems in *-es-*, namely on the root-syllable (cp. Skt. *śrávas-* = Gk. *kléos*) and perhaps too the appropriate vocalization, namely, *e* [2] (cp. Skt. *jánas-* = Gk. *génos* = Lat. *genus*); for an I.E. **énos* (equally with **ónos*) would become Lat. *onus*,[3] of which the expected paradigm would be *onus* **eneris*. That the form with *o* has won the victory and has not been subjected to assimilation to the forms with *e* (as in the case, e.g., of *genus generis* for **gonus generis*) may be due to the fact that this particular word had no other connected words in Latin with *e*, as with *genus* which had *genitor*, etc.

[1] *Grammaire comparative des langues indo-européennes*, p. 130.

[2] Meillet, op. cit., p. 241.

[3] Cf. Sommer, *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre*, p. 114.

With *ánas-* = *onus* has been connected Goth. dat. sing. *anza* beam,[1] which points to an earlier stem **onsó-* : but the comparison is not beyond doubt on the score of meaning. Further connexion has been supposed with Gk. *aníā* Aeol. *oníā* grief,[2] the former of which presupposed a reduced vowel in the root-syllable, viz. **ə̆n-*. This comparison would give us an I.E. root **en- *on- *ə̆n-*, of which **énos* would be a noun-stem with suffix *-es-*. But neither Boisacq nor Walde notice or explain the length of the *ī* : Homer and Sophocles always have *ī* (the word is not used by the other Tragedians), as also in its derivatives *anīērós anīáō*. The other poets have short or long as suits the metre (presumably on the analogy of the other very numerous nouns in *-iā*).

A number of roots are capable of further analysis. There are apparently simple roots enlarged by an element which cannot properly be described as a suffix.[3] Sometimes simple root and enlarged root existed side by side, each with verb and noun stems attached to it. Thus there was a root **ter-* ' tremble ' seen in Skt. *taraláḥ* trembling, beside it there were the enlargements **tr-ep-* (Skt. *trapatē* Lat. *trepidus*), **ter-s-* (Gypsy *traš-* to frighten < **tarsayati* Gk. *étersen*, Lat. *terror* < **ters-es-*) and **tr-es-* (Skt. *trásati* Gk. *tréō* < **tresō*, Skt. *trāsaḥ*) ; **tr-eḱ-* (Av. *tərəsaiti* tremble, Gk. *atrekés*) ; **tr-em-* (Gk. *trémō*, Lat. *tremor*) : **tr-em-s-* (OSl. *tręsǫ* tremble).

A comparatively common element of enlargement is *-eḱ-* alternating with *-ḱ-* : e.g. **ter-* and *tr-eḱ-* (as above) ; **per-* (Gk. *peîra* attempt) and **pr-eḱ-* (Skt. *praśnáḥ* question) ; **pel-* (Gk. *diplós* Lat. *duplus*) and **pl-eḱ-* (Gk. *plékō* Lat. *duplex*).

Such enlargements are included in Hirt's dissyllabic light bases. Either syllable may have *e* (or *o*) vocalization, when the other has zero, or both may have zero. Thus we find **pər-ḱ-* (O.H.G. *fergōn* to pray) or *pr-eḱ-* (Skt. *praśnáḥ* Lat. *preco*) or *pṛ-ḱ-* (Skt. *pṛṣṭáḥ*).

In this way a root **en-* ' carry ', in **en-es-* Skt. *ánas-* Lat. *onus*, might have an enlargement **en-ḱ- n-eḱ- n̥-ḱ-*. This enlargement with the sense ' carry up to, reach ' is widely represented in the I.E. languages.

**en-ḱ-* : Gk. *én-eŋk-on* I carried.

**on-ḱ-* : Skt. *ān-áṁś-a* I reached, *áṁś-aḥ* share Gk. *óŋkos* weight.

**n-eḱ-* : Skt. *náś-ati* reach. Lith. *nèš-ti* id.

[1] Feist, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache*, p. 28.

[2] Walde, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 540 ; Boisacq, *Dictionnaire etymologique de la langue grècque*, p. 63.

[3] Cf. Meillet, op. cit., p. 46 ; Hirt, *Indogermanischer Vokalismus*, p. 148 ff.

**n-oḵ-* : Goth. *ga-nah* suffice.

**n̥-ḵ-* : Skt. *aś-nóti* offer, reach.

Boisacq has already connected Gk. *aníā* with *óŋkos* : but in making the interesting comparison between *aníā* : *óŋkos* and *muîa* (< **mus-ya*) : Lat. *musca*, has, as already mentioned, not explained the Homeric and Sophoclean forms of the former with long *ī*.

2. Pali *ghara-*

A word which appears first in Pali under the form *gharaṁ* has provided almost all the modern Indo-Aryan languages with their word for "house" :—European Gypsy *kher* Armenian Gy. *khar* Kaś. *gara* Sindhī *gharu* Lahndā Kumaonī Nep. Panj. Rāj. Guj. Mar. Hi. Bih. Beng. Uṛ. *ghar* Sgh. *gara*. In those languages, Gujarātī and Marāṭhī, which distinguish three genders, it is neuter, elsewhere masculine. The word is not given by Sir George Grierson in his vocabulary of the Piśāca (North-West Himalayan) languages.

One of the commonest words in Sanskrit, appearing from the Ṛgveda onwards, is *gr̥hám*. This word, to be referred to Av. *gərəždə-* 'cave in which demons dwell' [1] has in Pa. *gaha-* n.m. Pkt. *giha-gaha-* n. its expected forms : a secondary derivative *gēha-* n.m. also appears in Pali and Prakrit, and is preserved in Sgh. *gē* 'house', which is, however, possibly a literary loan from Pali. The simple *gr̥há-* (Pa. *gaha-*) in the compound *gr̥hastha-* (Pa. *gahaṭṭha-*) is preserved in the Sgh. *gäṭaṇā* young man.

Hitherto it has been generally supposed that *gharaṁ* was derived from *gr̥hám*. M. J. Bloch [2] compares Mar. *ghar* with Skt. *gr̥ha-* : and in an earlier paper I have suggested that it was derived from a form with different vocalization, **garha-*.[3]

But there is a considerable difficulty in this derivation. It is true that in certain modern Indo-Aryan languages an interior *h* is liable to be attracted to an initial voiced stop so as to form with it a voiced aspirate. Thus in Gujarātī intervocalic *-h-* or *h* in the medial groups *-rh- -mh-* passes over to an initial *g-* : e.g. *ghērū* deep : H. *gahirā* id. (*gabhīráḥ*) ; *ghō* iguana : H. *gōh* (*gōdhā*) ; *gharaṇ* eclipse < **garahaṇa* loan from Skt. *grahaṇa-* : *ghimel* a partic. insect, Sindhī *ghīma* moisture rising from the ground (*grīṣmáḥ*). Where *-h-* separated two similar vowels, it passed over to any initial voiced stop : e.g.

[1] Bartholmae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, p. 522.
[2] *La Formation de la Langue marathe*, p. 326.
[3] *JRAS.*, 1921, p. 528.

Skt. *bubhuk-ā* hunger (cp. Pa. *bubhukkhati* be hungry) > Pkt. *buhukkhā* > Sindhī *bhukha* Nep. *bhōk* Mar. *bhūk* H. *bhūkh*, etc.

In Pali and Prakrit the only instances apparently to be found of an interior *h* being transferred to an initial voiced stop are Pa. *dhītā*, Pkt. *dhī(d)ā dhū(d)ā* 'daughter', which is said to be derived from Skt. *duhitā*, and the word *gharaṁ* now under discussion.

I have already suggested that Pa. *dhītā* is in reality the verbal adjective (Skt. *dhītá*) connected with *dháyati* 'to suck'. For the meaning comparison may be made with Lat. *fīlius* son, OSl. *dętę* 'child' from the same root. It is true that by contamination with *duhitā* (also found in Pali) it has some terminations properly belonging to *tṛ*-stems: e.g. sing. acc. *dhītaraṁ* gen. abl. *dhītu*, plur. nom. *dhītarō*. But more commonly than is the case with other feminines in *-tṛ-* the expected endings of the *a*- stems also occur:[1] sing. dat. gen. *dhītāya*, voc. *dhītē*, plur. nom. *dhītā*, inst. *dhītāhi* gen. *dhītānaṁ* loc. *dhītāsu*. In Prakrit also *duhidā* is found beside *dhī(d)ā dhū(d)ā*, but the latter always have the endings of the *ā*-declension; *dhū(d)ā* owes its *ū* to contamination with *duhidā*. In Sindhī *dhiu* is declined like *māu* (*mātā*): plur. dir. *dhiaru* obl. *dhiaruṇ* like *māiru* (< *mātáraḥ*); but so also are *bhēṇu* sister (*bhaginī*) and *nuhu* daughter-in-law (*snuṣā*).

On the other hand interior *h* regularly retained its position: e.g. Pa. *garahā* (*garhā*) *garahati* (*garhati*) *duhitā*, *barihī* (*barhin-*) *barihisaṁ* (*barhís-*), etc. There is thus no good phonological ground for believing that Skt. *gṛhám* or **garham* could have given rise to a Pa. *gharaṁ*. Its etymology must be sought elsewhere.

The house or hut of the Indo-European period, according to Schrader,[2] probably consisted of a sort of portico or shelter formed by the overhanging eaves and an inner room in which was the hearth. Thus words for "burning" or "hearth" came to be used for the whole house: e.g. Lat. *aedēs* lit. "burning, fire, fire-place" (= Skt. *édhas-* n., but with the animate gender usual with words meaning fire and water in Latin)[3]; Gk. *hestíā* 'hearth', used also to mean the whole house; cp. the English allitterative "hearth and home".

The I.E. root *g^{w}her-* 'be warm, heat', is widely represented in the I.E. languages, and particularly in Sanskrit.

**g^{w}her-*: Gk. *théromai* become hot, OSl. *žeravŭ* glowing.

[1] Geiger, *Pali*, p. 87.

[2] *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, p. 443 ff.

[3] Cp. Meillet, *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale*, p. 220.

**g^{w}hor-:* OSl. *goréti* burn, OIr. *gorim* heat.

**g^{w}héres-:* Skt. *háras-* n. flame, Gk. *théros* n. summer-heat, Arm. *jer* warmth, Alb. *zjar* fire.

**g^{w}hr̥-nó-:* Skt. *ghṛṇáḥ* heat OSl. *gŭrnŭ* cauldron Russ. *gornɨ* hearth, Lat. *fornus* oven.

**g^{w}hor-mó-:* Skt. *gharmáḥ* heat, Av. *garəmō* hot, OPruss. *gorme* heat, Eng. *warm*.

**g^{w}her-mó-:* Gk. *thermós* hot, Arm. *jerm* id., Alb. *zjarm* heat. To this I would add Skt. *harmyám* 'large house', a derivation already suggested by Monier Williams, who connects it with *gharmáḥ*. With the *-yo-* extension of **g^{w}hermo-* may be compared the similar extension of **g^{w}hormo-* in Lat. *Formiae* name of a town. The different vocalization of the two stems **g^{w}hermo-* and **g^{w}hormo-* points to the existence of a root-noun **g^{w}her-* varying with *g^{w}hor-* of which these two are secondary derivatives.

**g^{w}hor-o-:* Lith. *gãras* steam, OIr. *gor* warmth, fire, Bret. *gor* fire.

It is here, I suggest, that Pa. *gharaṁ* belongs. As with Lat. *aedēs*, the word for "fire or hearth" has come to mean the whole house. The etymology appears satisfactory on both phonological and semantic grounds.

It is tempting to add here Lat. *forum*, although this is already satisfactorily explained as = OSl. *dvorŭ* courtyard: I.E. **dhwer-* door. According to Schrader[1] the single hearth-room, having later added to it a living-room, became the front room. The Latin *ātrium*, probably connected with *āter* black, lit. burnt or smoky: Av. *ātar-* 'fire', and so originally the hearth-room (according to Cato apud Serv. ad Verg. A. 1,726 in earlier times used as a dining-room) became a fore-court. The derivation of *vestibulum* as **vesto-dhlo-m* or **vesti-stibulum* < *-stadhlom* 'hearth-place' (: *vesta*) and afterwards 'fore-court' and synonymous with *ātrium* (as Gellius XVI, 5, 3, quoted by Schrader, says: animadverti quosdam haudquaquam indoctos viros opinari vestibulum esse partem domus primorem, quam vulgus atrium vocat) is at least as satisfactory as the derivation from **wero-stadhlom*, whose **wero-* 'door' is found in *aperio* open.

Forum seems to have meant at first the part just outside and in front of a building; Cicero, de Leg. 2, 24, 61, says: quod (lex XII tabularum de sepulcris) forum, id est vestibulum sepulcri . . . It is

[1] Loc. cit.

thus an almost equal possibility that *forum* should be referred to an I.E. *$g^{w}horo$- which gave OIr. *gor* fire Pa. *gharaṁ* house as to an I.E. *$dhw̥ro$- which gave OSl. *dvorŭ* courtyard. Should *forus* used by Vergil in Georg. 4, 250 in the plural to mean the cells of bees be added here ?

R. L. TURNER.

A MISPRONUNCIATION OF THE GROUPS *KW* AND *TM*

In a number of languages the change of the group guttural stop + *w* to a labial stop has occurred. The Indo-European groups *k̂w ĝhw* became labials in Greek (*p- -pp-, ph-*) except before palatal vowels where they became dentals (in Aeolic here also labials) ; in Oscan and Umbrian they became *p* and *f* (the latter presumably through **xw*) ; and even in Latin, which retained *k̂w* as *qu*, *ĝhw* became *f*. In the Gallic and Brittonic dialects of Keltic *k̂w* became *p*. Similarly the I.E. labio-velars k^{w}, g^{w}, $g^{w}h$ became labials in the same languages, and under certain favourable conditions in Germanic too.

In India the Sanskrit group *tm* appears as either *tt* or *pp* : e.g. *ātmā*>Pa. *attā* Pkt. *attā* and *appā* = Hindī *āp* self. Nep. *po* 'indeed, just, really' with its emphatic *paī* in e.g. *tapaī* honorific pronoun of the second person singular. For the group *dm* Prakrit shows *mm* in *chamma-* < *chadma-*, *pomma-* < *padma-* (Pischel, p. 192), but the *bb* which is to be expected appears in Sindhī *paḅuṇi* lotus< *padmiṇī* id.

In view of the part probably played in producing sound-changes by children's learning a language, two mispronunciations by my daughter, when 2 years old, are perhaps not without interest. At this age she reproduced the groups *kw* and *tm* both as *p*, saying, e.g. [*paip*] for quite, [*pik*] for quick, [*pil*] for quill, [*piːz*] for squeeze, [*ɔ̄ipn*] for ointment.

Jespersen (*Language*, p. 168) reports having heard children in France say [*pizin*] for cuisine.

Sound changes may occur either in leaps or gradually. As to how those under notice here occurred, the childish mispronunciations are no guide, although obviously themselves in the nature of leaps. There is nothing in the history of the I.E. labio-velars to show that they did not become labial stops in the above-mentioned languages by a leap : and the fact that they became single stops is in favour of the theory of a leap : k^{w} probably became *p* without any intermediate

steps. But that in Greek *k̂w* became *-pp-* points in that language at least to an intermediate step *-kp-*.

In India *tm* and *dm*, *tv* and *dv* certainly went through the stage *tp db*, since they appear as such in the Girnar inscriptions of Aśoka. There we find the gerund ending *-tpā* = Skt. *-tvā*, *catpārō* = Skt. *catvárō*, and even *dbādasa* = Skt. *dvádaśa*. In Sindhī *paḅuṇi ḅ* (not *b*) points to earlier *-bb-*, and therefore probably a still earlier *-db-*<*-dm-*.

R. L. TURNER.

PARMĀL RĀSO, AN ANONYMOUS HINDI EPIC

In the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal are two MSS. called respectively Mahobā Khaṇḍ and Kanavaj Khaṇḍ. They used to be tied up together and labelled "Prithvī Rāj Rāso". The joint MS. bearing the date 1868 was believed to be a MS. of Chand's famous poem. Bābū Śyām Sundar Dās, well known as a student of Avadhī, Hindi, and allied languages, made a careful examination of both parts and found that they were independent works. The second MS. relates to the fighting between Prithvī Rāj Chauhān and Jay Chand (Paṅgrāj). It is being prepared for separate publication. The first, Mahobā Khaṇḍ, describes the war between the same Prithvī Rāj and Parmardi Dev (Parmāl). This has been published for the first time. As the name Mahobā Khaṇḍ would have been misleading, it has been entitled Parmāl Rāso.

It is a publication of considerable importance. The editor, Śyām Sundar Dās, speaks of it in terms of great admiration. As one reads it, he says, one's heart glows with enthusiasm, for there passes before one's eyes a vision of the ancient splendour of India and of the mighty deeds wrought by India's famous heroes. One is filled with joy and pride. Parmāl Rāso is nearly half as long again as Paradise Lost. It appears to have been written in Bundelkhaṇḍ during the seventeenth century. Incidentally it contains a long account of the life of Ālhā and Ūdal. The editor is of opinion that it must be read solely for its poetry, as it has little historical value, founded as it is upon mere rumour or taken unscientifically from old poetical chronicles. It deals chiefly with two incidents mentioned in Prithvī Rāj Rāso.

It is a valuable addition to the epic poetry written in the Hindi group of languages, and the editor deserves our sincere gratitude.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

BILAUHAR

In reading Sir E. A. Wallis Budge's introduction to his monumental translation of the Ethiopic "Baralâm and Yĕwâsĕf", it occurred to me that the current explanations of the origin of the name *Baralām* are all unsatisfactory, and that a more adequate one can be found in genuine Buddhist legend. Admittedly *Baralām* or *Barlaam* is a corruption of *Bilauhar*, as Yĕwâsĕf arises from a misreading of *Būdāsaf*, and the latter again from *Bōdhisattva*: the question is, what is the origin of *Bilauhar*? To derive it from *Bhagavān*, and to see in the sage Bilauhar merely the Buddha in another form, is wholly unconvincing. I therefore turn for a solution to the oldest Sanskrit life of the Buddha, Aśvaghōṣa's *Buddhacarita*.

In bk. v, v. 16 ff., the poet relates that the prince was accosted in the wilderness by an ascetic, who said to him [1]: "I, being terrified at birth and death, have become an ascetic for the sake of liberation. Desiring liberation in a world subject to destruction, I seek that happy indestructible abode—isolated from mankind, with my thoughts unlike those of others, and with my sinful passions turned away from all objects of sense, dwelling anywhere, at the root of a tree, or in an uninhabited house, a mountain or a forest—I wander without a family and without hope, a beggar ready for any fare, seeking only the highest good." Then, continues the poet, "he suddenly flew up to the sky; it was a heavenly inhabitant [*divâukas*] who, knowing that the prince's thoughts were other than what his outward form promised, had come to him for the sake of rousing his recollection." [2] Now I venture to suggest that this "heavenly inhabitant" is the original of Bilauhar-Barlaam, in respect both of name and of function in the story. Very possibly in some version he was styled a *vidyādhara*; the *vidyādharas* come under the category of *divâukasas* or *dēvas*. Admitting this possibility, the corruption of the word is easily explained. It may have taken place already in the Pahlavi; but even if the word survived that stage without injury, the change in Arabic from بلديهر to بلوهر would be easy. And nothing would be more natural than the evolution of this divine *ad hoc* preacher into a regular apostle, the more so as Vidyādhara was also a fairly common proper name, especially of learned men.

L. D. B.

[1] Professor Cowell's translation in SBE., xlix, p. 51 f.

[2] In the version recounted in the *Padyacūḍāmani* the holy man is presented to the prince's sight by the gods for the same purpose, but says nothing.

Mr. F. W. T. Posselt, District Commissioner of Marandellas, Southern Rhodesia, has collected some interesting information in two pamphlets, published by the Argus Company, Ltd., Salisbury (S.R.), and entitled respectively, "Notes on some Tribes of Southern Rhodesia" and "Mambo and his Court". *Mambo* was the title borne by the King of the Barozwi, one of the principal tribes inhabiting the territory now called Mashonaland. ("Mashona," according to Mr. Posselt, is a generic term of recent date, probably derived from the Zulu verb *uku-tshona* "to descend, disappear", because these tribes retreated into caves or underground refuges, before the Zulu invaders, during the early years of the nineteenth century.) The Barozwi occupy the districts of Victoria, Ndanga-Bikita, and Makoni—in the neighbourhood of the Zimbabwe ruins. This was the residence of the Monomotapa, who seems to have been identical with the Mambo; in fact, it appears that the latter name is actually mentioned by Dos Santos. Mr. Posselt says: "There are no means of tracing from the present languages the etymology of the word 'Monomotapa'"; but, according to the Rev. W. C. Willoughby (*Race Problems in the New Africa*, p. 22), "the term *Moñ a Matlapa* means 'Lord of the Rocks' in Secwana, and Makalanga people who are familiar with both languages have told me that its meaning is the same in their mother tongue." (According to other authorities, *mutapa* is "a captive".) The people of the Victoria District are usually called Karanga (Kalanga—or "Makalaka" of the Basuto), but Mr. Posselt thinks this must have been used as a generic name. The Barozwi have been the ruling race as far back as their traditions reach; the Karanga are a distinct tribe and subject to the Barozwi. The last Mambo, Chirisamuru, was killed in the Zulu (or Swazi) invasion, about 1825. With regard to this invasion, which was led by Zwangendaba (father of Mombera, Paramount Chief of the Angoni in West Nyasaland till his death in 1891), Mr. Posselt mentions an interesting circumstance: "It is related that Mgwadi, the witch doctor, struck the waters of the Zambezi with his staff, whereupon they divided, thus permitting the Swazi to cross dry-shod." I heard of this tradition, at Blantyre, in 1893, through a native teacher who had talked with some of the Angoni headmen.

A. W.

The 22nd volume of the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* contains a most interesting report by Professor Meinhof, headed "*Afrikanische Religionen* 1915–22". It is a summary—as complete as present conditions in Germany will permit—of the research accomplished in this direction during the eight years surveyed. The amount produced in this time by German scholars can only be described as astonishing. Some of the works mentioned (e.g. Dannholz on the Wapare, Bender's *Volksdichtung der Wakweli*, and others) have already been noticed in the *Bulletin*. Ankermann's recent studies of Totemism (articles in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, *Neue Jahrbücher*, and *Anthropos*) appears to be of the highest importance; other works to which attention should be called are Frobenius, *Paideuma* (Munich, 1921), S. Seligmann, *Die Zauberkraft des Auges* (Hamburg, 1922), and Hans Meyer, *Die Barundi*. There are appreciative notices of Dr. Roscoe's *Northern Bantu* and Smith & Dale's *Ila-speaking Peoples* ("ein besonders gründliches Buch"). The publications of the Congo State, both in French and Flemish, include several valuable monographs: Van Wing, *De geheime Sekte van't Kimpasi*; Tanghe, *De Slang bij de Ngbandi*; and Bittremieux' study of the Bakhimba Society. Under the heading "Hamiten", we find that Dr. Dempwolff has published a remarkable account of the Sandawi, a tribe in the depression west of Kilimanjaro, whose language contains clicks, and who may be looked on as a link between the North African Hamites and the Hottentots in the south. Another most important novelty is H. Vedder's monograph on the Hill Damara, who, anthropologically considered, are negroes, but speak a Hottentot dialect. Their religion appears to be entirely distinct from that of the (Hottentot) Nama. They have in common with the Herero the cult of the sacred fire—not hitherto observed among other Bantu, so that the question suggests itself "ob die Herero den Gebrauch nicht im Damaralande erst angenommen und in eigentümlicher Weise umgebildet haben".

A. W.

DASTŪR-I-'USSHĀQ MS. BY FATTĀHĪ

Foll. 178; $4\frac{5}{8}$ by $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.; 14 lines to a page in 2 cols. $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. wide within 4 gold lines; the *anwan* in blue and gold and the first two pages on gold ground: 2 half-page miniatures on ff. 45*b* and 80*b*: modern binding. The MS. has been relayed on

thick paper; written in small fine *nastalik* by Muhammad ibn Muhammad un-Nairizi, and dated 15th Jamādī I, A.H. 887 (2nd July, A.D. 1482). The name of the work is given in the line f. 175*a*, l. 1—

بحمد الله که این دستور عشّاق بپایان آمد از تایید خلاّق

and of the author, among other places, at f. 176*a*, l. 7—

جو خامه بافتوح درلـ اسرار زبان فتّاحیا درکش زگفتار

and the date of composition (A.H. 840, A.D. 1436) in the chronogram at end, f. 178*a*, l. 8—

پی این روضهٔ بستـان عالم جو تاریخ تمامش دار خرم

The poem is a romance in rhymed couplets relating to the allegorical story of Princess Husn and Prince Dil.

Mr. A. G. Ellis, who has kindly examined the MS., suggests that this poem is the original of the allegory in rhymed prose attributed to Fattāhī, of which the fullest account has been given by Dr. Rudolf Dvořāk in *Proc. Vienna Academy*, vol. cxviii, 1889, part iv. He, however, does not allude to this poem, and it is not found in any of the catalogues.

ENQUIRER.

OBITUARY

Professor Réné Basset

By the death of Réné Basset the world of learning has lost an eminent scholar, whose publications, especially in connexion with North Africa, are much valued. Born at Lunéville in 1855, he began his career as a teacher in the École Supérieure des Lettres of Algiers at the age of 25 and rose to become Director of this institution : indeed, Algiers was the scene of his activities throughout the whole of his career, and he was Dean of the Faculty of Letters in the University there at the time of his death, 4th January, 1924. His literary activity was abundant and embraced many interests : he published and translated several Arabic texts on the history of Ethiopia, the geography of North Africa, and a number of poems ; to the language of the Berbers he devoted especial attention and gave a considerable impulse to the scientific study of the various Berber dialects. He took a special interest in folklore and collected a large number of Berber and other stories in northern Africa. From the outset he was the editor of the French edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, to which he himself contributed a large number of articles. A frequent contributor to learned journals, such as the *Journal Asiatique*, *La Revue Africaine*, etc., his articles always provided some fresh scientific materials, and will be missed by all students of the language and culture of North Africa.

BULLETIN

OF THE

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
LONDON INSTITUTION

PAPERS CONTRIBUTED

THE BRIT. MUS. MS. SLOANE 3290, THE COMMON SOURCE OF BALDÆUS AND DAPPER

By JARL CHARPENTIER

IN this *Bulletin*, Vol. II. pp. 731–54, I have dealt in a preliminary way with the Brit. Mus. MS. Sloane 1820, the *Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais* of Father J. Fenicio, S.J., which forms the common source of certain parts of the *Asia Portugueza* of M. de Faria y Sousa and of Baldæus' *Afgoderye der Oost-Indische Heydenen*, and is also the original of the work called *Collectio omnium dogmatum & arcanorum ex Purânis seu libris Canonicis Paganorum Indianorum*, etc., written before 1789 by the Carmelite Father Ildephonsus a Præsentatione, and now apparently lost. I have also tried to show there in what connexion this uncommonly valuable manuscript stands to another one by Father M. Barradas, S.J., that seems still to be preserved in a private library in Portugal.[1]

On p. 752 of my preliminary report I drew attention to the way in which Baldæus has availed himself of the work of Father Fenicio, and suggested that he may have dealt in a somewhat similar way with other sources, not yet identified. When writing this I was not aware that within a very short time my suggestion would be fairly well corroborated.

When, in 1917, Dr. De Jong issued his reprint of Baldæus' *Afgoderye*, with a very valuable introduction and notes, he came to speak[2] at some length about the remarkable coincidences between certain parts of

[1] Cf. Father H. Hosten, S.J. in the *Journal of Indian History*, vol ii. p. 153 sq.

[2] Introduction, p. lxxv sqq.

that work and the description of Hindu mythology found on pp. 82–136 of the work *Asia, of Naukeurige Beschryving van het Rijk des Grooten Mongols en een groot gedeelte van Indien*, etc., by Olfert Dapper. This author, a Dutch physician and compilator of a good many works on geographical and ethnographical subjects, issued his *Asia* at Amsterdam in 1672 (the privilege of the work being dated 28th July, 1670), the selfsame year that saw the publication of the *editio princeps* of Baldæus. Dr. De Jong argues, on reasons that appear to me wholly convincing, that Dapper could not, before seeing his work through the Press, have had access to the book of Baldæus; nor could this author well have made any use of even the first edition of the *Asia*, seeing that he died already in August–September, 1671, about a year before the publication of both works. Consequently, Dr. De Jong suggested that there must have existed a common source that was used by both these authors; according to an indication in their texts he deems this to have been a narrative taken down at Surat in 1649. As I shall show presently this suggestion was a fairly correct one.

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As for the date (1649) of the presumed source, Dr. De Jong drew his inference from a passage in Baldæus (p. 172, ed. De Jong) where this author says as follows: "In the year 1649 the Banyans of Surat stated that out of this period[1] there had passed 4,750 years, so that there still remain 21,680 years." Dapper, *Asia*, p. 136, in the corresponding passage, has substituted another calculation for that of his source, as he states that we live in the period of the *Buddha-avatāra*, and that in the year 1671—apparently the one in which he wrote this part of his work—there had expired 4,772 years and were still 21,080 to come, a miscalculation or a slip in the printed text as we ought to find the number 21,668 instead of it.

As the corresponding passage of the common source of both works—on which something will be said presently—does actually contain the year 1649, one might think that Dr. De Jong was quite right in his suggestion. In fact, we must, however, count also with a somewhat later date. On p. 46 (ed. De Jong) Baldæus mentions that "anno 1657 there had, according to their[2] account in Surat, expired 4,758 years of the last age of the world", a chronological statement that tallies completely with the surmised commencement of the *Kaliyuga* in

[1] The period is that one of the *Buddha-avatāra* which runs from the year 1 to the year 26,430 of the *Kaliyuga* (supposed to have begun in 3102 B.C.).

[2] Viz. the Banyans.

3102 B.C. The corresponding passage in Dapper again calculates with the year 1671, but as 1657 is actually found in the source of Baldæus, and is certainly the last date mentioned there, we may perhaps feel entitled to suggest that this is the year in which that text was finally taken down.

This, the common source of Baldæus and Dapper, is a manuscript in the British Museum, Sloane 3290, read and partly copied out by me in the autumn of 1922. It is a book in small octavo, containing 121 leaves (= 241 pp.), written in an even, but somewhat difficult handwriting. The language is Dutch, and the title runs as follows: *Beschryvingh van den nachfolgenden figuren getrochen uyt der Heydenen geloof Book geheten Deex autaers.*[1] On the flyleaf there is a note in Sir Hans Sloane's handwriting, telling us that "This Book is an Account of the Figures of Heathen Idols taken from the Heathen Book called Deex autaers: it is different from the Account by Philip Baldæus. *vide* Churchill's Collections, vol. iii.[2] See the figures belonging to this Book, min. 15." From this, as well as from the actual words of the manuscript itself, it is clear that the work was supposed to be a sort of textbook to a set of Indian drawings, depicting the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu; such pictures are found both in the work of Baldæus and in that of Dapper, though they represent two entirely different sets of originals and have apparently been more or less altered by the editors.

Anyhow, these drawings are not now to be found with the Sloane manuscript 3290, nor was I able to obtain, at the British Museum, any information concerning the words "min. 15" in Sloane's note, which seem to be meant to furnish us with an indication concerning their whereabouts. After some researches I, however, succeeded in finding them: they are ten coloured Indian drawings, in quarto size, representing the *avatāras*, and are at the present moment bound up together with a set of 35 drawings of Persian dresses in the Additional MS. 5254, which is now kept in the Oriental MS. Department. They present a distinct similarity with the illustrations of Dapper, though these have been considerably altered in preparing them for print. The pictures in Baldæus must have been taken from another set of drawings of which I can, unfortunately, give no information whatsoever.

The contents of the manuscript are as follows: on fol. 2r–v is found a general introduction: then comes the description of the

[1] i.e. *Daśa-avatāra*.

[2] This is the well-known *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. iii, 1732.

avatāras, viz. *matsya* (fols. 2v–3r), *kūrma* (fols. 3r–4r), *varāha* (fols. 4r–4v), *narasiṃha* (fols. 4v–6v), *vāmana* (fols. 6v–8v), *Paraśurāma* (fols. 8v–16r), *Rāma* (fols. 16r–44v), *Kṛṣṇa* (fols. 45r–119r), with a supplement titled *Byvoegsel door den Braman Kieka* (fols. 119r–120r), *Buddha* (fols. 120r–v), and *Kalkin* (fols. 120v–121r).

In order to show the very close connexion between this manuscript and the texts of Baldæus and Dapper, I shall give some extracts beginning with the description of the fourth *avatāra*, that of the *narasiṃha*, with which passage should be compared Baldæus, p. 58 sqq., ed. De Jong [1] and Dapper (ed. 1672), p. 89 sq. :—

"*Beschryvingh van Narsings autaer de 4*[d]

[f. 4v] "In de eerste eeuwe is 't geschiet dat den Reus *Hirrenkessep* door menichvuldige penitentie ende godsdienstige oefeningen den [f. 5r] vierhoofdigen god des luchts *Bramha* had beweecht dat hy hem op seeckeren tijt verscheen, welche vraechde wat hy begeerde, o groot vermoegende *Bramha*, seyde *Hirrenkessep*, doet my dese gunst, dat ick een monarch en geweldich Vorst op de Aerde mach werden, ende schenkt my daarby dese gaven, dat ick noyt door Hemel, noch door aerde, noch door son, noch door maen, noch door sterren, noch door commeten, noch door wolcken, noch door wint, noch door hagel, noch door sneen, noch door regen, noch door donder, noch door blixem, noch door weerlicht, noch door vogels, noch door dieren, noch door menschen, noch door duyvels, noch door visschen, noch door water, noch door slange, noch door adders, noch door eenich ander Venijn, hoedanich dat het mochte wesen, noch door swaert, noch door pijlen, noch door sinders, noch door Bersjes [2] ofte eenich dodelyck geweer, noch buyten myn deur noch binnen myn huys noch bij daegh noch bij nacht mach omgebracht werden, het welche hem *Bramha* beloefde, doen rechte de Reus *Hirrenkessep* hem op, en liet af van langer *Bramha* aan te roepen. Hier naer trock hij te velt, ende overwon menichte van steden en landen, so dat de gehele werelt hem onderdanich maekte, doen liet hij een gebot uyt gaen, dat men niemant dan hem alleen soude aenbidden, ende wie gevonden wiert tegens dit gebot te sondigen, soude tonder genade met de doet gestraft werden.

"Na dit sommige jaren geduurt hadde, begonnen veel van sijn onderdanen en voornamentl. haere *Bramenes* hier tegens te mompelen,

[1] It should be observed that Baldæus has drawn minor parts of his description of this *avatāra* from the work of Father Fenicio, l. iii, c. 7.

[2] The two words *sinders* and *bersjes* are unintelligible. Dr. De Jong thought them to be a corruption of an expression like "Indra's *vajra*", but this seems scarcely possible.

seggende, wat sal ons eyndelyck [f. 5v] werden van desen *Hirrenkessep*, dat wij hem aenroepen, hij is wel een herscher der aerde, maer niet des hemels. laten wij ons dan van hem tot *Mahadeu* [1] keeren, die ons na onse lichame, door menichte van verwisselingh gesuyvert sijnde tot hem in den hemel kan opnemen, des sij haer tot *Mahadeu* keerende, baden dat hij haer doch van dit tirannich gewelt wilde verlossen, die haer beloofde, dat de Huysvroew van *Hirrenkessep* genaemt *Naecksea* [2] een soon soude baeren, die haer verlossen soude, dat so lange gedult soude hebben.

"Eenen langen tijt hier naer baerde *Naecksea* den *Hirrenkessep* eenen soon, die sie noemden *Brellade* [*Prahlāda*] welchen nu out geworden sijnde, sijn Vader geen gottelijcke eere wilde bewijsen, maer leerde dat men *Mahadeu*, ende niet sijn vader moste aenbidden waerom *Hirrenkessep* soo verbolgen tegen sijn soon wiert dat een ijseren calon dede oprechten die so gloyent als vuur selve liet maecken waer aen sijn soon wilde doen ombrengen, als *Brellade* met een groote menichte van volcq [3] omtrent de plaets gekomen was, daer hij sterven soude so seyde *Hirrenkessep* laet nu eens sien wie u uyt dit gevaer en mijne handen verlossen sal. *Brellade* bat *Mahadeu* die hem behoorde, terstont barste desen ijseren calon van een met sulchen kracht dat er de aerde van schudde en beefde, waer uyt een soo seltsames monster voortquam, dat noch duyvel noch mensch, noch vis, noch vogel, noch slange, noch draeck noch eenich creatuur datoijt te voorden [f. 6r] geschapen is geleek, blies viervlammen ten neusgaten uyt, en een machtige swarte roockdamp quam hem ten keles uytgevlogen waer van alle de omstaenders so seer beangst werden, dat niet en wisten waer dat hem bergen soude, den Reus *Hirrenkessep* wiert bleeck van schrik ende lilde van angst, als een riet dat van de wint bestormt wierd. *Mahadeu* hem in dees gedaente verandert hebbende gedacht aen 't geen *Bramha* den *Hirrenkessep* belooft hadde ende om die belofte niet te niet te doen, schorte hem op, en voerde hem onder de aerde, onder den drempel van sijn huys daer hij den avontstont verwachte, so haest nu de son ondergingh reet hij met sijne afgryselycke nagels dit grof gestelte van een, so dat hem het swarte bloet van alle kanten uytsprongh, ende trock het vervloekte ingewant hem

[1] In this manuscript, as in the text of Dapper which follows it very closely, *Mahādeva* everywhere means *Viṣṇu*. Baldæus has, as a rule, substituted *Vistnum* for *Mahadeu*.

[2] This name (*Naecksea* in Baldæus) seems to baffle every attempt of a solution. According to the Purāṇas the wife of Hiranyakaśipu was called *Kayādhū*.

[3] In the picture in Dapper are seen a number of bystanders adoring the *Narasiṃha*.

uyt de buyck,[1] ende hingh het hem om den hals so dat hij in gestraft, en *Bramhas* belofte niet verkort waeren, want hij bracht hem niet om, noch binnen, noch buyten sijn huys, maer onder sijn drempel, noch op aerde, noch in den hemel, maer onder de aerde, noch door vogels, noch door dieren, noch door son, noch door maen, noch door regen, noch door wint, noch door hagel, noch door sneen, noch door menschen noch door duyvels, noch door slangen, noch door draecken, noch door eenich Venijn, noch door Vissen noch door water, noch eenich geweer, etc., maer door sodanige monsternagels als er noyt vor desen geschapen was.

[f. 6v] "Doer stelde *Mahadeu Brellade* in het ryck van sijn vader die lange jaren seer godvruchtig regeerde hij naem sijn moeder *Naecksea* so lange sij leefde tot hem.

"Wanneer nu *Mahadeu* in drie dagen dit alles bericht hadde, is hij weder van de aerde in den hemel gestegen, daermede eyndichde dese vierde autaer in de eerste eeuwe *Korttosingke*, na deselve geduurt hadde seventien mael hondert acht en twintich duysent jaren in welche alle de verhaelde wonderen geschiet syn, ende allhoewel den tyt deser miraculen in alles maer[2] uyt maecken dan seven duysent seven hondert jaren en drie dagen, so moet verstaen dat de seventien hondert twintich duysent jaren en drie hondert twe en sestich dagen sy voor en tusschen beyden de miraculen, als mede daer naer doorgegaen."

The passage called "Byvoogsel door den Braman *Kieka*" [f. 119r–120r], which contains the *śravaṇa-phala* obtained by listening to, reciting, or writing down the story of Kṛṣṇa, is found nearly wholly unaltered in Dapper, p. 135, but is missing in Baldæus.

The description of the two last *avatāras*, those of Buddha and Kalkin, run as follows[3]:—

[f. 120r] "*Bodos Authaer de negende.*

"*Bhodes* heeft vader nochte moeder, is onsichtbaer maer dien hie haer vertoont, hebben hem gesien met vier armen . . .[4] dese doet niet als inwendig met nedergeschlagen oegen nacht ende dagh, sonder ophanden *Mahadeu* aen te bidden, en wanneer in dit wesen ses en twintich duysent vier hondert dertich jaren dus geseten heeft,

[1] Cf. the passages from the Purāṇas quoted by Dr. De Jong, p. 62, n. 2, as well as Śiśupālavadha, i, 47, etc.

[2] The word "niet" seems to be missing.

[3] Cf. Baldæus, p. 171 sqq., ed. De Jong and Dapper, p. 136.

[4] The following description of Buddha's exterior is given in extenso in Dapper and need not be repeated here.

sonder eenige wonderen te doen, en met geen wereltse dingen [f. 120v] sich bekommert, so eyndicht sijn *autaer*, en *Kallenkyns autaer* volgt hem, synde de laeste.

" In dese *autaer*, naer de reeckeningh der heydenen leven wy nu, ende moet geduuren 26,430 jaren, waer van anno 1649 na haere tellinge verlopen waren 4,750 jaren, so dat tot volvoering deses *autaers*, noch resten 21,680 jaren.

" *Kallenkyns autaer de tegende*

" *Kallenkyn* is een wit paart boven in den Hemel, staande op drie voeten, houdende het voordte rechter been op, in 't beginsal van dit *autaer* souden de Benjanen seer godvruchtigh ende dien volgende oock seer voorspoedigh sijn maer in dese geluckige stam eenige jaren geweest synde, sullen sij allens hens, hoe langer hoe meer, in 't quaet toenemen, en niet dan Goddeloosheyt plegen, dit sal duuren tot vier hondert [f. 121r] vyf duysent vyf hondert seventich jaren vervult syn, in welcke de sonden so sullen toenemen, dat *Kallenkyn* sijn rechte been tot straffe der sonden sal neder setten en de aerde daer so hart door drucken, dat het voor de slange *Signag*[1] onmogelyck sal syn te dragen, en de schilpat gevoelende dese ongemoulycke last sal dompelen in de diepte, en haer van de last, die se niet langer kan ophouden, ontrecken. Also sullen dan alle de inwoonders der werelt in de grondelose diepten vergaen, ende dus sal na de vier hondert twe en dertich duysent jaren de thiende *autaer* en laeste haer eynde nemen, ende weder om den eerste *Mats autaer* beginnen."

Already these short extracts will, when compared with the printed texts of Baldæus and Dapper, reveal the fact that we have here, without the slightest doubt, the source from which both these authors drew that part of their Hindu mythology which deals with the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, amongst which the popular stories of Rāma and, above all, Kṛṣṇa are dealt with at very considerable length. A somewhat closer comparison of the texts in question will also put it beyond doubt that, while Baldæus has in some few passages availed himself of other sources—chiefly the work of Father Fenicio—and has thus injudiciously put together South and North Indian sources, Dapper made use, for this part of his work, of no other authority than our manuscript, which he simply copied out with some slight alterations in the Dutch phraseology. It is also quite obvious that while Baldæus does sometimes differ from the manuscript in the spelling of the Indian proper names—some of which are misspelt beyond recovery—Dapper has through and through given those names exactly as they appear in the manu-

[1] *Śeṣa nāga.*

script. Dr. De Jong, in his edition of Baldæus, p. lxxvii, suggested that Dapper had made use of a source where the letters *u* and *n* were very similar to each other, as in many passages he gives forms like *korttesingke* (for *ʾsingke*, *kŕtayuga*), etc., instead of the correct ones, and during my inspection of the manuscript I was able to corroborate this suggestion.

Matters, then, seem to stand somewhat as follows: a Dutchman or possibly a native convert with a good knowledge of Dutch composed at Surat between the years 1649–57 a work dealing with the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, and drawing his materials from written as well as oral sources. This work was also meant to be a sort of text-book to a set of drawings representing the ten manifestations of the supreme god. Of this work at least two copies must have existed, one of which fell into the hands of Baldæus probably during his stay in India– who made a most extensive use of it, without, however, mentioning anything about his source, just as little as he did mention his other chief source, the work of Father Fenicio.[1] Another copy found its way to Europe and was incorporated with the (probably very extensive) collections from which Dapper drew the materials for his vast geographical compilations. What became of these collections after the death of Dapper is, unfortunately, wholly unknown to me; but from the wholesale coincidence between the proper names in Dapper's work and in the manuscript dealt with here it seems to the present writer extremely probable that the copy used by Dapper somehow found its way into the collection of Sir Hans Sloane and is the identical one now preserved in the British Museum as Sloane MS. 3290, while the drawings have been separated and bound up in the Add. MS. 5254.[2]

The results of this short investigation may seem to be rather scanty. It has, anyhow, drawn attention (in connexion with the article in the *Bulletin*, II, 731 sqq.) to a fact that must be considered fairly incontrovertible, viz. that the work of Baldæus on Hindu mythology lacks every ounce of value as an original source. It is simply a patchwork of extracts from the work of Father Fenicio and the anonymous Dutch author in the Sloane MS. 3290, with occasional quotations from Abr. Roger and some other authors, and Baldæus never in any way deserved the reputation for being a conscientious and reliable writer in which he has for long time rejoiced.

[1] Cf. this *Bulletin*, II, 734, 752.

[2] This probability could be turned into certainty by a scholar who had access to specimens of Dapper's handwriting, as there are in the manuscript certain interlinear corrections that seem to have been added by a person who made use of it.

NOTES ON THE JINN AND THE GHOUL IN THE PEASANT MIND OF LOWER EGYPT

Illustrated by transcripts of peasant tales taken from the lips of the fellâḥîn of the Menûfia Province, Lower Egypt

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Note.—The script used to represent Egyptian Arabic speech in these notes is that of the International Phonetics Association, with the necessary modifications for Egyptian Arabic sounds, as found in Gairdner's *Egyptian Colloquial Arabic*.

أ	ʔ	ض	đ
ب	b	ط	ṭ
ت	t	ظ	ẓ
ث	not found in Egyptian speech. Represented sometimes by "s" and sometimes by "t"	ع	ʕ
ج	g	غ	ġ
ح	ħ	ف	f
خ	x	ق	not usually found in Egyptian speech. Represented in Cairene speech by "ʔ", in upper Egypt and in some villages of lower Egypt by "g".
د	d	ك	k
ذ	not found in Egyptian speech. Represented generally by "d", sometimes by "z".	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n

س	s	ه	h
ش	ʃ	و	w
ص	ṣ	ي	j

The above signs give the consonantal sounds of the fellâḥ's speech. The lengthening of vowels is represented thus: (short) i, (long) i:.

With regard to writing these vowel sounds, a choice was before us. Egyptian speech follows perfectly regular and nicely observed rules as to the elision or shortening of vowels in relation to changing consonantal combinations. There is a continual delicate balancing of vowel values from the influence of one word and syllable upon another. Should writing represent these elisions and shortenings, which are, of the very genius of the spoken language? (e.g. should a writer of spoken French give us the "je-n sais pas" that he hears, or the "je ne sais pas" that is intended?) In Egyptian Arabic, the elisions, though strictly regular, are so numerous as to be confusing at first to the eye accustomed to regard each word as a unit, and these notes, intended rather to reveal the thought of the peasant speaker than the actual sound-quality of his sentence, give the vowel structure of each word as it is in pause, with the exception of a few shortenings in prepositional phrases and small connecting words.

In the case of proper names and other Arabic words occurring in the *English* text of the notes, and not being quotations from peasant speech, I have used the transliteration scheme of the British Academy.

These notes do not try to make any statement as to the position and nature of the jinn in Islamic theory, nor to give any account of the information, fascinating, gruesome, or tedious, to be found concerning them in Islamic literature. They seek, rather, to banish literary information and to look at the people of the jinn through the eyes of a fellâḥ of the Menûfia Province of the Egyptian Delta. And this unbookish purpose must explain what would seem an unbalanced combination at the very outset. For the jinn and the ghoul, grouped together at the head of this paper, belong to different categories of beings; the jinn with a rank and status in the Islamic universe that is never given to the ghoul, who is but a more awful beast among the other beasts.

But in the folk-stories of the Menûfieh fellâḥ, and in his goblin-haunted mind, there is no hard dividing line between the powers and

the malicious pranks of what he variously but almost indiscriminately calls **ʃajaːṭiːn, gānn, ʿafariːt, maːridiːn** and **guːl**. All of these belong to the same cycle of ideas and stories, and to separate them, as books separate them, would be to represent a division that does not exist in the fellâḥ's mind. All of them are for him, as Professor Macdonald says,[1] "on a dividing line between fairies, brownies, kobolds, and true theological devils." In many of his stories all the above terms are freely interchangeable, although generally speaking the word **ʃajṭaːn**[2] is the one chosen for the more individual and personal type of demon and the word **guːl** for the more purely bestial.

The peasant through whose eyes we now try to see (and educated Egyptian friends will sympathize with the attempt) is not the boy who has been to school, but his illiterate brother or sister whose visible world is bounded by the fields and market-places of a corner of the teeming Egyptian Delta. To these non-readers, the great body of information on any subject will come through the common mind and the common mouth of the local community. Yet even for them there may be outside information, and it is necessary to ask how far such influences as the Qur'an, or the tales of professional story-tellers reciting *Arabian Nights*, or the information gleaned from specialists in magic, may be responsible for the peasant's view of the jinn.

Influence of the Qur'an

The unlettered fellâḥ does not know the Qur'an except liturgically. He knows the phrases of daily worship, although it is exceptional for his sister to do so. For the rest he responds to the sonority of Qur'an chanting—much as a European peasant might respond to the familiar chanting of holy psalms in Latin—with a response of the æsthetic or emotional side of his nature rather than of the intellectual. "Allah!" says the fellâḥ, "Allah! Allah!" and sways himself in true pleasure at the windings of the chanter's voice. But he would be at a loss to tell the *matter* of the chant, and cannot produce for the questioner any of the teaching of the Qur'an about the jinn. Yet the Book has its effect upon his jinn-beliefs, for *he knows that the jinn are there*, they are there in the holy Book. And so the Qur'an provides him with

[1] *Aspects of Islam*, p. 330.

[2] The same confusion exists in the peasants' use of this word as was noted by Goldziher in its use by the earlier Moslems. It means indiscriminately "die mit den Ginnen vollig identischen Śeyṭânen der gâhilijja und der mit dem judisch-christlichen Iblis identischen Śeytân". (Abuhandlungen zur Arabischen Philologie, 7.) In these notes the word is only used as a common, not a proper noun

certainty that the jinn are included by Allah in the brotherhood of creation and in the framework of Islam. There is as secure a place for them in Allah's universe as for ourselves and the beasts and the angels.

In a popular story of Khadra ash-sharifa printed in Cairo by Muḥammad Ḥusain at Tarazi an introductory verse reads in translation :–

"Praise be to God the Merciful, who provides for men and the demons' flock,
And for the birds, and all the fish, and for the worm inside of the rock."

This is entirely typical of the popular mind in its accordance to the jinn of a place in the normal economy of creation and Providence.

For the rest it is possible that a general tendency in current peasant stories to connect the jinn with *fire* may look back unconsciously to Surah xv. 26, 27 :—

وَلْجَانَّ خَلَقْنَاه مِن قَبْل مِن نَار السَّمُوم

Certainly a strong connexion with fire is found in the peasant tales. The "ginni" may, for instance, appear as a man, but vanish away as a pillar of fire, as in the following example : –

ka:n fi:h wa:ħid ʿa:iz jisriʔ ʕinab ʔa:s nafsu ṭi:n wi nizil li karm il ʿinab wi saraʔ kiti:r ʔawi, wi ṭiti' min ba:b il karm, wi:l ʿinab fi maʔṭaf. wi huwa ma:ʃi fis sikka wagad ra:gil ʔa:ʿid wi ma:sik siga:ra fi i:du. ʔa:m ʔa:l ir ra:gil li l ħara:mi, "taʿa: ja gadaʿ." fa lamma ra:ħ lu ʔa:m saʔal "eh da fi l maʔṭaf?" ʔa:m ʔa:l lu l ħara:mi "da ʿinab". wi χa:f kiti:r. wi ʔa:l lu r ra:gil illi hu:wa ʿafri:t "ʿau:z aʔsim maʿak".

fa madd i:du w misik il ħara:mi min i:du. ʔa:m il ħara:mi wagad i:d il ʿafri:t zejj iʃ ʃo:k, zejj il ʔunfid. fa fa:r il ʿafri:t jiʔ sim il ʿinab li ħaddima χalaʿ il ħara:mi ʿala ʿu:d wa:ħid. fa ziʿil hu:wa

A man who wanted to steal grapes smeared himself with mud and went to the vineyard and took a large quantity, then left the vineyard with his grapes in a palm fibre basket. And on his way he found a man sitting with a cigarette in his hand who called out to the thief, "Come here, old chap!" He went to him, and the man said : "What's that in the basket?" "Grapes," said the thief, much alarmed. "I want to divide them with you," said the man, who was an 'afri:t and he stretched out his hand and took the robber's hand, who felt his touch as though he were holding thorns or hedgehog spines.

wi tannu ma:ʃi wala:kin ba'dima miʃi ʃwajja ʔa:m rigi' 'alaʃan jiðrab illi χad minnu l 'inab. wi lamma χalla be:nu w be:n in nafar il 'afri:t zejji mitr, sa:r iʃ ʃejṭa:n na:r wi ṭili' li s sama.

And the 'afri:t went on dividing the grapes till he left the robber with only one bunch. The robber went his way in anger, but presently returned to fight for his grapes. And when he came as near as a metre to that 'afri:t person, the ʃejṭa:n turned into fire and ascended heavenwards.

Or, even more usually, the 'afri:t is known by eyes of flame that shine out in the darkness large as saucers, as in the following example:

wa:ħid fellaħ fi minu:f kibi:r is sinn[i] ʃwajja ʔa:l li "ana ʃuft[i] marra wa:ħid mil ga:nn wi ka:n il ke:fijja kida. kutt amʃi fi awa:χir il le:l li l ge:ṭ bita'i. wi lamma futt[i] 'ala sa:ʔija mahgu:ra fi ṭ ṭari:ʔ ʃuft[i] 'and is sa:ʔija fi ẓala:m il le:l na:r tirtafi' marra wi tin\afað marra. wi χuft[i] ʃwajja wala:kin ʔarrabt [i] min maħall in na:r wi laʔe:t ʃakl [i] insa:n, wi.n na:r di hija 'ene:h. ʔa:m il insa:n ill[i] hu:wa 'afri:t ʔa:l li 'au:z minni: e:h?" ʔumt ana fi ga:jit il χo:f 'ult [i] lu "inta mi:n?" fa ʔa:l li:l ginni "ma tisʔalʃ." wi ba'd[i] kida χadni: wi χalla:ni amʃi ma'a:h li ħaddima laffifni ħawale:n is sa:ʔija. wi ka:n 'a:wuz jigdir bi: wi jiwaʔʔaʕ ni fi s sa:ʔija. wala:kin gire:t minnu, fa laħaʔni l ginni da wa ħamalni w rafa'ni w rama:ni fi t tir'a wi ma kanʃ fi:ha majja kiti:r. wi ʃa:t wa:ħid ʔurb is saba:ħ ṭili 'ni mit tir'a.

An elderly fellâḥ of Menûf said to me: "I saw one of the gânn once, after this fashion. I was going in the last watches of the night to my field, and as I passed near a deserted sa:qiya on my way, I saw in the darkness of the night a fire burning at the sa:qiya, now flaring up and now dying down. I felt some fear of it, but I went up to the place where the fire was, and found the form of a man, and that fire was nothing but his eyes! And the man, who was an 'afri:t, said, "What do you want with me?" Terribly afraid I said: "Who are you?" "Do not ask," said the ginni. Then he took me and made me walk with him, bringing me round and round the sa:qiya, and his intention was to trick me and make me fall into the sa:qiya. But I ran away from him, and the ginni overtook me and picked me up and raised me and threw me into the canal, which was rather low. And about dawn somebody passed and pulled me out of the canal.

Even the peasant who makes no connexion in his mind between the information in the Qur'an and his theory of the jinn, has at least this link between the two, that he is well convinced that certain passages of the Holy Book are potent against his ghostly foes. They may be written on charms or repeated orally, always provided that he who uses them is *mutawaḍḍi'*, *ṭâhir*. Hurrying past the ruined house, or the disused water-wheel, it is good to say the Chapter of "Sincerity" or "the Verse of the Throne".

It is curious to note that the Coptic fellâḥ, although unable to find information about the creation of the jinn in *his* Holy Book, has yet contrived a Scriptural origin for them. Does not the Book of Numbers say of Korah and his rebellious company that they went down *alive* into the pit when the earth opened her mouth to receive that company of evil-doers? What, then, more probable than that these wicked ones should emerge still alive, and work evil upon the earth? In fact, the evil jinn are no others than Korah, Dathan, and Abiram and all their progeny!

Influence of "Thousand and One Nights"

Taken as a whole, the *Arabian Nights* contain a considerable body of information on the believing and heretical jinn, their modes of appearance and disappearance, their enchantments, servitude, loves, and wars.

It is possible to find many points of likeness between this information and the jinn-beliefs current in the Delta. But it is another matter to prove that the peasant borrowed jinn-ideas from the "Nights", and on investigation this seems less and less likely. When all is said and done, the *Arabian Nights* is an urban work. The characters move in streets and palaces and the bazaars of the merchants. If they venture outside the cities they meet not with the life of the fellâḥîn, but with jinn and unearthly adventures. There are fishermen and gardeners in the Tales, but never a true fellâḥ. And study of peasant tales in the Delta indicates that the fellâḥîn have never made the *Arabian Nights* their own as the townsmen have. It is a striking fact that after inquiry, now extending over several years, about the stories current in the Delta, I have never once, on asking a fellâḥ for a tale, met with one drawn from the *Arabian Nights*. On the other hand, in Cairo, servants and such-like, often produce hashed fragments of stories from the "Nights".

In spite, too, of the correspondence of many ideas about the jinn

in peasant tales and in the *Arabian Nights*, it is true to say that there are also marked differences. The jinn of the *Arabian Nights* have reached a higher stage of development than the jinn of the Delta fellâḥ. They are more urbane and more individualized. The peasant has, as far as I can discover, no jinn with individual names like "the Mârid Kashkash" or the "'Afrît Dahnash son of Shemhûrish the Flyer" (story of Prince Qamar ez Zamân). Certain names he has which at first seem to point to individualization, but which on closer study are found to be used as generic. Thus "**ginni ḍ ḍuhr**" is the name of *any* ginni that shows itself by day and a fellâḥ in describing the shyness of present-day ginn will say, "In my grandfather's time this was waste ground, and you could see as many as sixty 'afrit iḍ ḍuhr here any day." So also "**ginni l baḥr**" seems a generic name for a type of hideous mermaid ginnîja, responsible for all the accidental daylight drowning in the canals. "**umm is subja:n**" the 'afrita that snatches or injures little children seems at first to come nearer personality. But I cannot discover any more individualization than that of her horrid preference for little innocent victims. She is not individualized as a person, but as an office. "**umm is subja:n**" is hardly more personal a name than "**umm il gi:la:n**",[1] which is the polite way of addressing any ghûla whatsoever.

This practically complete lack of individualization in the Menûfieh jinn stories perhaps indicates that we have here under our eyes an earlier stage of thought than that reached in the cities when the "Nights" were composed. Our jinn stories may be nearer those tales current before the Islamic civilization, of which Robertson Smith

[1] Paul Kahle in his very interesting transcription of the Zâr-ritual words (*Zâr-Beschwörungen in Ägypten*, Der Islam, 1912, p. 23) quotes a cry to a spirit called "Umm il Ghulâm", among the salutations to semi-satanic powers in both the Cairo and Luxor rituals. He thus explains the use of the term: "Umm el Ghulâm (Mutter des Knaben) ist eine berühmte Wahja in Kairo, deren Heiligtum in der nach ihr benannten Strasse östlich von der Gâme' el Hasanein liegt. Sie soll nach der Schlacht von Kerbela das Haupt Husêns gefunden haben: als man es von ihr forderte, habe sie ihrem eignen Sohn den Kopf abgeschlagen und den herausgegeben, das Haupt des Husên aber nach Kairo gebracht. Die Moschee, in der sie beerdigt ist, wird nur einmal im Jahre geöffnet, und zwar eine Nacht, vor der lêlet el-kebîre des Mûlid des Husên. Darauf spielt das uba'uda an: jedes Jahr einmal möge eine Zar-Beschwörung veranstaltet werden. Auserdem ist aber die Umm el-Ghulâm hier zu einem Zâr-Geist geworden."

In spite of the fact that "**umm il gula:m**" is thus invoked in the Cairo and Luxor rituals, I have not so far been able to find that any Delta peasant has heard of her. A question about her is always corrected as though the questioner were stumblingly trying to say "**umm el gi:la:n**", and some answer about the habits of the local **gu:l** is given.

writes: "In the *Arabian Nights* we find jinn with individual names and distinctive personalities, but in the old legends (of Arabia) the individual jinni who may appear to a man has no more a distinct personality than a beast." [1]

Influence of the Professional Magician

The professional magician (*'arrâf*) in the Delta folk-tale is nearly always a Maghrabi. That is to say, he is not only, as is the *sheikha* (or "wise woman") somewhat outside the common life by reason of uncanny knowledge direct from supernatural sources, but he is a foreigner as well, from the western land that is for the Egyptian the home of magic.

Such people are specialists who in part hold the keys, or, at least, have the right of entry into the jinn world, and perhaps can summon at will their allies among the jinn; *sallat* is the word always used for such authoritative calling. These master-men may even control unseen powers by a finger gesture, as in the following example:

ka:n hina e:h ? ra:gil bita:' il miʃat wi l fallija:t bi jibi:' fi e giba:l. igranni wa:'id ir ra:gil da wa:ħid gu:l min gi:la:n il giba:l innu wa?tima ka:n jibi:' il miʃat jiʃawwar li l gu:l li fo:?.

fa ʃawwar bi suba:'u wi bassi li fo:? wi nizil il gu:l illi sallatu.

Who came here ? A pedlar of hair combs and vermin combs, selling in the mountains. Now you must know that his man had promised one of the mountain gu:ls that when he made a sale he would beckon to him up above. And he beckoned with his finger and looked upwards, and the gu:l whom he had summoned, descended.

Jinn allies may reveal to the *'arrâf* or *sheikha* the confidences which they caught when they listened at the curtain that veils the heavenlies, before the angels spied them and pelted them away with falling stars. Or these wise people may know instead the peculiar combinations of powerful names that will hold the jinn in check. In any case, it is safer for the fellâḥ to buy a charm from them, and it is to their interest to keep the guardianship of mysteries, so that the sum-total of information gained from them as to jinn-nature is very tiny and practically amounts to a strong re-affirmation of the existence of dangerous powers against which charms are needed, and in particular a firmer belief in the power

[1] *Religion of the Semites*, Lecture III.

of jinn to "possess", or clothe themselves with (jiltabisu bi) human beings. This side of jinn-belief is the Sheikha's kingdom.

Expert information, then, whether from the Qur'an reciter or the story-teller of the *Arabian Nights*, or from the professional Sheikha, is very scanty, and we now turn to examine the great body of popular belief which, whatever its original source, now survives and is propagated only in the folk-mind.

Beliefs in the Popular Mind

Haunts of the Uncanny: (a) The Desert

We do not in the villages talk about the green chrysolite mountains of Qâf beyond the Circumambient Ocean, nor of the City of Brass upon which the sun riseth not, as the abode of the spirits we fear. In this southern angle of the Delta we have in the place of those homes of fearful romance a dim grey line on the horizon beyond our familiar fields, the grey wall of the desert bounding our human activities, and visible from any housetop.

In our popular stories, Arabs from out the desert play the part of mystery and outlawry that gipsies play in English stories. And the desert is the scene where we place supernatural encounters, as it was in the days of the Christian fathers and hermits of the Egyptian wilderness.

Here you may meet the Saints:—

ʔa:lit li sitti: innaka ka:nit maʃja fi l gabal wi bassi waħda tanja wajja:ha wi ʔa:bilhum ħaramijja ta:libi:n filu:shum. wi χa:fu kiti:r 'alaʃan ka:nu sitta:t wi. l ħaramijja rajħi:n jiđurru-hum. wi saraχit sitti: bi so:t 'a:li "ja mari girgis! ja mari girgis!" fa ħa:lan gih be:nha w be:n il ħaramijja wa:ħid la:bis libs abjađ fi abjađ wi ra:kib ħusa:n abjađ. fa χa:fu l ħaramijja minnu wi harabu. fa ka:nit sitti ʕa:wuza tibussi i:du wala:kin hu:wa muʃ ra:đi, ʔa:l "ma'lehʃ" wi kallimha bismiha wi ba'di

My grandmother told me that she was walking in the desert with only one other woman when robbers met them and demanded their money, and they were terrified, for they were women and the robbers meant to injure them. And my grandmother called out loudly: "St. George! St. George!" And immediately there appeared between her and the robbers one clothed in the whitest white raiments and riding a white horse. And the robbers fled in fear. And my grandmother wanted to kiss the horseman's

nuss^{i} sa:'a ra:ħ 'ala gafla wi ma ʃa:fitu:ʃ wala ħusa:nu.

hand, but he was unwilling, and said: "Never mind," and talked with her, calling her by her name. And after about half an hour, suddenly he disappeared, and she saw no trace of him or of his steed.

The desert, too, is the haunt of all the tribes of jinn, the 'afarit, the mâridin, and more especially of the ghûl. In the example already quoted of the pedlar who summoned an ally of the ghûls, this was called "wahid ghûl min ghilân il gibâl". The tale goes on to relate how the ghûl snatched a maiden and carried her off to his house in the desert-mountains where only a few camel trains passed; and the maiden sang in her loneliness:—

ka:nit wida:'a galja sabaħit wida:'a garja fi wust il giba:l il 'alja.

Once Wida'a had plenty
Now Wida'a's a slavey
In the midst of mountains lofty.

Here, apparently, a real mountain must be intended, but in general the word "gabal" in the Delta stories stands for the desert, and carries with it no more mountainous meaning than the rise of the low desert hills or sand dunes beyond the flat cultivated fields.

It is interesting to note that while 'afarit constantly inhabit places within the village boundaries, the home of the ghûls is always the desert, though they may come down into the village street at night sniffing for blood. Here is an encounter at midnight:—

ʔa:bilha l gu:l fi nuss is sikka, ga ji'affar wi jinaff wi ʔal laha "a:kulik hina walla aʃi:l 'a:l ʔuru:n awaddi:ħi l gabal?" . . . wi ʃa:lha l gu:l 'ala ʔuru:nu wi χadha l gabal fi χussu w ħattaha fi:h.

The gu:l met her in the middle of the street and, raging and snorting, said:—"Shall I eat you here or carry you on my horns to the desert?"—and the ghoul carried her on his horns and took her to his rush hut in the desert, and put her inside it.

Just as in reading the stories of the fathers of the desert, it is very hard to resist the inference that some of the apparitions of evil ones were visits of wild beasts to the cave where the tense-strung hermit fasted in awful solitude, so in hearing the stories of Egyptian peasant encounters with jinn or ghûls, it is difficult not to infer that many such stories are based on meetings with wild beasts in the terrors of desert

solitude. Those terrors, it must be remembered, are overwhelming to an Egyptian fellâḥ whose normal life from birth to death is lived in a social crowd.

Such a creation of night terrors, in which the narrator is perfectly unconscious that he creates, can be seen in the following account from the village of Subk. Here, surely, the jinn tradition is caught growing under our very eyes from the terrors of darkness and solitude and an encounter with a pariah puppy.

ka:n hina ra:gil gada‘ ʔawi ma kanʃi wa:ħid zejju f subk wi ʔal li “ana ʃufti farχamin il gann. kutt aru:ħ il ge:t bi l la:l fiʔa:χir iʃ ʃahr wi d dunja ‘atma, wi ʔa:bilni ginni ʃaklu kalbi kibi:r wi ʔulti lu “ ʂa:wuz minni ʔe:h ?” ka:n huwa bassi jilahlih wi ‘ene:h ʔaddi kida (size of saucer indicated) **fa lamme:tu w ʃiltu f ħiđni li ħaddima wasalt il ge:t. wi ħatte:tu ‘a:l ʔarđ. wi ba‘de:n ma ʃuftu:ʃ wala ħa:ga ‘alaʃan χadde:tu f ħiđni. wala:kin lau kutti đarabtu walla ‘a: miltu b ʃidda ka:n mawwitni.**

There was a very hefty fellow here, no man like him in Subk. And he said : “ I saw one of these jinn-birds. I was going to my field at night, at the end of the month when nights were dark, and a jinni met me in the form of a big dog. I said to him : ‘ What do you want of me ? ’ He only panted, and his eyes were large as saucers. I picked him up and carried him in my bosom as far as my field and put him down on the ground, after which I saw him no more, and nothing happened to me because I had taken him into my bosom, but if I had struck him or been hard on him, he would have killed me.”

The peasant’s phrase, “ **farχa min il ga:nn** ” is more suggestive of animal existence than of personality. But while jinn stories may bear this suggestion of wild-beast origin, still more is this the case with the ghûl of the mountains. On this point Professor Robertson Smith makes an interesting note on Arabic phraseology [1] :—

“ The Arab says ‘ the ghûl appeared ’, not ‘ a ghûl appeared ’, just as David says ‘ the lion came and the bear ’ (1 Sam. xvii, 34 ; Amos iii, 12 : v. 19). The definite article is used because in such cases definition cannot be carried beyond the indication of the species. The individuals are numerically different, but qualitatively indistinguishable. This use of the article is sharply to be distinguished from such

[1] *Religion of the Semites*, Lecture III, n. 15.

a case as הָאִישׁ in 1 Sam. ix. 9, where the article is generic, and a general practice of men is spoken of."

I have never found this usage departed from by Delta peasants in speaking of the **gu:l**. Indeed, a fellâḥ told me that the difference between an **'afri:t** and a **gu:l** was that the former often took human form, the latter *always* wild beast form. Peasant stories do not always bear this out. In the general confusion as to the exact nature of these evil powers, no strict dividing line is possible, and there are some stories in which the **gu:l** seems to be undergoing domestication and anthropomorphosis without losing the heart of a beast.

In one of the most popular of all the Delta stories a **gu:la** appears as a bad old woman with a magic well under her power. When little girls are sent to borrow the sieve from her, she tests their characters by ordering them to comb the vermin from her hair. Those who are polite under these circumstances are rewarded by embroidered raiment from the magic well, and chains of gold. Those who fail in politeness are sent away, garbed in clinging lizards, snakes, and frogs. Here the **gu:la** has become an old witch with human form and straggling white hair.

In another story, which seems to show that the **gu:l** may have human forms, he sucks blood from a maiden's finger every day, upon which her brothers lie in wait and kill him, and having cut up his body, sell it to his wife and children as fish for dinner. When they came to cook the fish :—

il bint is sugajjara wagadit subaʿ abu:ha wi ʾa: lit l ummaha " subaʿ abu:ja hina, jamma ".	the little girl found her father's finger and said to her mother : " This is father's finger, mother."

Perhaps a missing link between the wild beast **gu:l** of the desert and this anthropomorphic type was some gorilla in the Cairo Zoological Gardens, for Menûf people have earnestly assured me that a **gu:la** was on show there ; only, with the usual elusiveness of such beasts, she proves upon inquiry to have died some years ago.

(*b*) *Watery Haunts*

The Egyptian peasant does not, like his brother of Palestine, place an 'afrît in every well ; his waters have not the mystery of mountain springs. But beside any of the larger canals may be found at summer noondays, **ginni-l-baḥr**, who snatches unwary bathers to their doom. Very often in woman's form, letting down masses of matted hair, this ginniya sits at the water's edge, ugly as sin. She has no power unless

you are alone. But if you are alone she calls to you "Come here", and then "Take my hand", and leads you down under the water. "**ginni ḍ ḍuhr**" seems to be an alternative title for this snatcher of noontide bathers, who probably has had long dominion in Egypt, for it is worthy of note that in the Baptism Service of the Coptic Church, prayer is made that those about to be baptised may be defended "from all the darts of the enemy, and from evil assaults, and *from the demon of noontide*, and from the arrow that flieth by day, and from the thing that walketh in darkness, and from the imaginations of the night."[1] In spite of the general recollection of Ps. xci, 5, 6, in this petition, the definite phrase "demon of noontide" would seem to point to some definite and known belief in the Egypt of those days.

Perhaps the most assured home of the jinn in Egyptian peasant eyes is the disused water-wheel. A friend in Menuf who studied eight years in the Azhar and four years in the Government training college for teachers, but spent his childhood amongst the fellâḥîn, told me, "To this day when I am walking in the fields, if I come to a sâqiya not in use, I tremble. And if no one is walking with me, I wait on the path till someone comes up, so that I shall not have to pass the place alone."

He gave the following account of the origin of his terror :—

lamma kunt^{i} walad sugajjar be:n il fellaħi:n ka:nit in na:s il kuba:r mir riga:l wi n niswa:n ji^{ʔ}ulu:li "t^{ʕ}wa tiru:ħ ʿand is sa:^{ʔ}ija wi l bi:r di".

^{ʔ}ult^{i} lhum "le:h ?"

^{ʔ}a:mu ^{ʔ}a:lu "aʃan fi:h huna:k ʿafari:t. ma jisaħħiʃ tiru:ħ li waħdak. in ka:n fi:h itne:n walla tala:ta wajjaba^{ʕ}ḍ ma jiẓharu:ʃ. wala:kin in ka:n il wa:ħid jiru:ħ li waħdu jiẓhar lu ʃakl^{i} ^{ʔ}uṭṭa walla zejj^{i} kida. wi jikbar li ħaddima rigle:h ʿa:l arḍ wi ra:su fi s sama. wi jitawwikak wi jiχṭafak wi jirfaʿak fi l hawa wi baʿde:n jirmi:k fi l bi:r.

When I was a little boy among the fellâḥîn, the big people, both men and women, used to say to me: "Keep away from that sâqiya and well."

"Why?" I said.

"Because there are ʿafarît there. It is not safe to go alone. If there are two or three of you they do not appear, but if one goes there alone, either at noon in summer or by night, there will appear to him a cat or some such form, and it will grow till its feet are on earth, and its head in the heavens, and it will lead you off the path and then snatch you up and lift

[1] *The Rites of the Coptic Church*, translated by B. T. A. Evetts, p. 27.

wi jo:m mil ajja:m ruħt il balad illi hija ʔari:ba mil bi:r, laʔe: ħ kull^{i} n niswa:n jisawwatu. ʔa:lu li: inni mʿħammad ibn^{i} fula:n ka:n il ga:nn wa ʔʔaʔu fi l bi:r il maska:na wi huwa barra bi l le:l. wi ka:nit sihħitu ʿa:l wi ma kanʃ^{i} sakra:n wala ka:n ħadd^{i} ħasadu wi rama:h fi l bi:r, wala sahab li tatwi:hu wi suʔu:ṭu fi l bi:r. wi ruħt^{i} mahall il bi:r laʔe:t zaħma kibi:ra wi gittit ir ra:gil fi l bi:r. wi baʿde:n banu su:r ħawale:n il maħall wala:kin banu:h wa:ṭi wi ṭilʿit gamu:sa fo:ʔ is su:r wi li ʔju:ha majjita fi l bi:r.

you high into the air and drop you into the well."

One day I went to the village near the well and found all the women wailing. They told me Muhammed son of so and so, had been thrown by the jinn into the haunted well. He had been out at night. He was well and sober, and no one had a grudge against him. There was no reason why he should have strayed off the path and fallen into the well. I went to the place and found a great crowd, and the man's body lying in the water hole. Afterwards, they made a wall round the place that no one should approach it. But they built the wall too low, and a water buffalo went over it and was found dead in the well.

(*c*) *Ruins*

A ruined house, as any other desolate and forlorn place, is jinn haunted. A well-to-do and pious Moslem of Menûf relates as follows :—

daχalt^{i} be:t waʔt iđ đuhr ma fi:hʃ sukka:n il be:t ʔadi:m. wi daχalt'^{i} li waħdi fi ʔo:da muẓlima. wi ħasse:t^{i} bi ħaraka fi l ʔo:da wa la:kin ma ʃuftiʃ ħa:ga. baʿde:n gat ħa:ga ʃa:litni li ʃo:ʔ. wi nazzilitni taħt. wi lamma ʃuft^{i} kida illa w so:t jikallimni wi jina:di bismi. fa wiʔi t^{i} fi l ʔarđ wi baʔe:t ra: ʔid lamma gat na:s χadu:ni gabu:ni l be:t wi ʔaʕatt^{i} talatt ija:m ʕajja:n.

"I went at noon into an uninhabited house, old (and disused), and I went all alone into a dark room, and felt movement in the room, but did not see anything. And presently something came and lifted me up and then dropped me down again, and I heard a voice call me by name, and I fell to the ground and lay there till people came and found me and took me home, and I was ill in the house for three days after the adventure."

(d) Dark Rooms

But it is not necessary for a house to be ruined in order to be jinn-haunted. Darkness is cover enough and it is always wise to have a light at night. Also in shutting the house-door one should say: "**Aʿu:zu billah min ʃarr iʃ ʃaja:ti:n**" and the bismillah, for no devil can pass through a door so shut.

ka:nit fi:h waħda sitt daχalit marra ʾo:da fi l le:h fi đ đalma wi liʾjit arbaʿi:n walad la:bisi:n hidu:m be:đa wi tarabi:ʃ wi hija χa:fit χa: lis. ʾa:lu l ha matχafi:ʃ abadan. iza ma ʾulti:ʃ sirrina li ħadd, iħna ħa niddi:ki bi kull[i] talaba:tik. wi mil waʾt[i] da ibtadat tuṭlub kull ihtija:ga:tha, fa sa:rit tigni bi sur'a wi go:zha istagrab gidden. wi ħabb[i] ji'raf il filu:s di min e:n wi hija ma riđitʃ[i] tiʾu:l lu. ba'de:n hu:wa ʃakkik fi:ha w alzamha wi mil jo:m illi iltazamit tiʾu:l is sirr, kassaħu:ha wi taraku: ha wi raħ il gina wi kull' ħa:ja.

A woman went alone into a dark room and found in it forty little boys clothed in white and wearing tarbouches. She was terribly frightened, but they said: "So long as you tell no one about us, we will do you no harm, but bring you whatever you want." She asked them for all her desires, and her husband marvelled to see her grow rich. When he plagued her as to the source of her riches, and suspected her of the worst conduct, he drove her at last to tell him the truth, and from the day in which she was compelled to tell the secret, they made her a cripple and left her and all her riches vanished away, and she had no more from that source."

(*e*) *Latrines* are also jinn-haunted places, for the folk say that their two guardian angels [1] go with them into all places but these, and hence leave them here exposed to the attacks of evil ones.

(*f*) *Cemeteries*, again, are invariably shaiṭân-haunted. You should never go alone to the Coptic cemetery outside Menûf, nor visit it at night, or the shaijaṭin will, says the fellâḥ, "**jimawwitu:k wi jiʾaṭṭaʿu:k**" (kill you and chop you into little bits).

(*g*) *Trees* in the Egyptian Delta are more often saint-haunted than jinn-haunted. Paradise, say the fallâḥin, is surrounded by a hedge of the nubq (*zizyphus spina-Christi*), as any pleasant fruit-garden near our villages will have its prickly hedge. A nubq-tree of considerable

[1] Strictly speaking these should be recording angels, but since they are holy powers, they are regarded as guardians against jinn.

age will always be haunted by a saint. It is not, however, unknown with us for a labakh-tree (colloquially we generally call it labbaχ, *acacia mimosa*) to be jinn-haunted or **maskuːnɑ**. Such a tree will be used in the same way as a saint-haunted one, and barren women will walk round and round it praying for conception, and buffaloes with insufficient milk may also be led round it.

Modes of Summoning Jinn

Although the jinn often visit mankind at their own will, or may entice him for their own pleasure towards their haunts, there are also several ways of summoning them which, if used clumsily or unintentionally, may result in their appearing in the worst of tempers. Thus, in calling to a friend, it is of importance to beckon with the finger to the exact individual intended, for fear hovering jinn should take the call as for themselves. In the same way, in calling to a beast, one should indicate with the finger the beast required for fear of summoning a jinni. "The old men told me this when I was a boy," said my informant, "but we don't think much about it now."

Another belief that is waning is the old idea familiar to us through a famous story in the *Arabian Nights*, that to throw anything, such as a date stone, to the earth with violence was a dangerous act, for fear of striking a lurking jinni. This idea is enshrined in our Delta folk-stories, as when seven sons refused to kiss their father's hand until he found them brides, and he replied :—

kulli waːħid minkum jaːχud giriːdu w jirmiːh fi ajjⁱ maħall, wi min kullⁱ maħall suʾuːṭ il gariːd tiṭlaʿ lu ʿaruːsa.

Let each of you take his stick of palm-leaf rib, and throw it down anywhere, and from the place where your stick falls there will rise up a bride for you (a jinniya).

But though this idea is often repudiated, there does certainly live on a sense of the danger of striking with violence and disturbing jinn in their haunts. A student told the following story to the Rev. H. E. E. Hayes, of Menûf.

"A relative of mine was a student who sat at his books till late. One night, having worked till midnight, he threw from his bedroom windows dirty water and polluted a ginniya who was in the street below and cried out, 'I will punish'. From that time a woman with eyes of fire haunted the street, and four or five days later, finding my cousin in the street alone, she seized him by the throat and would

have throttled him, had not his mother run up to his help. After that she was quiet again."

The greatest danger from such disturbance of the jinn is that they may in revenge "possess" the disturber. In an article by Vollers,[1] an Egyptian correspondent is quoted who lays bare this danger exactly as it exists in the mind of the Menufieh peasant to-day.

توهموا ان عفريتا من الجن يخرج من الارض فيلتبس بجسد بعض الاشخاص و بالاخص باجساد النساء اللاتى هن عرضة لعمل الاجرا آت الق تكون على غير رضاء هؤلاء العظريت على زعمهم كالدق على الارض بدون سبب او الدخول فى محل مظلم بغير تسمية او قتل احدى الحشرات المسمة كالعقرب و الثعبان ليلا او الوثب او البكاء او الصراخ.

These are possibilities, but there is one certain mode of evoking a shaiṭân. In all cases of murder or violent death, when the blood of the slain touches the earth, there rises from it (as in most of these cases of evocation it is from the earth that the jinni rises) a shaiṭân who is not the ghost of the murdered one, but is exactly in his likeness, speaks with his voice, and haunts his haunts.

Thus, in a village street where a great Bey killed three slaves, their voices may yet be heard, though the shayaṭîn who make the cries are not their ghosts.

A girl fell from a balcony in Menûf and was killed. It was necessary for the mistress of the house to fetch the Coptic priest (the girl being a Copt) to exorcize the Shaiṭân before the Moslem neighbours would be satisfied that the house was not haunted by a demon in the girl's form.

Lane (*Modern Egyptians*, chap. x) says that the term 'afrît is applied to the ghost of a dead person. On first sight this would seem to be so, but Egyptian friends are careful to insist that these spirits which appear in cases of violent death, are *not* the spirits of the slain, but 'afarît in the slain one's form. The belief is closer to the idea of the qarîna, the "double" in the spirit world, than to that of the return of the human spirit to earthly haunts. This belief is, so far

[1] Vollers, "Noch einmal der Zar": *Z.D.M.G.*, vol. xlv, p. 343.

as I know, the only one among our people in which the jinn attain to anything like real personality, and it seems to belong to a different range of ideas from those concerning the wild-beast jinn.

Modes of Manifestation

1. *Animal Forms.*—While the ghoul is in essence a wild beast of the desert, the jinn may assume the forms of more familar beasts. "**Baʿđ il kilaːb mil ginn**" the people say, and a jinni often chooses the form of a cat, a great cat, sometimes, that towers up to heaven, with burning eyes. (The black cat is, of course, the special form of the qarina.)

Riding Beasts.—Mules or donkeys may also be jinn-forms, and round these gathers a cycle of stories of ridden jinn. These jinn, who are beasts of burden perhaps mark a stage in which thought is passing from a wild-beast conception to a personified conception of the jinn. "Just as animal gods pass over into anthropomorphic gods, figured as riding on animals or otherwise associated with them, the jinn begin to be conceived as manlike in form, and the supernatural animals of the original conception appear as the beasts on which they ride."[1] These beasts of burden sometimes allow themselves to be ridden by Beni Adam, being under the control of those who recognize them and know that they are afraid of "cold iron".

The following story was recently told to the Rev. H. E. E. Hayes, of Menûf:—

"About 53 years ago the Gindi family were, as they now are, notables of Menûf. And as they were sitting in the *Maglis el Baladiya* a question occurred which needed an answer from a notable of Ṭanṭa. A servant of the Gindi family was told to go to Ṭanṭa and bring back an answer. He had to ride, for the railway was not yet made. As he passed the old cemetery of Menûf he saw a donkey saddled ready for a journey. No owner was visible, and the servant determined to take him for the business of the notables. He seized the rein and mounted the beast, which at once put down its head and threw him off. 'You must be a jinni,' said the servant, and quick as thought took a pen-knife from his pocket, opened it, and put the blade to the donkey's neck. At once the beast became submissive, and said:—'Where do you want to go?'—'Ṭanṭa.'—'Then cover your head and ears with your garments.' He did so, and in five minutes found himself in Ṭanṭa. He handed in the letter to the notable and refused to dismount even for coffee, but remained sitting on the donkey with

[1] Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, Lecture III.

his knife-blade on its neck, until he received the answer. He returned to Menûf as fast as he came, dismounted at the door of the Maglis, left the donkey, which instantly disappeared, and entered the meeting of notables. They rebuked him, saying, 'We sent you to Ṭanṭa. Make haste, it is time you started.' He replied, 'If I go to Ṭanṭa and come back with an answer in half an hour what will you give me?' Jestingly they all named a sum, whereupon he produced his letter and told his tale, and received from them the promised money."

This story is placed back fifty years in time, but the following was told me of a fellâḥ now living, who is deeply insulted at the suggestion that his experiences might have taken place in a dream world :—

ra:gil fella:ħ χarag min be:tu f a:χir il le:l jiru:ħ il ge:ṭ. fa wagad huma:r gami:l fi‿s sikka wi fi:h liga:m. ʔa:m rikibu fa wagad il ħaraka ge:r il ʕa:da fa'irif innu ʕafri:t mil ginn. wi garaz fi kitfu matwa wi kallimu wi ʔa:l "waddi:ni misr". fa wadda:h fi mudda ʔasi:ra χa:lis. wi ṭalab il fella:ħ jirga' il be:t fa ragga'u fi‿l ħa:l. wi 'andama wasal il be:t χala' il matwa min kitf il ħuma:r. wa fi s saba:ħ fattaʃ 'ale:h, ma wagadu:ʃ abadan.

A fellâḥ left his house towards the end of the night to go to his field. And he found in the road a fine donkey bridled. He mounted but found the motion unusual, and knew that it must be an 'afrit of the jinn. And he dug a penknife into its shoulder and spoke to it, and said : "Take me to Cairo." And he was conducted there in the briefest space of time. Then he asked to return to his house and the jinni brought him back instantly. And when he reached home he drew the knife out of the donkey's shoulder. And in the morning, though he searched for the beast, he found him no more.

Snakes.—I do not think that snakes in the Delta come into the cycle of jinn-ideas, though they have a very important place in magical ideas. The snake in the house is called **sa:kin il be:t**, as though human beings were the intruders, and he the rightful owner. Great care must be taken to protect the snake family. The zîr must not be left uncovered for fear one of them should fall into it. For so long as the snake family are well, they will do no harm to the human family, but the death or injury of one of the snake inhabitants will be revenged on the human inhabitants of the house.

In the Delta stories I have not met with a snake which is a true jinni (as in the story of the First of the Three Ladies of Baghdad or Abu Muḥammad the Lazy, in the *Arabian Nights*), but the snake has an undoubted connexion, in these folk-tales, with magic. There is a snake-bridegroom (il ḥanash abu 'urnên, the Egyptian horned viper) who creeps into the bride-chamber by a hole in the wall, and can be turned into a prince by the trust of a human bride who will without fear suffer him to coil his snaky folds about her.

Whether we have, in the Delta peasant's reverence for snakes, some relic of pre-Islamic and pre-Christian religion, is for experts to decide.

2. *Showers from above*

The strange manifestations by brick-throwing mentioned in Lane's *Modern Egyptians,* chap. x (p. 231 Everyman Edition) can be matched in the stories of to-day. Jinn often show their presence by showering stones from above. The following very circumstantial story was told in Menûf, but placed in Upper Egypt :—

" In Upper Egypt a man was much startled by stones falling through the roof of his house of sunbaked bricks. For several nights in succession showers of stones came through the roof, and when he could find no thrower and no cause for the visitation, he went to the Ma'mûr.

" The Ma'mûr attributed the throwing to the action of spirits, and wrote a message, which was left the following night in the room where the showers occurred, asking what the throwers of stones wanted. In the morning, they were found to have written on the paper that they were people of the jinn who required that house in which to celebrate a wedding.

" The owner of the house again took counsel with the Ma'mûr, who wrote a second message asking the jinn to pay rent of £15. This was far beyond the value of the place, for it was a poor man's house. In the morning fifteen golden sovereigns of English money were found beside the paper. The owner of the house took the money and moved himself and his family to a hut near by. Each night for forty nights, sounds of music and rejoicing were heard in his former dwelling. Afterwards, all was quiet and he returned and took up his abode, and was no more troubled."

3. *Hostile Pranks*

There is a range of activities of the jinn, which, while not acts of deadly enmity and greed for blood, like those of the ghoul, can only

be described as malicious pranks. In the stories of the fellâḥîn, these tricks are often freakish interruptions of the work of the fields :—

ka:n fi:h ra:gil gani ʿandu ra:ʿi wa jo:m min do:l χadir ra:ʿi l baha:jim wi ra:ħ il ge:ṭ rabaṭ il baha:jim fi l barsi:m. wi ka:n kullima rabaṭ il baha:jim jagidha baʿdi ʃwajja maħlu:la. fa wi ʔif mutħajjir ħatta l le:l, fa ʿand il maghib ħalli l baha:jim wi miʃi f sikka fa gih iʃ ʃe:ṭa:n wi ʔaṭaʿ il ħabli min be:n ir ra:gil wi min be:n ganu:sa. fa raħ ir raʿi lil be:t wi laʔa saħib il baha:jim ʔa:ʿid ʿand il ba:b. fa saʔal il χadda:m wi ʔal lu "fe:n il gemu:s ?" "a hijja maʿi:." ʔam ʔal lu saħib il baha:jim "na:ʔis gamu:sa" ʔa:m ḍarab il χadda:m wi ʔal lu "jalla. ʔu:m, fattiʃ ʿa:g gamu:sa".

fa ra:ħ il χadde:m li l ge:ṭ wi huwa jib ki, wi χad wajja:h kelb miʃi ʿudda:mu li ħaddima wasalu l ge:ṭ. illaw il gamu:sa bita:kul il barsi:m bi l le:l wi maʿha ʃe:ṭa:n. fa χa:f ir ra:gil wi rtaʕab wi ma kanʃ ʔa:dir jirgaʿ il be:t bi du:n il gamu:sa wala jinzil fi l ge:t ja:χudha miʃ ʃe:ṭa:n. fa nabaħ il kelb wi χa:f iʃ ʃe:ṭa:n wi zahar ʿala ʃakli na:r wi miʃi, fa χad il χadda:m il gamu:sa wi rigiʿ bi ha l be:t.

A rich man had a herdsman who went one day to the field with the cattle, and tethered them in the clover. And no sooner did he tether them than he would find them loosed again. And he was perplexed by this all day. And at sunset he loosed the cattle and took his homeward path, and the ʃe:ṭa:n who had been playing these tricks came and cut the rope by which he was leading one of the water-buffaloes. And the herdsman returned to the house and found the owner of the cattle sitting at the door. He asked his servant: "Where are the buffaloes?" "Here they are with me." Then the owner said: "One buffalo is missing," and he beat that servant, and said: "Get along with you, go and look for the missing buffalo."

The servant returned weeping to the field, taking with him a dog that ran in front of him, till they reached the place, and lo! there was the buffalo grazing clover at night, and a ʃe:ṭa:n beside her. The man trembled with fear and could neither return to the house without the buffalo nor venture into the field to take her from the ʃe:ṭa:n. But the dog barked, and the ʃe:ṭa:n took fright and turned into fire and disappeared, and the servant took the buffalo and went home with her.

Of the work of watering may be interrupted :—

ka:n marra wa:ħid fella:ħ bi jirwi ʔarḍu. wi kullima ka:n jinzil jiħawwil il majja wagadha naʔisa. fa astagrab ʿala n naʔsi da wi ka:n junzur jiʃu: f e:h hu:wa s sabab. fa laʔa ʃe:ṭa:n jiħuttⁱ ṭu:b fi l ʔana:ja wi jisiddⁱ ha.

ʔa:m il fella:ħ ṭalla‘ iṭ ṭu:b mil ʔina:ja wala:kin iʃ ʃe:ṭa:n raddaha maħallaha min ta:ni. ba‘de:n ziḳil il fellaħ wiʔa‘ad gamb il majja za‘la:n. wi gih lu ʃ ʃe:ṭa:n ʔa:l lu “ bi tiˤmil e:h ? ” ʔal lu “ ana arwi ʔarḍi ”. ʔal lu ʃ ʃe:ṭa:n “ ṭa‘a:l inzil fi l majja ”. ma riḍi:ʃ. wi χadu ʃ ʃe:ṭa:n maragu fi ṭ ṭi:n wi taraku, wi ba ‘de:n ra:ħ il fellaħ il be:t wi hu:wa ‘ajja:r.

There was once a fellâḥ who was watering his plot, and every time he went to turn the water into a fresh set of runlets, he found that it was not flowing. And he was surprised at the failure of the water, and when he looked for the cause, he found a ʃe:ṭa:n putting bricks into his irrigation trench and blocking it. He moved the bricks from the trench, but as fast as he did so, the ʃe:ṭa:n put them back. Then the fellâḥ sat down very angry by the canal. And the ʃe:ṭa:n came and said : “ What are you doing ? ” “ Watering my plot.” “ Come down into the water,” (of the canal) said the ʃe:ṭa:n, and when the peasant refused, he seized him and rolled him in the mud and disappeared. And the fellaḥ returned to his house a sick man.

Another cycle of these pranks is concerned with interruptions to men going to prayer whether in the mosque or the Coptic Church. A man in Menûf on his way to morning prayer saw a baby crying in the road, picked it up, put it on his shoulder, carried it home to his wife and said : “ Take care of it till the mother comes, shame upon her for leaving it in the street.” The woman, who was nursing her own babe, put it down on the mat and took up the foundling, and the man went late to prayer. As she laid the foundling babe to her breast it grew and grew beneath her eyes till it became about as large as a full-grown man. She flung it away and fainted. When the man came back from prayer he found his wife in a swoon and no trace of the foundling.

4. *Possession*

Pranks in which a jinni plays the part of a clumsy Robin Goodfellow, without his sense of fitness and humour, are the least serious modes of self-manifestation. The modes which keep the fellâḥ, and still more

the fellâḥa, in a real bondage of fear are those concerned with sickness, most of which can be placed, from the peasant's point of view, under the heading of " possession ", although sometimes in cases of violent accidents, the jinn are understood to be merely murderous agents from without, as in the instance already mentioned of a girl who fell from a balcony, when Menûf opinion had it that a jinni had thrown her down.

From the moment of birth when the midwife names Moḥamed and 'Ali over the child to preserve him from the jinn; through all the ceremonies of the seventh day, directed towards saving the child from those " mulûk " who are hovering ready to harm; until, in his last sickness, bread is laid under his pillow, that the life-giving properties of it and the wholesomeness of the salt therein may keep off shaiyaṭîn, the fellâḥ is conscious of foes ready not only to harm him from without, but to seize on his very person, clothe themselves with it, and to harm him from within.

The patients in Menûf hospital do not hesitate to attribute all sorts of physical troubles, from a tubercular hip to pneumonia, to an 'afrit resident in the afflicted part. The mysteriousness of madness and epilepsy have, of course, always lent colour to the fear of possession on which is built the marvellous popularity and general spread of the Zar-ritual despite the hostility of ecclesiastical authorities.

That this probably Abyssinian ritual is comparatively new in Egypt is proved by the fact that Lane's works with all their fulness of detail on cognate subjects never mention what is to-day one of the great features of non-official, popular religion, unauthorized by Islam.

The Zar-exorcism is carried on in Menûf not only among purely illiterate fellaḥîn, but in such houses as those of the postal officials. The type of illness to which it is specially applied is thus described by the same Egyptian correspondent of Dr. Karl Vollers quoted above: —

و متى تلبس الشيطان جسم المرأة صارت تعتريها نوب تحصل لها منها تشنجات و ذهول كأن المصاب نائم او مجنون و منهم من تكون حالته قاحزة على فقد الشعور بدون حركه و منهم انتقال و منهم من يرقصن و ينتقل من مكان الى مكان مع التكلم وكل لا يخفى عليه هذه الاحوال اذ ربما شاهد منها كثيرا . و من

هؤلاء المصابين من له اقتدار حينما يكون الدور عليه (ملبوساً) فى ان يخبر ببعض المغيّبات فينبيء عن وقت موت مريض او شفاء معتوه الى غير ذلك مما لا يعلم حقيقته الا الله وحده.

Not only such abnormal states, but almost all types of disease are attributed to jinn possession. Thus, a saint's tomb in the middle of Menûf is visited by women every Friday, who say that she who sits in the holy place will have driven from her "the jinni of trembling", i.e. the shivering fits of fever.

This habit of "clothing" themselves with human bodies as their tormented hosts, leads us into quite a different range of thought from that in which the jinn snatch and murder and seem to us to betray wild beast origins. Yet this second range of thought is ancient enough among Semitic peoples, and on its happier side of possession as the cause of poetic or artistic inspiration, it entered literature, as Goldziher has taught us from pre-Moslem Arab thought. What further origins it may have had for the Delta fellâḥ, in old Egyptian thought, experts must tell us. The present significance of possession is nearly always hostile. Yet there are perhaps the faintest traces of that old belief that *any* mysterious human powers, above the normal, were due to the working of the jinn, and especially the magic weaving of words by the poet.

"Nicht die legendendichtende Nachwelt allein ist es, die der poetischen Kraft des Ḥasan (Ḥasan b. Thâbit) diesen übermenschlichen Ursprung zuschreibt. So wie er sich auch sonst auf seinen "Bruder von den Ginnen" beruft, der ihm seine Worte kunstvoll "webt" (Diwân Ḥasan b. Thâbit, 39, 4), sagt er einmal ganz deutlich, dass ihm manche gewichtige Qâfiya zu nächtlicher Zeit vom Himmel herab entgegenkomme:—[1]

و قافيةٍ عَجّتْ بليلٍ رزينةٍ * تلقّيتُ من جوّ السماء نزولها

Any idea of beneficent inspiration, or "possession" like this "possession" of the poet, for the good of the possessed, is nearly dead in the Egyptian Delta. There is a lingering, all but forgotten belief that the art of carving the ivory and ebony screens of the Coptic Churches of Old Cairo with their wealth of fine and tender detail was

[1] *Abhandlungen zur Arabischen Philologie*, p. 3, Goldziher.

taught by good Jinn who learnt it in Paradise. And there is a common saying among the fellâḥîn that the Pyramids, too great for man to make, were the work of Gânn ibn Gânn. But for the rest the whole jinn tradition now alive in this corner of the Delta is one of hostile forces. Jinn do not inspire, they seduce to destruction. They only "possess" to destroy, and not to enable.

The Qarîna.—No account of the jinn in our fellâḥ's mind would come near truth which left out his weird and sinister fear of the qarîna, very rarely openly referred to, but taking a large place in life.[1] From the moment of conception of every human babe a shaiṭân or 'afrît of the jinn is set apart as its twin-spirit. The relationship is a most strange one, for while, on the one hand, the spirit-mate (whose sex is the opposite of that of the babe) may envy, with malignant eye the good fortune of its earth-mate and may cause its illness and death (hence many visits of pregnant mothers to the sheikha to buy charms against the qarîna), yet on the other hand any damage done to the spirit-mate will harm the human partner.

Thus, we have a cycle of stories in Menûf of blows struck at cats by night (when the qarîna prowls in animal form, especially that of a black cat) with resultant illness of human babes next morning. The fellaḥîn say that one should never strike any beast after sunset for fear of damaging a human child.

The Rev. H. Hayes recounts a story as told him by a most intelligent fellâḥîn family in Menûf, of a cat that one of the daughters of the house shut up in a corn-bin by night. "Next day their neighbour's child was ill, and the sickness could not be diagnosed. The mother sent the town-crier round, begging anyone who had shut up a cat during the night to release it. Then the girl remembered the cat she had shut in the bin. She ran up and released it. It ran to the house where the sick child lay, and immediately it entered the house the child recovered and told its mother that it had been shut up in a corn-bin."

It is easily seen that this cycle of ideas on the qarîna—a sort of extended personality *through* which one can be hurt, and at the same time a sort of intimate enemy *by* which one can be hurt—plays a very large part in the life of the fellâḥîn, and especially of the women as guardians of little helpless lives. Our peasants all understand the use of the word qarîna in this particular connexion, although it has had a far nobler use in regard to the spirit world in older Arabic.

[1] I am not able to judge of the alluring theory that this belief is a survival of the ancient Egyptian "Ka".

"Und auch in der theologisch beinflussten Überlieferung seiner (Muhammad's) Lebensbeschreibung (die Berichte gehen auf ash Sha'bi zurück) wird von dem Verhältniss der inspirirenden Engel Gibrâ'il und Isrâfil zum Propheten dieselbe Terminologie gebraucht, die man von den sich dem Menschen zugesellenden Ginnen anzuwenden pflegte. Die begleitenden and schützenden Damonen heissen قرين pl. قرناء der Menschen, and auch von jenen Engeln wird gesagt اسر افيل قرن برسول الله جبريل هو الذى قرن به" (Tab. i, 1248, ult. 1249. 10).[1]

From such uses the word has fallen to the sinister meaning described above. But the fellâḥ does not use it much. With the usual euphemy due to fear, which leads him to refer to the jinn as the "**mu:lu:k**" and to one possessed as **'aru:sit iz za:r,** he will speak of the qarina as the "sister" or the "brother" of the human babe. When a child has died, its illness being due to the hostile envy of the qarina, the account given is "**gat uχtu ðarabitu**" or "**gih aχu:ha χana?ha**".

In this qarina belief, we find a strange linking of the two main tendencies already noted in the peasant's jinn ideas. The one strain of ideas tends to separate the jinn from personality and ally them with the beasts of the waste; the other tends to clothe them in human personality, either by the mode of "possession", or, as in the case of the shaiṭân of the murdered, by an imitation of all the characteristics of an individual. In the strange and powerful belief concerning the qarina, the two strains meet. The spirit is distinct and personal, set apart as the familar (albeit the hostile familiar) of one human spirit. At the same time, its mode of manifestation is through the animal form that it adopts every night. Here is a deeply seated belief which has not yet received the study that it deserves, either from professed students of such matters or from those who aim at a more sympathetic understanding of lives as they are lived under the Egyptian sun.

[1] Goldziher, Abhandlungen 6.

MUSICAL ACCENT IN JAPANESE MORPHOLOGY

By Oreste Pletner

MANY grammars of the Japanese spoken language have been written, and some of them are well compiled on more or less scientific principles, but one of the most important characteristics of the spoken language, namely the tones and their laws, have been rather neglected.

Meyer and Edwards have mentioned in their works the existence of significant pitch, or "musical accent", in the language, and later one Russian linguist. E. Polivanoff, published in Russian a small but strictly scientific research on "Musical Accent in the Tokyo Dialect" (edited in the *Bulletin of the Academy of Sciences* in Petrograd) in which he deals with "types of accent" in the standard Japanese language. Some Japanese works on that subject may also be mentioned. The first Japanese to write about it was Bimyosai Yamada. In his accentuated Japanese Dictionary (*Nihon Daijiten*), published towards the end of the nineteenth century, he gives in the supplement some general remarks on the changes of tone in the inflected forms of words, but his efforts were unfortunately discontinued. Recently there have appeared some further works on this question, e.g. a book by Imamura, *Tokyo-ben* (Tokyo Dialect), and an alphabetically arranged Dictionary, edited by Sakaeda. A number of articles on Japanese tone have appeared in *Shinrikenkyu* (Psychological Studies) written by Sakuma, who has quite lately edited a book on Japanese Phonetics and Tonetics (*Nihongo-no hatsuon oyobi aksento*). Sakuma was the first to show that in the Tokyo dialect two consecutive syllables could both have the high pitch, and that for the word to be properly pronounced it was not sufficient to give the correct tone on the last syllable only.

In this paper I do not intend to deal with the so-called "accent-types" of substantives, which retain more or less their primary tone in their inflected forms: my purpose is to show how the tone alters in the inflected forms of adjectives, verbs, and words derived from verbs—in other words, to show how tone is used to indicate morphological distinctions.

English is not a "tone-language", that is to say tones do not distinguish one word from another, nor do tones have any morphological functions in English. Morphological changes are often effected in English by suffixes (as in *he insults* (**in'sʌlts**),[1] as compared with *I insult* (**in'sʌlt**), *goodness* as compared with *good*), but these suffixes do not in any way affect the tone or the stress. In English, *stress* often has semantic force in the differentiation of homonyms, e.g. **'insait** (*insight*), **in'sait** (*incite, in sight*). On the other hand there are innumerable cases in English where homonyms are not differentiated by stress (e.g. *dessert* and *desert* (v.), both pronounced **di'zə:t**). In other cases stress in English has a morphological function, *insult* (s.) (**'insʌlt**), *insult* (v.) (**in'sʌlt**), *increase* (s.) (**'inkri:s**), *increase* (v.) (**in'kri:s**), *escort* (s.) (**'eskɔ:t**), *escort* (v.) (**es'kɔ:t** or **is'kɔ:t**).

In Japanese, stress appears to be of no importance, and its place is taken by tone. So we find in that language homonyms distinguished by tone, e.g. **⌜a⌞sa** (morning), **⌞as⌜a** (hemp), and homonyms not distinguished by tone, e.g. **⌜ka⌞mi** (God), **⌜ka⌞mi** (hair). In other cases tone has a morphological function, compare **a⌜tsu⌞i** (hot, adj.), **⌜a⌞tsuku** (hot, adv.); the shifting of the high pitch places the word in a new morphological category.

NOTE.—The tones are indicated in this article as follows: ⌜ means that the following syllable has high pitch, ⌜ . . . ⌝ means that all the syllables enclosed between ⌜ and ⌝ have high pitch, ⌞ means low pitch, ⌞ . . . ⌟ means that all enclosed syllables have low pitch. The pitch of unmarked syllables is mid to low when preceded by a syllable marked ⌜ (except in ⌜ . . . ⌝); it is low when preceded by a syllable marked ⌞; it is mid when preceded by an unmarked syllable (except where the notation ⌜ . . . ⌝ or ⌞ . . . ⌟ is used).

Thus, when a succession of syllables is written without a tone-mark, it means that the syllables are said on a monotone or nearly so. A word so pronounced is here called monotonic. It is sometimes convenient to have a special mark to show that a word is monotonic; ——— is used for this purpose in this paper.

In this attempt to give a description of the part which tone plays in Japanese morphology I will begin by a few remarks on the Japanese sounds, which I am representing here by the International Phonetic symbols.

[1] When a word is printed in thick type it means that it is written phonetically (I.P.A. system).

The so-called **u** of Japanese differs from the English **u** (of *boot*) in having hardly any lip-rounding. The sound might be symbolized by **ɯ**, but for practical purposes it is convenient to use **u**. **e** is fairly close, and **o** somewhat closer than cardinal **ɔ**. **a, i** are much the same as the English vowels in *father, heat*.

The consonant here written **ʃ** is really a palatalized dorsal **s**-sound resembling the Russian palatalized **s** (**ʂ**). **ʧ** is used for an affricate corresponding to this; **ʤ** is the corresponding voiced sound. **ʦ** is the affricate as in German *zehn* (**ʦe:n**); **ʣ** is the corresponding voiced sound. **f** represents "bi-labial f", more accurately **ɸ**. The corresponding voiced sound **w** has less lip-rounding than in English.

r stands for a sound between **ɹ** and **d**, really a kind of retroflex **d**. In some cases, especially before the vowel **o**, the acoustic impression of the sound bears a likeness to **l**, being perhaps in this particular instance a fricative **ɹ** with simultaneous lateral opening; at the same time the sound has a certain plosive character, as is shown by the confusion of it with **d** in Southern Japanese dialects. (The phonetic symbol is strictly **ɻ**, but **r** is used for practical convenience.)

ç stands for the German *ich-laut*, i.e. a palatalized **h**.

There is only one consonant which appears at the ends of words or syllables in Japanese, namely, a kind of **ŋ**-sound According to following consonants it may either be **ŋ** or become **m** or **n**. At the end of a word the stoppage in the mouth is very weak, and there is nasalization of the preceding vowel.

Verbs

Before speaking about tone I propose to give here a few grammatical explanations regarding verbs. We shall divide all verbs into two conjugations, the first including verbs with a consonantal stem, i.e. a stem ending in a consonant; the second including those with a vocalic stem. Thus, such verbs as **jom-u, kak-u, job-u** belong to the first conjugation, and **aŋe-ru, ake-ru, tabe-ru, mi-ru** to the second. This classification seems to me to be quite reasonable, as (1) each group of the above-mentioned verbs has its particular system of suffixes (**-u, -ru**); and (2) we observe that consonantal stems are subject to "alternations" or modifications in inflected forms (e.g. **kak-**||**kai-**[1]), whereas the vocalic stems (**ake-**,

[1] The notation **kak-**||**kai-** is to be read thus: the stem **kak-** is changed in certain inflected forms to **kai-**.

tabe-) remain unchanged throughout the whole conjugation. There are, however, exceptions to this last statement in the case of some stems, such as **ki-** || **ko-** || **ku-** in **ku-ru** and **ʃi-** || **se-** || **su-** in **su-ru**, but these must be considered as archaisms. As regards verbs of the first class, in the spoken language of the present day the consonantal stems alternate with vocalic ones, as **kak-** || **kai-** or **kap-** || **ka-**; the modified stems without final consonants are supposed to have had final consonants in the past.[1] In any case the particular system of suffixes would enable a Japanese to distinguish these verbs from those of the second class. We could therefore suggest the following definition of the two conjugations: *When the stem of any part of a certain verb ends in a consonant, that verb belongs to the first conjugation; other verbs (namely, those with a constant vocalic stem) belong to the second.* Thus, such verbs as **kak-u** and **ka-u** (Preterite: **katt-a**) will belong to the first conjugation.

The modifications of the stem-morphemes[2] in conjugation depend upon final consonants, which are **n, m, b, r, ʦ, p, k, ŋ, s.** A particular kind of modification in the stem corresponds to each of these consonants. There are two stems that are subject to modification namely, that of the present tense and that of the past tense. The first appears in the present and in its derivative forms, such as the participle-substantive, the subjunctive, the negative present, the imperative, etc.; the latter is used in the preterite, the participle-substantive of the preterite, the gerund, and in analytic forms such as the progressive, the frequentative, etc. Let us consider *the modifications of stems ending in a consonant.* Those verbs which originally ended in **n,** alternate **n** of the present with **nd** in the preterite: and we have the following formulæ for different kinds of modifications:—

*n.[3] **n**||**nd** (**sin-u, sind-a**; to die).
*m. **m**||**nd** (**jom-u, jond-a**; to read).
*b. **b**||**nd** (**job-u, jond-a**; to call).
*r. **r**||**tt** (**ar-u, att-a**; to be).
*ʦ. **ʦ**||**tt** (**maʦ-u, matt-a**; to wait).

[1] The verb **ka-u** (to buy) is supposed to have been originally **kap-u,** then changed to **kaf-u**, and finally **ka-u.**

[2] Morphemes are the smallest morphological elements into which words can be divided. Thus the words *goodness, supporter*, both consist of two morphemes, *good* and *-ness, support* and *-er.*

[3] A prefixed * denotes a supposed older form.

*p. -‖tt (**ka-u, katt-a**; to buy).

*k. k‖tt (first type: includes only two verbs, **ik-u, itt-a** "to go" and one variety of **aruk-u, arutt-a** "to walk").

*k. k‖it (second type: includes the remainder and the second type of **aruk-u, aruit-a**).

*g. -‖id (**iso-u, isoid-a**: to hurry).

*s. s‖ʃit (**das-u, daʃit-a**; to take out. The vowel i placed between two voiceless consonants becomes devocalized. Though in the consciousness of the speaker ʃi may be identified with ʃi, yet we consider ʃit as containing no vowel, especially when we compare it with the penultimate syllable (usually long) of other verbs of the first conjugation).

The stems of the verbs belonging to the second conjugation are, as we have said, not subject to change, except in the case of the two verbs **ku-ru** (to come) and **su-ru** (to make). The suffixation of verbs of the second conjugation is, however, more complicated, because before the suffixes which are in common use for both conjugations, the second conjugation inserts particular single-sound morphemes such as **-r-, -j-, -s-**, e.g. **mi-r-u, mi-s-aseru, mi-j-o**. We can consider, in treating of the morphology of the ordinary spoken language, the morpheme **-t-** in the past tense, gerund, and other forms of the second conjugation (**mi-t-a, mi-t-e**) as belonging to the same category as the above-mentioned **-r-, -j-**, and **-s-** morphemes, although in the first conjugation we applied the **t** and **d** sounds to the verbal stem (**daʃt-a, jond-a**). Notwithstanding the still existing connexion between **-ta** of the first conjugation and **-ta** of the second, I would point out here a new process of displacement of morphological boundaries in the word. For the colloquial language the **-u** of the present and **-a** of the past tense incline towards the full recognition of the equal rights they have in morphology. The forms of the past tense tend towards the same number of syllables as the forms of present (**jo-mu jon-da** instead of the ancient form: **jo-mi-ta**).

The two alternating verbs of the second conjugation **ku-ru** and **su-ru** are recognized by Japanese grammarians as "irregular", but we have also examples in Indo-European languages, in which the forms commonly used preserve an archaic construction.

Independently of these divisions into conjugations the verbs can be divided according to their tone into two classes: monotonic

(not containing a high pitch) and tonic or accented (containing a high pitch). Monotonic verbs are such as :

First conj. **jobu** to call ; **sinu** to die ; **iku** to go : **ɾuku** to wipe : **kau** to buy.

Second conj. **akeru** to open ; **aŋeru** to lift up ; **kureru** to give : **suru** to make ; **ki-ru** to wear.

As examples of tonic verbs the following may be mentioned :

First conj. ˈ**jomu** to read ; ˈ**nomu** to drink ; ˈ**kaku** to write ; ˈ**taʦu** to stay ; ˈ**kir-u** to cut ; ˈ**kau** to feed.

Second conj. **hoˈmeru** to praise : **taˈberu** to eat : ˈ**kuru** to come.

We distinguish among verbal forms the synthetic and analytic, i.e. firstly, independent conjugation of the verb, secondly, conjugation by means of auxiliary verbs and affixes. We start with the form ˈ**jomu** which only conventionally could be designated as infinitive. This form can have the meaning of indicative present, future and present participle according to the context and its position in the phrase, e.g. **bokuwa hoŋwo jomu** (I read a book), but **hoŋwo jomu ʨto** (a man reading a book) or **mjoːɳʧi hoŋwo jomoː** (I shall read the book to-morrow). All the tonic verbs consisting of two syllables have the high pitch on their first syllable. Yamada gives examples of verbs with the high pitch on the second syllable, such as **ʦuˈku** (to arrive), **ɾuˈku** (to blow) and **suˈku** (to love). In my view they all have the high pitch on the first true syllable, as in these verbs the so-called first-vowel, being placed between two voiceless consonants, is devocalized, and these verbs are really pronounced as **ʦ̥ku**, **ɾ̥ku**, and **s̥ku** (̥ under the **ʦ**, **s**, and **ɾ** shows their quasi-syllabic character).

These verbs differ from the homonymous verbs **ʦuku** (to pierce), **suku** (to be empty), **ɾuku** (to wipe). There arises here the question, what is the difference between these verbs ? In the first case, notwithstanding the impossibility of the first so-called syllable having a musical pitch, owing to the lack of vowel, the articulating speech organs are influenced by what would have taken place in the normal pronunciation of this syllable with a voiced vowel, so that the first syllable has a sort of stress accent : **ˈʦku**, **ˈɾku**, etc.

The verbs of the first conjugation composed of three syllables are either monotonic or with high pitch on the second syllable : **ʦuʤuku** (to continue), **noʤoku** (to exclude), **taˈtaku** (to beat),

tsu⌜tsumu (to wrap), **ha⌜nasu** (to speak), **ko⌜maru** (to be embarrassed). Verbs having a diphthong as their first syllable, such as **⌜kairu** (to return), **⌜mairu** (to go), often considered by Japanese grammarians as composed of three syllables are, from the point of view of tone, composed of only two syllables. (They follow the same rules as **⌜kaku, ⌜kaita; ⌜mairu, ⌜maitta; ⌜kairu, ⌜kaitta.**) The combination of a vowel with **ŋ** (or its variants **m, n, ɲ**) must be considered as a diphthong for Japanese linguistic conception. Most of the verbs composed of more than three syllables are compound verbs, their tones being more complicated, and they need a special study.

Verbs of the second conjugation consisting of two syllables can be in the present tense either monotonic or with high pitch on the first syllable: **neru** (to sleep), **niru** (to resemble), **⌜miru** (to see), **⌜kuru** (to come). Verbs of three syllables are monotonic or with high pitch on the second syllable: **aŋeru** (to lift up), **ta⌜beru** (to eat), **akeru** (to open), **mi⌜seru** (to show). According to my observations there are no verbs composed of two syllables in which the high pitch falls on the last syllable, as it does in substantives such as **ha⌜na** (flower) (which is different from **hana** (nose)).

The tone in the past tense of the first conjugation coincides with that of the present: **kiku** (I hear), **kiita** (I heard), **⌜jomu** (I read), **⌜jonda** (I read), **tsu⌜tsumu** (I wrap), **tsu⌜tsunda** (I wrapped). For the second conjugation the same rule applies only to the verbs consisting of two syllables, such as **⌜miru, ⌜mita; neru, neta;** but verbs consisting of three syllables with the high pitch on the middle syllable transfer that high pitch to the preceding one: **ta⌜beru, ⌜tabeta; mi⌜seru, ⌜miseta,** etc. In other words, there is a tendency to have the high pitch on the third syllable from the end (the so-called Dreisilbengesetz[1]). But here arises the question, why does this displacement not take place in the past tense of the first conjugation? (**tsu⌜tsumu, tsu⌜tsunda; ta⌜taku, ta⌜taita,** etc.). It seems to me that the reason lies in the same tendency to have the high pitch on the third syllable from the end. (The two elements of the diphthong **ai** and of **uŋ** (**um** or **un**), both potentially capable of having the high tone, may be considered here as two syllables, **tsu-tsu-n-da** and **ta-ta-i-ta.**)

Hence for the tone of the past tense (preterite) we establish

[1] Three syllable law.

the following rule: *all verbs which are monotonic in the present tense remain unaltered in the past tense. Tonic verbs of the first conjugation and those composed of two syllables of the second preserve also their tone of the present, but tonic verbs consisting of three syllables or more transfer in the past tense their high tone to the preceding syllable.*

NOTE.—**ꜜkuru,** although it has high pitch on the first syllable, becomes monotonic in the past tense **kita.**

The gerund is formed by the addition of the suffix **te** to the unchangeable stem of the second conjugation or **e** to the stem of the past tense of the first. Its tone coincides, for both conjugations, with that of the past tense: **ꜜkaita** (wrote), **ꜜkaite** (writing), **ꜜtabeta** (ate), **ꜜtabete** (eating), etc.

The negative present (*praesens negativi*) is formed by adding the suffix **-anai** in the first conjugation and **-nai** in the second, to their respective stems. Monotonic verbs do not change: **neru, ne-nai; aɲeru, aɲe-nai; jobu, job-anai,** etc. In the tonic verbs of the first conjugation the high tone of the positive present tense is transferred to the next syllable: **ꜜjomu, joꜜmanai; ꜜnomu, noꜜmanai; taꜜtaku, tataꜜkanai; ʦuꜜʦumu, ʦuʦuꜜmanai.** Again, we see the action of the "Dreisilbengesetz[1]". The tones of verbs of the second conjugation remain unchanged in the negative present: **ꜜmiru, ꜜminai; taꜜberu, taꜜbenai; ꜜkuru, ꜜkonai.**

The negative past tense is formed by addition of the suffix **anakatta** to the stem of verbs of the first conjugation and **nakatta** to those of the second. From an etymological point of view **-nak-att-a** is the past tense of the adjective-verb **na-i** (**na-**||**nak-**), **-atta** being associated with the past tense of **ar-u att-a.** The tone in these forms is rather complicated and inclined to instability, as is often the case in long words, and the examples given below merely show the relation of the tone in these forms to the original tone in the present tense. In the negative past tense tonic verbs retain the tone of the corresponding present tense: **joꜜmanai** (I do not read), **joꜜmanakatta** (I did not read), **ꜜkonakatta** (from **kuru**) **suꜜmanakatta** (from **ꜜsumu**, to dwell). But the monotonic verbs have the tendency to lower the tone of the group **-katta** (**ꜜ——naꜛ˩katta**) with optional lowering of the first syllable

[1] Three syllable law.

(-˩˥——na˥˩katta), but this is the general tendency in long words unless they have not a high-pitched first syllable: ˥jobana˥˩katta or jo˩˥bana˥˩katta (I did not call), ˥nena˥˩katta (I did not sleep), etc.

The negative gerund is produced by the suffix **a-naide** or **-a-nakutte** added to the stems of the first conjugation and by means of **-nakutte** or **-naide** to the second. These forms have the same tone as the preceding ones: **jo˥manaide** (being not reading), **jo˥bana˥˩ide** or **jo˥bana˥˩kutte**, ˥**minaide**, etc.

We have examined the present, preterite, and gerund, both positive and negative forms. Let us take now the "probable future", as it is called by Chamberlain, or "futur dubitatif" in French (Ballet) and call it subjunctive, remembering, however, that the idea of futurity is implied, as e.g. **mjo:ɲʧi hoɲwo jomo:** (I will read to-morrow). The suffixes of this form are **-o:** (**-oo**) for the first and **-jo:** (**-joo**) for the second conjugation. Verbs of two syllables have high pitch in the "probable future" on the first element of the long vowel, thus -˥o˩o, both for tonic and monotonic verb: **jo˥mo˩o** (I (you, we, they) will probably read); (let me (us) read): **jo˥bo˩o, mi˥jo˩o.** But verbs composed of three or more syllables tend towards the ˥——o˥˩o type (i.e. the part of the word before the second element of the long vowel seems to be high and level and the tone is lowered in the middle of the long final vowel) for monotonic verbs, and inclines to the -˩˥——o˥˩o type in tonic or accented verbs. Taking into consideration that the lowering of the first syllable is a usual phenomenon in the Japanese language we may observe here the tendency of accented words to coincide with the monotonic ones in forms which may be considered practically monotonic: ˥**tsudzuko˥˩o** (from **tsudzuku**): **ta˥bejo˥˩o** (**ta˥beru**). **ta˥tako˥˩o** (**ta˥taku**), etc.

The negative of the preceding form is constructed by adding the suffix **-umai** to the stem of the first conjugation and **-mai** to that of the second. The tone of these forms is rather uncertain: the tendency, however, is for all tonic verbs to have the last vowel of the diphthong **-ai** lowered, whereas the monotonic verbs keep the tone unchanged (the usual lowering of tone of the first syllable in the word must not mislead us): **ha˥nasuma˥˩i** (I will probably not speak): **tsudzukumai, mi˥ma˩i, kimai** (from **kiru**, to wear), **ki˥ruma˥˩i** (from **kiru**, to cut): **ta˥bema˥˩i** . . .

There are several ways of forming the conditional mood, according to the tense required, by the addition of different suffixes. We may begin with the suffix **-eba** for the first conjugation and **-reba** for the second. Present conditional tonic verbs keep their tone and the monotonic ones have high pitch on the first syllable of the suffix: **ˈjom-eba** (if I read); **ˈnom-eba** (if I drink); **taˈbe-reba, ˈkuˈreba** (from **ˈkuru**, to come): **iˈkeba** (from **iku**, to go): **ki-ˈreba** (from **kiru**, to wear); **ˈkir-eba** (from **ˈkiru**, to cut). Suffixes **-ara** (first conj.) and **-tara** (second) are added to the stem of the preterite in order to form the past conditional. These forms preserve the tone of the past tense in tonic verbs and lower the last syllable of the suffix **-(t)ara** for the monotonic ones, with optional low tone of the first syllable: **ˈjondara** (from **ˈjomu**), **ˈmitara, ˈtabetara, ˈitta˩˧ra, ˈjonda˩˧ra** (from **jobu**), **haˈnaʃtara, tsuˈdzuita˩˧ra**, etc. The future conditional is formed by means of the suffix **-nara** added to the present; its tone coincides with that of the past conditional described above: **ˈjomu-nara, joˈbu-na˩˧ra, tsuˈdzuku-na˩˧ra, ˈmiru-nara**, etc.

The corresponding negative forms are constructed with suffixes **-anakereba (-anakera)** for the first conjugation and **-nakereba** (or **-nakera**) for the second. For the past tense of the negative conditional we have suffixes **-anakattara** (first conjugation) and **-nakattara** (second conj.). They are also formed by the suffixes **-to, -nara** (or **-naraba**), added to the negative present. Tonic verbs seem to retain the tone of the negative present tense in the first form in **-nakereba: joˈmanakereba, taˈbenakera, ˈminakereba**, etc., but the monotonic verbs show a tendency to have the last two syllables lowered: **joˈbanake˩˧reba, tsuˈdzukanake˩˧reba, ˈkinake˩˧reba**, etc. The forms of conditional preterite negative have the same tone as the present negative for tonic verbs and lower **-ttara** in monotonic verbs: **joˈmanakattara, ˈminakattara, taˈbenakattara, joˈbanaka˩˧ttara, tsuˈdzukanaka˩˧ttara**. In the conditional future negative we observe the same phenomenon as in its positive form except that in monotonic verbs the lowering begins from the ending **-i** of the present negative: **joˈbana˩˧inara, tsuˈdzukana˩˧inara, ˈikana˩˧inara**, etc. The addition of the suffix **-to** in order to express another shade of conditional present does not change the tone of verbs: **joˈmanaito, ikanaito**, etc.

There is a special mood, the so-called desiderative, to show the desire to perform an action, which is formed by the suffix **-itai** for

the first conjugation and simply **-tai** for the second. The tone of these forms seems to follow the example of the negative probable future (**-mai**): **jo⌜mita⌝i** (or **⌜jomita⌝i**); **jo⌜bitai⌝** (or **jobitai, ikitai**), etc.

We must mention also a peculiar mood in Japanese verbs which shows the frequency of an action, or rather its quick interchange with another one. It corresponds to the French "tantôt . . . tantôt" (sometimes). This form is constructed by the addition of the suffix **-ari** to the stem of the past tense for the first conjugation and **-tari** for the second. The tone follows the example of the past conditional: **⌜jondari** (one moment I read . . . the next . . .), **ʦu⌜ʤuita⌝ri, ⌜mitari, aketari** (from **akeru**, to open). In monotonic verbs the forms tend to become quite monotonic (**jondari**, from **jobu**, to call).

The passive and causative moods are formed by adding to the stem of verbs **-areru** and **-aseru** respectively for the first conjugation and **-rareru** and **-saseru** for the second. Monotonic verbs remain unchanged in these forms, whereas tonic verbs of both conjugations seem to coincide in the following type: **-⌟⌜——e⌝⌞ru, jo⌜bare⌝⌞ru, ta⌜berare⌝⌞ru, ʦu⌜ʤukase⌝⌞ru, ta⌜besase⌝⌞ru.**

The simplest manner of forming an imperative addressed to an inferior is the addition of the suffix **-e** to the stem of the present tense in the first conjugation and **-ro** in the second. Monotonic verbs have in these forms the high pitch on the suffix, and tonic ones retain the tone of the present tense: **⌜jome, jo⌜be, ta⌜bero, ta⌜take**, etc.

Adjectives

If we consider the Japanese adjective from a syntactical point of view, i.e. with regard to its relationship to other words in the sentence, we shall find that its functions resemble to a great extent those of the verb: e.g. **miʤuo motte kuru ʧto** (a man bringing water) or **ʧtoŋa miʤuo motte kuru** (a man brings water). In the first case "bringing" has attributive functions qualifying the substantive "man", in the second "brings" is predicative. It is much the same with the Japanese adjective: **takai jama** is "high mountain", while **jamaŋa takai** means "the mountain is high". Thus verbs and adjectives discharge the same attributive and predicative functions, but the changes of form peculiar to adjectives compel us, of course, to classify them in a separate morphological

category. If we were studying the primitive Japanese language this separation might possibly not be necessary. Professor Kanazawa in his "Bumporon" considers the adverbial form in **-ku** as a survival of ancient verbal forms, such as **iwa-ku, nora-ku,** etc. At the present time, however, we are considering the modern colloquial language of Tokyo, and must base our decisions upon that.

The form of adjectives which corresponds to the present tense of verbs ends in **-i**, and we differentiate here, as in verbs, between monotonic and tonic (or accented) adjectives. The stem of adjectives can consist of one, two, three or more syllables. If the stem of a tonic adjective consists of only one syllable the high pitch falls on that syllable, if the stem has two syllables the high pitch is on the second, if it has three, the high pitch falls on the third. Adjectives consisting of more than three syllables are mostly compound adjectives, their tone depending on that of their components. Examples of monotonic adjectives are: **kurai** (dark), **osoi** (late), **akai** (red), **ama-i** (sweet), **atsu-i** (thick), **munasi-i** (vain). Examples of tonic or accented adjectives are: **ˈna-i** (absent, not being), **ˈko-i** (dense), **ɯˈka-i** (deep), **taˈka-i** (high) **haˈja-i** (quick), **aˈtsu-i** (hot), **tadaˈsi-i** (right). If we examine these forms we discover that the principal difference between the stems of adjectives and those of verbs consists in their last sound, which in the case of adjectives is always a vowel. This vowel joined to the suffix **-i**, forms a diphthong. The form in **-i** is a "new formation" which has absorbed the two ancient forms in **-si** (predicative) and **-ki** (attributive). The bare stem of an adjective can represent an independent syntagm;[1] for instance **ʃiro** from **ʃiro-i** (white) meaning whiteness, but there are very few stereotyped words of such formation, the suffixes **-mi** and **-sa** being used for that purpose: **kanasi-i** (sorrowful) and **kanasi-mi** (sorrow). The stem of an adjective is sometimes used in compound adjectives as first component, e.g. **hosoi** (thin) and **naŋai** (long) give rise to a new word **hosonaŋa-i** (thin and long); **waru-i** (wicked) and **mono** (thing) form **waru-mono** (a wicked man); **to:-i** (far) and **sakaru** (to be separated) give **to:ʤakaru** (to be distant). Stems of adjectives are like those of verbs ending in a vowel, e.g. **haʤime-ru** (to begin), the stem of which, **haʤime,** means "beginning".

[1] A Syntagm is a word which we recognize as a constituent of a phrase.

The second form which helps to place adjectives in a separate morphological category is the adverbial one formed by addition to the stem of the suffix **-ku**. Both forms are included in the paradigm of the adjective. We call paradigm the "tout ensemble" of such forms of a word which follow the same morphological principle, and constitute a particular system of word-construction. The other forms of adjectives are mostly derived from the adverbial form.

The tone of the adverbial form is more or less regular in the dialect of Tokyo. Monotonic adjectives remain monotonic and the tonic ones which have more than one syllable in their stem, transfer the high pitch to the syllable preceding the one that has it in the form ending in **-i**. Adjectives having stems of only one syllable do not change their tone: **oso-i, oso-ku; atsu-i, atsu-ku** (we must remember that the first syllable may be low, so that **a⌜tsuku⌝, o⌜soku⌝** can be heard, as well as the first variety), **⌜na-i, ⌜naku; ta⌜ka-i, ⌜takaku; ha⌜ja-i, ⌜haja-ku; kita⌜na-i, ki⌜tana-ku,** etc. But if the high pitch, when changed in this way, would fall on a syllable containing a vowel which may be dropped (as **u** and **i** are in Japanese, especially after voiceless fricatives and affricates), it does not change: **ꜰ(u)⌜kai ꜰ(u)⌜kaku** (deep), [1] **m̩⌜mai m̩⌜maku** (sweet) (but sometimes **⌜m̩⌞maku**), **ʧ(i)⌜kai ʧ(i)⌜kaku** (near).

If the adverbial form is combined with the verb **godzaru** (a polite form of "**aru**") instead of ending in **-ku**, it lengthens the last vowel of the stem, the tone remaining the same; **⌜tako:-godzaimas** (it is high), **⌜atsu:godzaimas** (it is hot), **oso:godzaimas** (it is late). In the Western dialects of Japan (so called "Kwansai") this latter form only is used and in that respect they are more progressive. The form ending in a long vowel developed, we may suppose, by analogy with the form of present tense ending in a diphthong, the length of the vowel corresponding with the length of a diphthong.

The form of adjectives which corresponds to the past tense is formed by the suffix **-katta**. Tonic adjectives retain the tone of their adverbial form and the monotonic ones lower the syllable **-tta**, as well as the first syllable. **⌜haja-katta, ⌜atskatta, ⌜takakatta,** but **o⌜soka⌝⌞tta, a⌜kaka⌝⌞tta, ku⌜raka⌝⌞tta.**

[1] The mark ̩ placed under a consonant indicates that that consonant is syllabic.

NOTE.—**m̩ˈmai** becomes **m̩ˈmakaˀ˩tta** or **ˈm̩˩makatta**, in which the high pitch falls on the syllabic **m̩**.

The present conditional is formed by the suffix **-kereba** (which is supposed to be an amalgamation of **ki** and **-areba**). Tonic verbs have the same tone as in the past tense and monotonic ones lower the group **-reba**: **ˈhajakereba**, **ˈatsukereba** (from **atsui**), **ˈtakakereba**, **oˈsokeˀ˩reba**, **aˈkakeˀreba**, **atsˈkereba** (from **aˈtsui**). The past conditional is formed by means of the suffix **-kattara**. Monotonic verbs lower the ending **-ttara**, while the tonic verbs retain the tone of the adverbial form: **oˈsokaˀ˩ttara**, **kuˈrakaˀ˩ttara**, **ˈtakakattara**, **ˈatsukattara**, etc.

The subjunctive (probable future) is formed by the suffix **-karo:**; its tone seems to be variable, though the tendency is to lower the second element of the long vowel and raise the last syllable for both tonic and monotonic verbs.

Adjectives form their gerund by the addition of the suffix **-kutte**. (This latter originates from the combination of the adverbial form in **-ku**, with **-atte** the gerund of the verb **aru**. The alternation of **atte**‖**utte**, i.e. **a**‖**u** occurs in long words in order to economize the effort in articulation. Comp. **kudasu-tte** instead of **kudasatte**.) In these forms the tone of the adverbial form is preserved for tonic verbs and the syllable preceding the suffix **-kutte** is raised in monotonic verbs (**-ku** ought to be raised too, but **u** being dropped, the suffix is rather **ktte** than **kutte**): **ˈʃiroktte**, **ˈtakaktte**, **kuˈraktte**, **oˈsoktte**, etc.

Substantives are derived from adjectives by means of the suffix **-sa** and sometimes **-mi**. The monotonic adjectives do not change and the tonic ones retain their adverbial tone: **atssa** (thickness), **ososa** (from **osoi**, late), **ˈhajasa** (speed), **ɾˈkasa** (depth).

The negative forms of adjectives are constructed by the same suffixes as in the case of verbs, i.e. by different forms of the adjective **nai**, which performs the functions of *praesens negativi* for **aru** (to be) and means "not to be". These suffixes are added to the form in **-i** and not to the stem, therefore they are not so amalgamated as to make a new word; for instance **waruku nai** (not bad), is recognized as two separate words, whereas **kairanai** (I shall not return) can hardly be divided, as **kaira-** is not a syntagm[1] and the negative **kaiˈranai** is even differentiated by tone from the positive form **ˈkairu**.

[1] Syntagm is a word which we recognize as a constituent of a phrase.

It may be remarked that in forms not combined with the verb **aru**, i.e. in the adjectival paradigm, the monotonic adjectives remain practically unaltered and tonic ones transfer their high pitch to the preceding syllable.

The suffix **-no**, which changes a verb into a substantive (*Participium Prosubstantivum*), likewise transforms an adjective: **atsuino** (something hot). The suffix **-des**, added to substantives in order to turn them into verbs (such as **hanades** "is a flower", **hanadatta** "was a flower") ought strictly not to be added to adjectives, for they have in themselves predicative functions. However, **-des** is to-day more and more employed for adjectives, and such phrases as **jamaŋa takaindes** (the mountain is high) or **hejaŋa kuraindes** (the room is dark) are often used instead of the correct construction: **jamaŋa takai, hejaŋa kurai.** It is interesting to note with respect to such forms as **atsuindes, atsuino,** etc., that in many instances the difference between the tonic and monotonic adjectives disappears and there are many in Tokyo to-day who do not recognize such difference. In the Kyoto dialect there is no difference at all.

The foregoing general rules of tone and its variations are based on my own observation of the speech of the average educated Japanese in Tokyo, amongst whom I made exhaustive inquiry regarding the particular examples quoted. In the paradigms of the conjugation of verbs and adjectives I have illustrated the pronunciation of Mr. J. Machida, of Tokyo, which appeared to me to represent the average. During our work together I noticed that he was perfectly conscious of his tone, which is rather exceptional with Japanese.

I am glad here to have the opportunity of thanking Professor Fujioka, of Tokyo, for his valuable advice, and Mr. Ide, of the School of Foreign Languages in Tokyo, for his able collaboration.

Paradigms of Verbs

(For meaning of tone-symbols see page 448.)

First conj.—⌜**jomu** (to read), **jobu** (to call), **ha⌜nasu** (to speak), **tsudzuku** (to continue).

Second conj.—⌜**miru** (to see), **kiru** (to wear), **ta⌜beru** (to eat), **akeru** (to open).

Stems of present (first conj.).—**jom-, job-, hanas-, tsudzuk-.**

Stems of preterite (*first conj.*).—**jond-**‖**jondʒ-**, **jond-**‖**jondʒ-**, **hanaʃt-**, **tsudzuit-**‖**tsudzuitʃ-**.

Stems (*second conj.*).—**mi-**, **ki-**, **tabe**, **ake-**.

Present.—**ˈjomu** (I read), **jobu**, **haˈnasu**, **tsudzuku**, **ˈmiru**, **kiru**, **taˈberu**, **akeru**.

Preterite.—**ˈjonda** (I read), **jonda** (I called), **haˈnaʃta**, **tsudzuita**, **ˈmita**, **ˈtabeta**, **aketa**.

Participle-subst. (*present*).—**ˈjomuno** (reading), **jobuno**, **haˈnasuno**, **tsudzukuno**, **ˈmiruno**, **taˈberuno**, **akeruno**.

Participle-subst. (*preterite*).—**ˈjondano** (having read), **jondano**, **haˈnaʃtano**, **tsudzuitano**, **ˈmitano**, **ˈtabetano**, **aketano**.

Imperative.—**ˈjome** (read), **joˈbe**, **hanase**, **tsudzuˈke**, **ˈmiro**, **taˈbero**, **akeˈro**.

Condit. pres.—**ˈjomeba** (if I read), **joˈbeda**, **haˈnaseba**, **tsudzuˈkeba**, **ˈmireba**, **taˈbereba**, **akeˈreba**.

Condit. pres. (2).—**ˈjomuto**, **jobuto**, **haˈnasuto**, **tsudzukuto**, **miruto**, etc.

Condit. pret.—**ˈjondara** (if I had read), **jondara**, **haˈnaʃtara**, **tsuˈdzuita˩˧ra**, **ˈmitara**, **ˈtabetara**, **aˈketa˩˧ra**.

Condit. future.—**ˈjomunara** (if I shall read), **joˈbuna˩˧ra**, **haˈnasunara**, **tsuˈdzukuna˩˧ra**, **ˈmirunara**, **taˈbe˩runara**, **aˈkerunara** (?).

Subjunctive.—**joˈmo˩o**, (I may read), **joˈbo˩o**, **haˈnaso:˩˧**, **tsudzuko:**, **miˈjo˩o**, **taˈbejo˩˧o**, **akejo:**.

Gerund.—**ˈjonde** (reading), **jonde**, **haˈnaste**, **tsudzuite**, **ˈmite**, **ˈtabete**, **akete**.

Passive.—**joˈmare˩˧ru** (to be read), **jobareru**, **haˈnase˩˧ru**, **tsudzukareru**, **miˈrare˩˧ru**, **taˈberare˩˧ru**, **akerareru**.

Causative.—**joˈmase˩˧ru** (to let one read), **jobaseru**, **haˈnasase˩˧ru**, **tsudzukaseru**, **miˈsase˩˧ru**, **taˈbesase˩˧ru**, **akesaseru**.

Potential.—**joˈmeru** (to be able to read), **joberu**, **haˈnase˩˧ru**, **tsudzukeru**.

Preterite of doubt (*Edwards-passé renforcé*).—**ˈjondakke** (I might have read), **jonˈdakke**, **haˈnaʃtakke**, **tsudzuiˈtakke**, **ˈmitakke**, **ˈtabetakke**, **akeˈtakke**.

Progressive.—**ˈjonde iru** **jonderu** (I am reading), **jonde iru** **jonderu**, **haˈnaʃte iru** **haˈnaʃteru**, **tsudzuite iru** **tsudzuiteru**, **ˈmite iru** **ˈmiteru**, **kite iru** **kiteru**, **ˈtabete iru** **ˈtabeteru**, **akete iru** **aketeru**.

Perfective.—ꜜjonde ʃimau / ꜜjondʒimau / ꜜjondʒau (I shall finish reading), jonde ʃimau / jondʒimau / jondʒau, haꜜnaste ʃimau / haꜜnaʃtʃimau / haꜜnaʃtʃau, tsudzuite simau / tsudzuitʃmau / tsudzuittʃau, ꜜmite ʃimau / ꜜmittʃimau / ꜜmitʃau, kite ʃimau / kitʃimau / kitʃau, ꜜtabete ʃimau / ꜜtabettʃimau / ꜜtabetʃau, akete ʃimau / aketʃimau / aketʃau.

Perfective preterite.—ꜜjondʒimatta / ꜜjondʒatta (I have finished reading), jondʒatta, haꜜnaʃtʃatta, tsudzuitʃatta, ꜜmitʃatta, kitʃatta, ꜜtabetʃatta, aketʃatta.

Subjunct. preterite.—ꜜjondaro: (I should have read), ꜜjondaꜛ˩ro:, haꜜnaʃtaro:, ꜜtsudzuitaꜛ˩ro:, ꜜmitaro:, kiꜜtaro:, ꜜtabetaro:. aꜜketaꜛ˩ro:.

Concessive (1).—ꜜjondemo (even having read), jonꜜdemo, haꜜnaʃtemo, tsuꜜdzuiteꜛ˩mo, ꜜmitemo, kiꜜtemo, akeꜜtemo, ꜜtabetemo.

Concessive (2).—ꜜjondatte, jonꜜdatte, haꜜnaʃtatte, ꜜtsudzuitaꜛ˩tte, ꜜmitatte, kiꜜtatte, ꜜtabetatte, akeꜜtatte.

Desiderative.—jomiꜜtaꜛ˩i (I want to read), jobitai, hanaʃꜜtaꜛ˩i, tsudzukitai, miꜜtaꜛ˩i, kitai, tabeꜜtai, aketai.

Frequentative.—ꜜjondari, jondari, haꜜnaʃtari, tsudzuitari, ꜜmitari, kitari, ꜜtabetari, aketari.

Negative

Present neg.—joꜜmanai (I do not read), jobanai, haꜜnasaꜛnai, tsudzukanai, ꜜminai, kinai, taꜜbenai, akenai.

Preter. neg.—joꜜmanakatta (I did not . . .), joꜜbanakaꜛ˩tta, haꜜnasaꜛnakatta, ꜜtsudzukanakaꜛ˩tta, ꜜminakatta, ꜜkinakaꜛ˩tta, taꜜbenakatta, ꜜakenakaꜛ˩tta.

Prohibitive.—ꜜjomuna (do not read), joꜜbuna, haꜜnasuna, ꜜtsudzukuꜛna, ꜜmiruna, taꜜberuna, aꜜkeruꜛ˩na.

Conditional (1).—joꜜmanakereba joꜜmanakerja (if I do not read), joꜜbanakeꜛreba, haꜜnasanaꜛkereba, tsuꜜdzukanakeꜛreba, ꜜminakereba, ꜜkinakeꜛreba, taꜜbenakereba, aꜜkenakeꜛ˩reba.

Conditional (2).—joꜜmanakattara (if I did not . . .), ꜜjobanakaꜛ˩ttara, haꜜnasaꜛ˩nakattara, tsuꜜdzukanaꜛ˩kattara, ꜜminakattara, kiꜜnakaꜛ˩ttara, taꜜbenakattara, akꜜenakaꜛ˩ttara.

Conditional (3).—joꜜmanainara (if I shall not . . .), joꜜbanaꜛ˩inara, haꜜnasaꜛ˩nainara, tsuꜜdzukanaꜛ˩inara, ꜜminainara, kiꜜnainara, taꜜbenainara, aꜜkenaꜛ˩inara.

Subjunctive neg.—jo⌜m⌞mai (I may not read), jo⌜bumai⌝, ha⌜nasuma⌝⌞i, ʦu⌜ʤukumai⌝, mi⌜ma⌞i, ki⌜mai⌝, ta⌜bema⌝⌞i, a⌜kemai⌝. akemai.

Preterite.—jo⌜manakattaro: (I might not read), jo⌜banaka⌝⌞ttaro:, hana⌜sanakattaro:, ʦu⌜ʤukanaka⌝⌞ttaro:, ⌜minakattaro:, ki⌜naka⌝⌞ttaro:, ta⌜benakattaro:, a⌜kenaka⌝⌞ttaro:.

Gerund neg.—jo⌜manaide / jo⌜manaktte / ⌜jomaʤuni (not reading), jo⌜banaide / jo⌜bana⌝⌞ktte, ha⌜nasa⌝⌞naide / ha⌜nasa⌝naktte, ʦu⌜ʤukana⌝⌞ide / ʦu⌜ʤukana⌝ktte, ⌜minaide / ⌜minaktte, ki⌜na⌞ide / ki⌜naktte, a⌜kena⌝⌞ide / a⌜kena⌝ktte.

Concessive (1) *neg.*—jo⌜manakttemo / jo⌜manaidemo (even not having . . .), jo⌜bana⌝kttemo, ha⌜nasa⌝naktte mo, ʦu⌜ʤukana⌝kttemo, ⌜minakttemo, ki⌜nakttemo, a⌜kena⌝⌞kttemo.

Concessive (2) *neg.*—jo⌜manakattatte, jo⌜banaka⌝ttatte, ha⌜nasa⌝⌞nakattatte, ʦu⌜ʤukanaka⌝ttatte, ⌜minakattatte, ki⌜naka⌝⌞ttatte, ta⌜be⌞nakattatte, a⌜kenaka⌝ttatte.

Analytic Forms

Forms expressing necessity: Necessive.

(1) jo⌜manakʧa ikenai / ikaŋ, jo⌜bana⌝⌞kʧa, ⌜minakʧa ikaŋ, a⌜kena⌝kʧa ikenai (I, you, they, must read. Read !), or

(2) jo⌜manakʧa naranai / naran / narimasen . . .

(3) jo⌜manakerja ikenai / ikan / ikemasen . . .

(4) jo⌜manakuʧa da⌜me . . .

(5) jo⌜manakuʧa i⌜ja . . .

Forms expressing prohibition: Prohibitive.

(1) ⌜jonde wa ikenai (. . . must not read), mitewa ikenai

(2) ⌜jonʤa ikenai / naranai, miʦa ikenai . . .

Forms expressing possibility.—⌜jondemo ii / jo⌜rosi⌝⌞i, jon⌜demo ⌜i⌞i, ha⌜naʃtemo ⌜i⌞i, ʦu⌜ʤuite⌝mo ⌜i⌞i, ⌜mitemo ii, ki⌜temo ii, ⌜tabetemo ii, a⌜kete⌝mo ii (. . . may read, may not). jo⌜manakuttemo ii (. . . need not read), jo⌜bana⌝kttemo ii . . .

Forms expressing doubt.—⌜jo⌞mukao ʃirenai⌟ / ʃiren (perhaps I will read), jo⌜bu⌞kamo ʃirenai⌟ . . . ta⌜berukamo ʃirenai . . . ⌜jo⌞muka ʃira⌟ (Why should I not read ?) jo⌜bu⌞kaʃira . . . ⌜mirukaʃira . . . jo⌜mo⌞:kaʃira, jo⌜bo⌞:kaʃira . . . ʦuʤu⌜ko⌞:kaʃira, mi⌜jo⌞:kaʃira . . . tabe⌜jo⌞:kaʃira.

Denominative verbal form (present tense).—⌜jomundes (jom-u-n-des is reading), jo⌜bundes, ha⌜nasundes, ʦu⌜ʤuku⌝ndes, ⌜mirundes, ki⌜rundes, ta⌜berundes, or jo⌜bunda, ⌜jomunda, etc.

Denominative verbal form (past tense).—**ꜜjondandes, jonꜜdandes, haꜜnaʃtandes, ʦuꜜʣuitaꜛndes, ꜜmitandes, kiꜜtandes, ꜜtabetandes, aꜜketaꜛndes** . . . (. . . was reading, etc.).

Categorical negative.—**ꜜjomja: ʃinai** (I do not read at all), **ꜜmija:ʃinai, ꜜtabeꜛ↓ja:ʃinai** . . .

Forms expressing command.—**oꜜjomiꜛ, oꜜjobiꜛ, oꜜjomiꜛ↓jo, oꜜakeꜛjo** (used mostly by women and girls). **joꜜmja:ŋare, ꜜjondeketsukare** (the verbs **jaŋaru** and **ketsukaru**, being equivalent to the auxiliary verbs **oru** or **iru** are used only by uneducated people and are considered vulgar). **ꜜjonde kure** (read it to me) is an imperative of **ꜜjonde kureru**, which in literal translation means "give reading" and can be called *Modus Dativus*. According to the grade of courtesy desired towards the person accosted, the Japanese can substitute for **kureru, kudasaru** (to let down), which, being less familiar, implies that the person to whom you speak is in a higher position than yourself and could grant you something only by "letting it down": **jonde kudasai** (deign to read it). (Compare "condescend".) **aŋeru** (to lift up) means quite the opposite, so that **↓jonde oaŋenasai** could by no means be translated "read to me", but it must be understood that the action of reading must be performed for somebody else who has a high standing, and the phrase would rather mean "Please read to him", showing thereby the courtesy towards "him". The same sense could be expressed by means of the verb **jaru**: **ꜜjonde jare**, but in a familiar way. Polite forms of imperative are also formed with the help of the verbs **nasar-u** (to do) and **iraʃʃar-u** (to be): **oꜜjomiꜛ↓nasai, ojobinasai** . . . **ꜜjonde iraʃʃai** / **jonderraʃʃai** (Please do read! or Be so kind as to read!).

Paradigm of Adjectives

Monotonic.—**kurai** (dark), **osoi** (late), **atsui** (thick), **munasii** (vain).

Tonic.—**ꜜnai** (not . . .) **ꜜkai** (deep), **taꜜkai** (high), **tadaꜜsii** (right).

Adverbial form.—**kuraku, osoku, atsuku, munaʃku, ꜜnaku, ꜜkaku, ꜜtakaku, taꜜdaʃku.**

Preterite.—**kuꜜrakaꜛ↓tta, oꜜsokaꜛ↓tta, atsꜜkatta, muꜜnaʃkaꜛtta, ꜜnakatta, ꜜkakatta, ꜜtakakatta, taꜜdaʃkatta.**

Conditional (1).—**kuˈrake˥reba, oˈsoke˥reba, aˈʦke˥reba, muˈnaʃke˥reba, ˈnakereba, ꜜˈkakereba, ˈtakakereba, taˈdaʃkereba.**

Conditional (2).—**kuˈraka˥ttara, oˈsoka˥ttara, aʦˈkattara, muˈnaʃka˥ttara, ˈnakattara, ꜜˈkakattara, ˈtakakattara, taˈdaʃkattara.**

Gerund.—**ˈkuraku˥tte, oˈsoktte, aʦktte, muˈnaʃktte ˈnaktte, ꜜˈkaktte, ˈtakaktte, taˈdaʃktte.**

Subjunctive.—**kuˈrakaro˥o, oˈsokaroˌo, aʦˈkaˌro:, muˈnaʃka˥ro:, ˈnakaro:, ꜜˈkakaro:, ˈtakakaro:, taˈdaʃka˥ro:.**

Substantives.—**kuˈrasa˥, oˈsosa˥, aʦusa, munaʃisa, ——, ꜜˈkasa, ˈtakasa, taˈdaʃisa.**

In conclusion, I must not omit to mention a category of words which are considered as adjectives by Japanese and some European grammarians, as, for example, **sidzuka** (quietness), **baka** (foolishness), **kire:** (beauty), but which ought to be placed from a morphological point of view into the class of substantives, notwithstanding their attributive functions. The addition of the suffix **-des**, as in **hanades, bakades,** without introducing the morpheme **-n-**, as for adjectives (e.g. **kurai-n-des**), proves that these words belong to the category of substantives. They cannot be placed (without a suffix) before a substantive, as in the case of adjectives (**kurai heja**), but they are connected thereto by means of the suffix **-na**, e.g. **kire:na ço** (handsome man). The suffix **-na** may be considered as forming a particular "attributive case" for substantives.

THE FORMS AND NATURE OF THE TRANSITIVE VERB IN SHINA (GILGITI DIALECT)

By Lieut.-Col. D. L. R. Lorimer

1. The following article has grown out of notes made in response to a request from Sir George Grierson for the paradigm of a Shina (**ṣiṇ'a**) transitive verb with a root ending in a consonant, and in reply to a suggestion made by him that the construction with the trs. vb. is agential, i.e. that the ostensibly active trs. vb. is in fact passive, or was originally so.

I shall first give the paradigm of a typical trs. vb. with such notes as appear necessary, and shall then proceed to discuss the composition and nature of the trs. vb., and examine whether these afford any evidence that the trs. vb. is essentially passive, and that the special form of the noun or pronoun used as its subject is, in fact, an agent case.

2. I give the forms of the verb found in Gilgiti Shina, because that is the best-known dialect, and the verbal forms are, on the whole, not unduly worn down.

The Forms and Nature of the Trs. Vb. in Shina (Gilgiti Dialect)

[The values of the symbols used in the following are approximately as follows:—

a	*a* in "f*a*ther".
ʌ	*u* in "b*u*t".
e	*e* in French "été", *a* in Scots "d*a*te".
ɛ	*e* in "m*e*t".
ə	*e* in "wat*e*r".
i	*ee* in "s*ee*n" (but not diphthongal).
ɪ	*i* in "p*i*n".
u	*oo* in "b*oo*t".
ʊ	*u* in "p*u*ll".

The sign : following a vowel indicates that it is long.[1] A full-stop on the ground-line between two vowels merely indicates a hiatus and that the two vowels do not form a diphthong.

[1] I understand that the sign : is now used for "very long". There are few, if any, consistently very long vowels in Shina, and many marked : in this article are perhaps scarcely to be described even as "long".

c	*ch* in "*ch*urch".
ç	cerebral sound corresponding to the last.
j	cerebral corresponding to *j* of "*j*udge".
χ	*ch* in Scots "lo*ch*".
š	*sh* in "*sh*eet".
š	cerebral corresponding to the last.

The vertical stroke ' before a vowel indicates that the stress accent falls on that vowel.]

The Transitive Verb in Gilgiti Shina

Active Voice

Infin. **zʌm'o:rki**, to strike, beat.

Indic. Fut.

sing. m. and f.	plur. m. and f.
1. **z'ʌmʊm**	1. **zʌm'o:n**
2. **z'ʌmɛ**	2. **zʌm'a:t**
3. **z'ʌmɛ.i, z'ʌməi.i**	3. **zʌm'ɛ:n**

Pres.

sing. m.	sing. f.	plur.
1. **z'ʌmʊmʊs**	**z'ʌmɪmis**	1. **zʌm'o:nɛs**
2. **zʌm'ɛ:no**	**zʌm'ɛ:ni**	2. **zʌm'a:nɛt, -ʌt**
3. **zʌm'ɛ:n, zʌm'ɛ:nu**	**zʌm'i:n, zʌm'i:ni**	3. **zʌm'ɛ:nən**

Imperf.

1. **z'ʌmʊm'ʊsʊs**	**z'ʌmim'ɪsis**	1. **zʌm'o:nɛsəs**
2. **zʌm'e:ɪso**	**zʌm'ɛ:si**	2. **zʌm'a:sʌt**
3. **zʌm'ɛ:s, zʌm'ɛ:su**	**zʌm'i:s, zʌm'i:si, zʌm'i:š**	3. **zʌm'ɛ:nɪs, zʌm'ɛ:nɪsɛ**

Pret.

1. **zʌm'ɛ:gʌs**	**zʌm'ɛ:gis**	1. **zʌm'ɛ:gɛs**
2. **zʌm'ɛ:ga**	**zʌm'ɛ:gyɛ**	2. **zʌm'ɛ:gɛt**
3. **zʌm'ɛ:gu, zʌm'ɛ:go**	**zʌm'ɛ:gi**	3. **zʌm'e:gyɛ**

Pres. Perf.

1. **zʌm'ɛ:ganus**	**zʌm'ɛ:gɪnis**	1. **zʌm'ɛ:gənɪs**
2. **zʌm'ɛ:gʌno**	**zʌm'ɛ:gɪnɛ**	2. **zʌm'ɛ:gənɛt**
3. **zʌm'ɛ:gun, zʌm'ɛ:gunu**	**zʌm'ɛ:gin, zʌm'ɛ:gɪni**	3. **zʌm'ɛ:gən, zʌm'ɛ:gənɛ**

Plup.

1. **zʌm'ɛ:gʌsʊs**	**zʌm'ɛ:gʌsis**	1. **zʌm'ɛ:gɛsəs**
2. **zʌm'ɛ:gʌso**	**zʌm'ɛ:gɛsɛ**	2. **zʌm'ɛ:gəsɛt**
3. **zʌm'ɛ:gʊs, zʌm'ɛ:gʊsu**	**zʌm'ɛ:gis, zʌm'ɛ:gɪsi, zʌm'ɛ:giš**	3. **zʌm'ɛ:gɪsɛ, zʌm'ɛ:gɪs**

Imperative.

2. **z'ʌmɛ** 2. **zʌm'a**

Optative, etc.

3. **zʌm'o:t** 3. **zʌm'o:t**

Participles.

Pres. **zʌm'o:jɛ**
Past **zʌm'ɛ:, zʌm'ɛ:ta**

Infin.

zʌm'o:ɪki, to strike, the act of striking.

Agent Nouns.

1. **zʌm'o:ɪki, zʌm'o:ɪk.**
2. **zʌm'ɛ:ḍo,** pl. **zʌm'ɛ:ḍɛ.**
3. the 3rd pers. sg. and pl. of the future tense are also used.
   z'ʌmɛ.i, pl. **zʌm'ɛ:n,**
   or, with the substantival suffix **-ɛk,**
   zʌm'ɛ.ɛk, pl. **zʌm'ɛ:nɛk.**

Examples—

mʌs zʌmɛ bʌm, I shall be a striker.
tus zʌmɛ bai.i.
ʌni mʌnu:jɛ zʌmɛ:ɛn hʌnɛ, these men are the strikers.
zʌmo:ɪki ʌnu hʌn, this is the striker.
tus zʌmo:ɪk be.ɛno, you are a striker.
zʌmɛ.i mʌnu:jo, the man who strikes.

It is often, however, difficult to diagnose the exact force of the **zʌmo:ɪki** form owing to its use as an infinitive and as an equivalent of, or substitute for, the gerund and gerundive.

Thus, with **bo:ɪki,** used in its sense of "to be able", we have **mʌs zʌmo:ɪki bʌmus,** I am able to strike; while, **mʌs zʌmo:ɪki hʌnus,** *or*, **zʌmo:kunus,** means I am to, must, should, ought to, strike; similarly, **mʌs zʌmo:kusus,** I had to strike; **tus zʌmo:ɪki hʌno,** *or*, **zʌmo:kuno,** you must, *or*, ought to, strike, etc.

This construction is also used impersonally, or passively: **ʌnu ʌšpo zʌmo:kun,** it is necessary to beat this horse, *or*, this horse ought to be beaten.

There are certain verbs in which an **-i-** vowel appears in certain parts at the end of the base of the verb.

These are of two classes:—

1. Verbs whose root ends in **-i,** e.g. **vi.'o:ɪki,** to throw.

2. Verbs with roots ending in a consonant, in which the **-i** only appears in certain forms.

hər'o:ɪki, to take away, may be given as an example of the latter. The following are the parts in which it varies from verbs of the **zʌmo:ɪki** type :—

2nd plur. fut.	**h'ərɛt**
2nd plur. pres.	**h'ərɛnɛt**
Pret.	**hər'i:gʌs,** etc.
Perf.	**hər'i:gʌnʊs,** etc.
Plup.	**hər'i:gʌsʊs**
Imperative sg.	**hər**
Past pc. act.	**hərɪ:**

Verbs of the **vi.o:ɪki** type (including pl. **pi.o:ɪki,** to drink) are similar. Thus :

v'i:ɛt, v'i:gʌs, vi, vi:

pi.o:ɪki, to seize, is an exception :

pi.'a:t, pi.'ɛ:gʌs, pi.ɛ, pi.'ɛ:

Compound Tenses

Apart from the uses just dealt with, the following compounds are to be mentioned.

Any tense of the indicative fully inflected may be used, followed by **bai.i** (**bai, bɛ, bəi**), which is apparently the 3rd sing. fut. of **bo:ɪki.** This produces a sense of doubt or possibility, etc.

Thus : **mʌs zʌmʌm bai,** perhaps I may strike, **tsos zʌma:t bai,** etc.

There is also the following tense :—

Sing.	**mʌs z'ʌmɛ bai.ʌm**	Plur.	**bɛs z'ʌmɛ bai.o:n**
	tʊs z'ʌmɛ bai.i		**tsos z'ʌmɛ bai.ɛt**
	ro:s z'ʌmɛ bai.i		**ris z'ʌmɛ bai.ɛn**

This also appears to mean, "possibly I may strike," "perhaps I shall strike." I have been unable as yet to ascertain exactly how it differs in sense from **mʌs zʌmʌm bai.i,** etc.

"I would (strike)," "I would have (struck)," are rendered by the future tense followed by the invariable particle **sɪk.**

mʌs zʌmʊm sɪk, I would strike, I would have struck.

ris zʌmɛ:n sɪk, they would strike, they would have struck.

I have omitted to mention that the infin. **zʌmo:ɪki** is capable of inflection like an ordinary noun, e.g. locative, **zʌmo:ɪkɛr** (generally used in the sense of "immediately after striking"), abl. **zʌmo:ɪkɛjo.**

With the postposition **-siŋ**, meaning "till", "so long as", an apocopated form of the infin., or it may be an original verbal noun, **zʌm'o:** is used.

tus ro zʌm'o:siŋ, so long as you beat him, *or*, till you beat him.
tus ro nɛ zʌmo:siŋ, so long as you don't beat him, until you beat him.

This form **zʌmo:-** is also probably the base of the pres. part. **zʌm'o:jɛ** = **zʌmo:** + **ʌjɛ**.

Note.—In the above paradigm, as elsewhere, I have aimed at giving only what may be regarded as sound average forms. It is scarcely practicable, and would only be confusing, to state all the permissible variants arising from slight differences in the vowels of the inflectional endings. All short unaccented vowels may be said to be liable to variation.

Passive Voice

Pres. base **zʌm'i:j-**
Past base **zʌm'i:t-**, or, **zʌm'i:d-**

The conjugation of the tenses formed from the pres. base is identical with that of the active voice of a verb of the **hərɔ:ɪki** type.

Indic. Fut.

sing., m. and f.	plur.
1. **zʌm'i:jʌm**	1. **zʌm'i:jo:n**
2. **zʌm'i:jɛ**	2. **zʌm'i:jɛt**
3. **zʌm'i:je.i**	3. **zʌm'i:jɛn**

Pres. **zʌm'i:jʊmʊs**, etc.
Impf. **zʌm'i:jʊmʊsʊs**, etc.

The conjugation of the tenses formed from the past base is identical with that of Neuter Verbs. The variable endings are nearly the same as those of the Active Verb.

Pret.

m. sing.	f.	plur.
1. **zʌm'i:dʊs**	**zʌm'i:dis**	1. **zʌm'i:dɛs**
2. **zʌm'i:do**	**zʌm'i:dɛ**	2. **zʌm'i:dɛt**
3. **zʌm'i:do**	**zʌm'i:di**	3. **zʌm'i:dɛn**

Perf. **zʌm'i:dʊnʊs**, etc.
Plup. **zʌm'i:dʊsʊs**, etc.

Imperative.

2. **zʌm'i:j**	2. **zʌmi:j'a**

Participles.

Pres. **zʌmij'o:jɛ**

Past (verbal) **zʌmij'i:**

(adjectival) 1. m. **zʌm'i:to** f. **zʌm'i:ti** pl. **zʌm'i:tɛ**

2. m. **zʌm'ɛ:go** f. **zʌm'ɛ:gi** pl. **zʌm'ɛ:gɛ**

Infinitive.

zʌmij'o:ɪki.

The above was given me with the theme **-i:d-** in the past base. The theme **-i:t-** is also permissible in this case, and is, in my experience, generally preferred for Passive, as distinguished from Neuter, Verbs.

3. The following general remarks may be made on the forms given in the above paradigm :—

(1) Unstressed vowels are often indistinct and appear to be subject to variation, e.g. the **-ʊm** of the 1st sing. fut. is sometimes **-ʌm,** and the terminal vowel of the 3rd sing. fut. appears in many forms.

(2) Long vowels are liable to become diphthongal, except those preceding the **-g-** in the past tenses, which are always, I think, simple.

4. The following particular points call for notice :—

(1) With reference to the parts given of the verb **hərɔ:ɪki,** some verbs have the past participle in **-i,** not **-ɛ.** In these the long vowel of the pret., perf., and plup. tenses is **-i:,** not **-ɛ:.** There are a few partial exceptions, e.g. **thɔ:ɪki,** to do, p.pc. **thɛ:,** pret. **thɛ:gʌs** and **thi:gʌs ; dɔ:ɪki,** to give, p.pc. **dɛ:,** pret. **dɛ:gʌs** and **di:gʌs ; bɔ:ɪki,** to become, p.pc. **bɛ:,** pret. **bi:gʌs. bi:gʌs,** however, is anomalous, as it is a trs. form in an intrs. verb. The regular form is **bʊlʊs (bil-).**

A few verbs have alternative forms of the p.pc. in **-ɛ** and **-i,** and corresponding alternative forms of the past tenses, e.g.

dʊlɔ:ɪki, to create, p.pc. **dʊlɛ:** and **dʊli:,** pret. **dʊlɛ:gʌs** and **dʊli:gʌs.**

mʌnɔ:ɪki, to obey, **mʌnɛ:** and **mʌni:, mʌnɛ:gʌs** and **mʌni:gʌs.**

The verbs which present this **-i-** vowel are of two classes :—

(1) Those which have an inherent **-i-** which is part of the root.

(2) Those in which the **-i-** appears only in the parts mentioned above.

Examples of the two classes are :—

chɪvo:ɪki	**chɪv'i:ʊmʊs**	I place
	chɪv'i	place thou !
	chɪv'i:	having placed
	chɪv'i:gʌs	I placed
gɪno:ɪki	**g'inʊmʊs**	I take
	gɪn	take thou !
	gɪn'i:, gini	having taken
	gin'i:gʌs	I took

(2) The forms of the 2nd plur. of the fut., pres. and impf. tenses have **-a:-** (**zʌma:t,** etc.), only when the stress accent falls on that syllable. In verbs in which the accent falls on the preceding syllable, this **-a:-** is replaced by a short variable vowel, **ʌ, ə, ɛ.**

(3) The position of the stress accent is of further importance, as it usually strengthens and makes definite the vowel on which it falls, or else it falls on vowels naturally long, the result being the same whichever is the process. I have dealt at some length with the stress accent in my article on "Shina Phonetics" in the *JRAS.* of January and April, 1924. I need only mention here that the accent normally falls on the final vowel of the p.pc., e.g. **zʌm'ɛ:,** having struck, while in the 2nd sing. imperv., when of the same form, it is generally on the preceding syllable or else level. The final vowel in the p.pc. tends to be long, in the imperv. it tends to be short.

(4) In some verbs the 2nd sing. imperv. has no final **-ɛ.** The ending of the 2nd plur. is sometimes **-ʸa,** and similarly the trace of a **-y-** sound is sometimes heard before the **-a:t** of the 2nd plur. fut.

(5) I think there is a difference between the endings of the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. of the fut., though it is not very noticeable. The 2nd pers. centres on **-ɛ ;** the 3rd pers. is **-e.i, -ɛ.i, -ai.i, əi.i,** etc. It is probable that the final vowel of the 3rd is longer than that of the 2nd.

(6) Where the alternatives exist, the forms of the 3rd pers. sing. and plur. with a final vowel are probably original, but my best informant prefers the shorter forms.

The following will serve as illustrations of the points noted under the preceding sub-heads Nos. 2, 3, and 4 :—

	2nd plur. fut.	2nd plur. pres.	2nd sing. imperv.	p.pc.	1st sing. masc. pret.
wʌl'o:ɪki, to bring	**wʌlʸ'a:t**	**wʌl'a:nɛt**	**wʌlɛ**	**wʌl'ɛ:**	**wʌ'ɛ:gʌs**
ʌt'o:.ɪki, to bring	**ʌṭ'a:t**	**ʌt'a:ʌnɛt**	**ʌtɛ**	**ʌṭ'ɛ:**	**ʌṭ'ɛ:gʌs**
mʌr'o:ɪki, to slay	**mar'a:t**	**mʌr'a:nɛt**	**mʌrɛ**	**mʌr'ɛ:**	**mʌr'ɛ:gʌs**
ċhʌn'o:ɪki, to send	**ċh'a:nɛt**	**ċh'a:ṇʌnɛt**	**ċhaṇ**	**ċhʌṇ'i:**	**ċhʌṇ'i:gʌs**
pʌš'o:ɪki, to see	**p'a:šʌt**	**p'a:šʌnɛt**	**pa:š**	**pʌš'i:**	**pʌš'i:gʌs**
lʌm'o:ɪki, to seize	**l'a:mʌt**	**l'a:mʌnɛt**	**la:m**	**lʌm'i:**	**lʌm'i:gʌs**
hər'o:ɪki, to take away	**h'ərɛt**	**h'ərənɛt**	**hər**	**hər'i:**	**hər'i:gʌs**
gɪn'o:ɪki, to take	**g'inɛt**	**g'inənɛt**	**gin**	**gini**	**gin'i:gʌs**
vi'o:ɪki, to cast	**v'i.ɛt**	**v'i:ɛnɛt**	**vi**	**vi:**	**v'i:gʌs**

The forms of the 2nd plur. imperf. are: **wʌl'a:sɛt, ʌṭ'a:.ʌsɛt, mʌr'a:sɛt, ċh'a:ṇəsɛt, p'a:šəsɛt, l'a:mɛsɛt, h'ərɛsɛt, g'inəsɛt, v'i:ɛsɛt.**

It will be noted that in the above examples where the accent falls on the second syllable of the 2nd plur. fut. the final vowel of the p.pc. and penultimate vowel of the 1st sing. pret. is **-ɛ:**, and the 2nd sing. imperv. has a final **-ɛ**; while, where the accent falls on the root or first syllable in the 2nd plur. fut., the vowel in the p.pc. and pret. is **-i**, and the 2nd sing. imperv. has no final vowel.

That this is a general rule is supported by the examination of twenty-six other verbs taken at random, eighteen of which are of the later-accent type, and the rest of the prior-accent type.

5. Transitive verbs appear always to be capable of conjugation in the passive voice. The forms are obtained by adding to the simple verbal base the theme **-i:j-** for the present tenses, including the imperf. and the infin., imperv. and optative; and the theme **-i:t-** or **-i:d-** for the past tenses. The ordinary mood and tense endings of the neuter verb are then added to these extended bases. These are practically the same as those of the trans. verb except in the case of the pret.

The accent is always on the theme **-i:j-** or **-i:t-**, except where **-i:j-** is followed by a long vowel, when the accent tends to advance on to it. All passive verbs are therefore of the prior-accent type. Thus: 2nd plur. fut. **zʌm'i:jɛt**, imperv. 2nd sing. **zʌm'i:j.**

The passive is not very much used. It is to be noted that in form it closely approaches to the commonest type of derivative intrans. verb. These have the **-i:j-** theme in the present base, and **-i:d-** or **-i:l:** in the past base.

fər'o:ɪki	to turn (verb trans.)
fəri:j'o:ɪki	to turn (verb intrans.)
fər'i:jum	I shall turn (intrans.)
fər'i:dus, fər'i:lus	I turned (intrans.)

In some verbs the **j** and **d** are preceded by another vowel than i:. In most original intrans. verbs the past base has the theme -t- or -l-.

wai'o:ɪki	to come	**w'ʌtus**	I came
'o:ɪki	to come	**'a:lus**	I came
r'o:ɪki	to weep	**r'o:lus**	I wept

6. Before proceeding to attempt to analyse the various parts of the trans. verb, it is desirable to call to mind the phenomenon on which we particularly desire to obtain light.

The subject of an active trans. verb, i.e. the actor, whether a noun or pronoun, invariably takes a suffix **-se**, or **-sɛ**, or in a reduced form **-s**, whatever the mood or tense of the verb. Thus the **-s** suffix occurs with the infin., imperv., pres. pc., and past pc. It is also assumed by the agent, when expressed, accompanying the adjectival p.pc. passive.

The question is, what is the force of this suffix? Is it agential, and is the act. trans. verb really passive?

7. Excepting the infin. and participles, all tenses of the verb, whether trans. or intrans., have endings which vary according to the nature of the logical subject of the verb (i.e. the noun or pronoun, which in English is the subject). These endings therefore appear to be personal endings agreeing with the subject of the verb.

The endings of the fut., pres., and imperf. indicative and of the imperv. and optative, as well as those of the invariable participle **s**, are the same in trans. and intrans. verbs, but in the case of intrans. verbs a special theme is inserted between the root of the verb and the ending.

The endings of the pret., perf., and plup. tenses appear to consist of two main elements, a theme and a personal ending. In the perf. and plup. the personal endings are further immediately preceded by an **-n-** and an **-s-** respectively. In trans. and intrans. verbs the themes are different, and also in a less degree the personal endings.

8. There are two types of personal endings :—

A. Those occurring in the fut. indic. (and the pres. subj., which is identical in form).

B. Those occurring in the pres., imperf., and past tenses indic., and found in their simple form in the pret., intrans., or passive.

The *A endings* are :—

sing., m. and f.	plur., m. and f.
1. **-um (-ʌm)**	1. **-ˈo:n**
2. **-ɛ**	2. **-ˈa:t**, or, **-ɛt**
3. **e.i (ɛ.i, ai.i**, etc.)	3. **-ˈɛ:n**, or, **-ɛn**

with these may be mentioned the

Imperv. 2nd sing. **-ɛ** 2nd plur. **-ˈa**, or, **-yˈa**

and the opt. 3rd sing. and plur. **-ˈo:t.**

The *B final endings* differ considerably from these, and in the sing. have different forms for the masc. and fem. They are :—

sing.		plur.
m.	f.	m. and f.
1. **-us**	**-is**	1. **-ɛs, ɪs**
2. **-o**	**-ɛ**	2. **-ɛt**
3. **-o, -u**	**-i**	3. **-ɛn**

(*a*) In the *pres. indic.* these endings are added for the 1st sing. and plur. direct to the 1st sing. and plur. of the fut. For the remaining persons they appear to be similarly added to the corresponding persons of the fut., but an **-n-** is inserted between the fut. form and the ending. Thus :—

sing., m.	plur.
1. **zˈʌm-um-us**	1. **zʌm-ˈo:n-ɛs**
2. **zʌm-ˈɛ:-n-o**	2. **zʌm-ˈa:-n-ɛt**
3. **zʌm-ˈɛ:n (-u)**	3. **zʌm-ˈɛ:n-ən**

In the 2nd plur. the final **-t** of the fut. has disappeared, and in the 1st and 3rd plur. the final **-n.** These losses may be due to phonetic simplification.

(*b*) In the *imperf. indic.* the same procedure is followed, but instead of an **-n-** an **-s-** is inserted, preceded by a vowel where the fut. form ends in a consonant.

In the 3rd plur. the final **-n** of the ending is missing.

(*c*) In the *past tenses* of trans. verbs a preliminary element of **-g-** is added to a form identical with that of the p.pc. This gives a base of the form of the

simple base of the verb + **ˈɛ:**, or, **ˈi:**

e.g. **zam ˈɛ: + g-**

From this *past base* are obtained :—

The *pret.* by adding endings approximating to the B endings, but not identical with them. The most definite difference is the substitution of **-a** for **-o** in the 2nd sing. m. Less definite, but still characteristic, is **-ʌs** for **-us** in the 1st sing. m. The final **-n** of the 3rd plur. is also missing.

The *perf.* by adding vowel + **n** + B endings.

The *plup.* by adding vowel + **s** + B endings.

In both the last cases the final **-n** of the 3rd plur. is wanting. Thus :—

Root **zʌm-**, p.pc. **zʌmˈe:**, past base **zʌmˈɛ:g-**
1st sing. m. pret. **zʌmˈɛ:gʌs**
1st sing. m. perf. **zʌmˈɛ:gʌnus**, or, **zʌmˈɛ:gunus**
1st sing. m. plup. **zʌmˈɛ:gʌsus**, or, **zʌmˈɛ:gusus**

9. These latter forms suggest the following remarks :—

The B final endings are almost identical with the inflectional endings of the pres. and past tenses of the verb "to be", **hʌnus**, I am, and **ʌsus**, or, **ʌsulus**, I was.

	sing.		plur.
	m.	f.	m. and f.
1.	**hˈʌnus**	**hˈʌn-ɪs**	1. **hˈʌn-ɛs**
2.	**hˈʌn-o**	**hˈʌn-ɛ**	2. **hˈʌn-ɛt**
3.	**hˈʌn-u**	**hˈʌn-i**	3. **hˈʌn-ɛ**
	hʌn	**hɪn**	**hʌn**
	hun		

(The **-n-** appears to be part of the root as the infin. **hʌnˈo:ɪki** is admitted.)

The conjugation of **ʌsus** (and **ʌsulus**) is similar.

It seems fair to assume that these are personal endings corresponding to the person of the subject. They certainly act as if they were.

It then further seems probable that the B endings preceded by **-n-** represent the actual verb **hʌnus**, and those preceded by **-s-** the actual verb **ʌsus** (**ʌsulus**, **ʌsɪl-**). This is briefly stated as fact in the *L.S.I.*, vol. viii, pt. ii, p. 163.

I have already assumed that these endings are added to the forms of the future tense to form the pres. and imperf. As far as the future is concerned the forms of the 1st pers. sing. and plur.

make this highly probable, and the vowels preceding **-s-** in the 1st sing. and plur. and 3rd plur. of the imperf. are natural as representing the initial **ʌ-** of **ʌsus**, which disappears in the other persons where it is preceded by a vowel.

The discrepancies of the disappearance of an **n** in the 1st sing. and 1st and 3rd plur. of the pres., and the loss of the **t** in the 2nd plur. are phonetically not unnatural if it is assumed that the initial syllable of the **hʌnus** forms has been dropped. But this is perhaps unwarranted in view of the retention of the initial vowel of the **ʌsus** forms. The alternative is to assume that in the 1st persons, for some reason, only the plain B endings are added, viz. **-us, -is,** and **-ɛs,** and that in the 2nd plur. the ending is added to the 2nd plur. of the imperv. and not the future. This would explain the case of the 2nd plur. imperf., where there is no apparent phonetic reason for the dropping of the **-t, zʌma:əsɛt** for **zʌma:təsɛt.** There seems to be a tendency to confuse the fut. and imperv. forms. For instance, in the verb **wai.o:ɪki** the form to be expected for the 2nd sing. fut., **wa.e, wai.i,** appears not to exist, and the imperv. form **wa** is used. There is also usually difficulty in getting anyone to give the fut. forms as distinguished from the imperv.

The absence of the final **-n** of the B ending in the 3rd plur. imperf. will be noted also in the past tenses, and is to be remarked in the verbs **hʌnus** and **ʌsus** themselves.

10. Returning to the future tense, it is also used, as far as I can ascertain, as a pres. subj., and it is not improbable that it was originally used as a general, or indefinite, pres., like English "I do" as opposed to "I am doing". The use of the present as an unemphatic future is general in Mn. Persian and Pashtu.

If the above indentifications of the **n** and **s** are admitted, the forms of the pres. and imperf. of the Shina verb would represent:—

I do (I) am	thou doest (thou) art
I do (I) was	thou doest (thou) wast

11. Proceeding now to the past tenses, by which here and elsewhere I mean the pret., perf., and plup., but not the imperf., we find that the last two elements, that is, the **-g-** and the inflectional endings, resemble closely the corresponding tenses of the verb "to go", **bujo:ɪki,** which are as follows:—

Pret.

	sing. m.	sing. f.	plur. m. and f.
1.	ga:s	gyɛ.^{ɛ}s	1. gyɛ:^{ɛ}s
2.	ga:	gyɛ	2. gyɛ:^{ɛ}t
3.	go:^{u}, gau.u	gye.^{i}	3. gyɛ:^{ɛ}

Perf.

1.	g'a:nus	gy'e:^{ɛ}nɛs	1. gy'ɛ:ənɛs
2.	g'a:no	gy'ɛ:^{ɛ}nɛ	2. gy'e:^{ə}nɛt
3.	g'o:^{u}n	gi:n	3. gy'ɛ:ən

Plup.

1.	g'a:sus	gy'e:^{ɛ}sis	1. gy'e:^{ɛ}səs
2.	g'a:so	gy'ɛ:^{ɛ}sɛ	2. gy'ɛ:^{ɛ}sɛt
3.	go:s, go:^{u}s	gi:s	3. gy'ɛ:^{ɛ}s

(There is the usual uncertainty about the subordinate, i.e. the unstressed, vowels and the distinction between **e** and **ɛ**.)

The vowels in the trans. verb endings are indeed generally in a reduced form, and the **-y-** glide commonly disappears, or is lightened, and has been omitted in the paradigm of **zʌmo:ɪki**. Thus:—

zʌm'ɛ:gʌs	I went
zʌm'ɛ:gʌnus, or, **gunus**	I have gone
zʌm'ɛ:gʌsus, or, **-gusus**	I had gone
zʌm'ɛ:gɛs, or, **-gɪs**	we went

This, however, is readily accounted for by the removal of the stress accent from the part of the verb "to go" to the preceding **e:** or **i:**. Thus, **zʌm'ɛ:gʌnus** as against **g'a:nus**. Moreover, even in forms corresponding to **zʌm'ɛ:gunus**, where there is only one syllable preceding the **-g-**, one frequently hears an **-a-** or **-a:-** vowel due to the shifting forward of the stress accent, e.g.

dig'a:sus / / **d'i:gʌsus, d'i:gusus** I had given

and the anomalous intrans.

big'a:nus / / **b'i:gʌnus, b'i:gunus** I have become

For identification a still stronger argument exists in the identity of the ending of the 2nd sing. masc. pret. of the trans. verb with that of the same part of the verb "to go".

zʌm'e:ga thou didst beat **ga:** thou wentest

I know of no other situation in which the normal B ending of the 2nd sing. masc. is replaced by **-a**.

Similarly, in the 1st sing. masc. pret. we have always **-gʌs**, never **-gʊs**.

In the case of **ga:** it seems probable that the root of the verb "to go" is **ga-** or **ga:-**, and that the **-a-** absorbs or overpowers a following **-o**, or short **-ʊ**, but combines with a following **-u** to form **-o:** or **-o:^{ʊ}**, while, followed by a palatal, it is variously palatalized. Thus:—

Pret.

sing. 1. **ga + ʊs** → **ga:s**

2. m. **ga + o** → **ga:**

f. **ga + ɛ** → **gyɛ**

3. m. **ga + u** → **go:^{ʊ}, gau.^{u}**

f. **ga + i** → **gye.^{i}**

Perf.

sing. 3. m. **ga + un** (← **-ʊnu**) → **go:^{ʊ}n**

f. **ga + i:n** (← **-ɪni**) → **gi:n**

Plup.

sing. 3. m. **ga + us** (← **-ʌsu**) → **go:s, go:^{ʊ}s**

As **-ɪni** gives **-i:n**, or **-in**, so **-ʌsu** probably originally gave **-u:s**, or **-us**, rather than **-ʊs**.

However this may be, it will be acknowledged that the endings of the past tenses of trans. verbs differ from the true B endings, and are essentially identical with the full forms of the corresponding tenses of the verb "to go".

12. For the use of the verb "to go" as an auxiliary verb, there are various examples in other Aryan languages.

In Hindostani in such compounds as:—

baiṭh-jānā	to sit down
gir-jānā	to fall down
ho-jānā	to become

In Hindostani, Pashtu, and Persian, giving the force of the Passive:—

H.	**mārā-jānā**	to be struck
Pa.	**wʌhʌle šwul**	
P.	**zʌda šudʌn**	

šwul and **šudan** are etymologically referable to the Avestan root **šʌv-**, to go, and they still appear in their original meanings in Pa. **ra:ša**, come to me, and P. **a:mʌd o šud**, coming and going.

Both from internal evidence and from analogy it seems highly

probable that the past tenses of Shina trans. verbs are compounded of some part of the principal verb plus a past tense of the verb "to go".

13. I have already suggested that the part of the principal verb so employed is the past pc. active. The form of the p.pc. is the verbal root + ɛ:, or i:, which invariably bears the stress accent. Now this is, in all cases, identical with the portion of the past tense of a trans. verb, which precedes the -g- plus inflected ending. Where -e:- occurs in the p.pc. it also appears in the past tenses, and where -i:- appears in the one it also appears in the other. A few exceptions have been noted in para. 4 (1) above. In all cases this vowel bears the stress accent. The similarity is exact and identity is probable.

Assuming then this identity as a fact and the theory of the use of the past tenses of the verb "to go" as correct, the content of the past tenses of trans. verbs may be represented as follows:—

th'ɛ:	**gʌnus**
having done	I have gone
pʌš'i:	**gʌs**
having seen	I went

What I have called the past pc. is, however, also used, as the English pres. pc. is used in phrases such as: "saying this he got up." Again, if we admit the possibility of analogy in the use of the verb "to go" in Shina, Pashtu, and Persian, we can regard **-gʌs, -gʌnus** as having come to mean "I became", "I have become", etc.; for in Pashtu the verb **šwul** (except in composition) is used only in the sense of "to become", and the same is true of the Persian **šudan**, if a few survival phrases are excluded.

Jānā in composition in Hindustani is probably to be regarded as having the same force, while in English we say, "he went lame," "he went silent." Allowing force to these arguments we should then render

	th'ɛ:	**gʌnus**
as	doing	I have become

14. This concludes our examination of the Shina trans. verb, and the main results may be stated as follows:—

(1) There is a future tense (probably originally present in meaning) which has inflectional endings that agree in number and person with the subject.

(2) The pres. and imperf. tenses are formed from the inflected parts of the future by adding to them (broadly speaking) the pres. and past tenses of the verb "to be", also inflected to agree with the subject in number, person, and gender.

(3) The pret., perf., and plup. tenses are formed by adding the corresponding tenses of the verb "to go" to the past pc. active of the principal verb. The past pc. is invariable, but the parts of the verb "to go" are inflected to agree with the subject in number, person, and gender.

(4) There is a Passive Voice of which the final inflectional endings in the present and past tenses are the same as those found in the Active Voice, except in the case of the pret.

(5) With all parts of the Active Voice the subject or actor takes the **-s** suffix, as also does the agent when stated with the adjectival passive pc. (**zami:to**).

15. We may now return to the **-se, -s** suffix, which is invariably found attached to the nominative form of the subject (as we understand it) of every trans. verb.

This **-se, -s** Sir George Grierson regards as an agential suffix, and the words carrying it he therefore regards as being, at least by origin, in the agent case and not in the nominative. This implies that all parts of a trans. verb are, in their nature, essentially passive. "I do this" would be literally "by me this is done", and so on. No probable origin for this suffix in any Indo-European language has, I believe, been suggested, but Sir George Grierson draws attention to an **-s** suffix in Tibetan similarly used with the subject of a trans. verb. "In Tibetan," he says, "the verb, which is apparently transitive, is really impersonal. 'I beat' is really 'beating is going on by me', and so on."

The question naturally follows, are the Tibetan and Shina **-s** by origin identical, and is the Shina trans. verb like the Tibetan impersonal, or is it passive?

About the Tibetan **-s** I can say nothing, as I know no Tibetan and have no means here of making good the deficiency, but to prove its identity with Shina **-s** more than similarity of function would of course have to be shown. Some probability of borrowing by the one language from the other would have to be made out, and a borrowing of so important and radical a construction with the particle accompanying it would be a very serious affair, quite different from the purloining of a mere word. One would expect

that the one language had at some time exercised an actual domination over the other. If a Tibetan-speaking people had been conquered and subjugated by a Shina-speaking people, in adopting the Shina language they might have imported into it their pet suffix and construction. A modern parallel instance may be pointed out in the Shina-speaking Gilgiti servant who has learnt Hindustani and says, "**hamne karega,**" *I shall do it.*

But as far as I am aware, any such close association in the past between the ancestors of the present Shina-speakers and Tibetans is unlikely. It seems more probable that the Shina-speakers' ancestors, so far as they were not "Shins", were Burushaski-speakers. This is, however, a matter, as far as I am concerned, of mere conjecture. If, however, Tibetan was able to impose its **-s** suffix on Shina, it would surely have presented it with other grammatical forms and constructions, or at least with some of its vocabulary. Can such traces of Tibetan influence be detected in Shina? This question I cannot answer myself, but an affirmative answer would surprise me.

Granted that the **-s** suffix does denote an oblique case, the agential, is it impossible that it corresponds to the ablative suffix of Hind., **-se,** or the Skt. genitive suffix, **-sya?**

16. Reverting again to the verb, it may be remarked that the modern Shina-speaker has certainly no feeling that his trans. verb is either impersonal or passive; **mʌs ro zʌmɛ:gʌs,** "I struck him," is just as straightforward to him as the English words are to us. The verb in all its variable parts agrees with the subject, i.e. the actor, and the object (when expressed) is to all appearance in the accusative case, which in Shina is not differentiated from the nominative.

17. In the other languages possessing a passive construction of the trans. verb, such as Hindustani and Pashtu, the use of that construction is limited to the past tenses, and it is more or less obviously felt to be definitely passive.

(*a*) Thus in *Pashtu* the actor is put in an oblique case, the form which it assumes when accompanied by a pre- or post-position, while the object of the action is in the nominative and the verb agrees with it in number, person, and gender.

ma	**kshʌdza**	**wʌhʌle**	**da**
(by) me	the woman	beaten	is (3rd sing. fem.)

Similarly in Hind.

maĩne	**'aurat**	**mārī**	**hai**
by me	a woman	beaten (sing. fem.)	is

the meaning in both cases being, "I have beaten the (a) woman."

(*b*) In the *Gabri dialect* of *Modern Persian*, where an apparently similar construction is found with trans. verbs, the verb is uninflected, the actor is in the nominative form, but is accompanied by a special pronominal supplement of the same number and person, which has presumably agential force, and the object is in its simple form, which is presumably the nominative. The nominative subject may be omitted, leaving only the pronominal supplement. Occasionally the object is accompanied by the accus. suffix (**ra:**) as in ordinary Persian, which seems to show a weakening in the appreciation of the passive nature of the construction. The case seems to be nearly analogous to that of Hind. when the accus. suffix **-ko** is added to the object and the verb remains invariable in the masc. sing. form.

(*c*) In ordinary Mn. Pers. the construction with past tenses of trans. verbs is active: subject in nominative, verb agreeing with subject, object in accus., but it seems to have originated in a passive construction represented by Old Pers. **ima tya manā kartam,** *this* (*is*) *that of me the thing done* (sing. neut.), i.e. *this is what I did.*

Mn. Pers.	**mʌn**	**u:**	**ka:r**	**ra:**	**kʌrdʌm**
	I	that	business	(acc. suff.)	I did

It is a coincidence that the Mn. Pers. nom. **mʌn** has developed out of the O. Pers. gen. **manā.**

If the Shina construction is in origin passive, it would find a close parallel in Mn. Pers.

18. So far we have been considering languages which are of the same family (Aryan) as Shina, but which are not associated with it geographically, and are not likely to have had any direct influence on it in historical times. A search for analogies among the less known tongues with which Shina has probably for long been in actual contact might be entered on with greater hopes.

The immediate linguistic neighbours of Shina are: on the west, Khowār (Chitrali); on the north, Burushaski, and in a lesser degree Wakhi; on the east, Kashmiri; and on the south, the Pashtu of Swat.

Pashtu we have already considered, and all that it is necessary to add here is that it has provided a considerable element in the vocabulary of the Chilas dialect of Shina, but not in that of its other dialects.

19. *Khowār*, an independent item in the same linguistic group as Shina, differs from it considerably in its treatment of trans. verbs.

The subject, or actor, is always in the nominative and there is no suffix corresponding to the Shina **-se**; the object is in the accus.; and the past tenses of trans. verbs appear to be formed by attaching various parts of the verb "to be" to the past pc. of the principal verb, e.g.,

po:šik	to see	p.pc. **po:ši**	having been
asu:m	I am	**asistam, asitam**	I was

pošistam, po:šitam, po:štam I saw
po:ši asum I have seen
po:ši asistam (asitam) I had seen

ʌwa	**horo**	**po:ši**	**asu:m**	
I	him	having seen	am	= I have seen him
hɛs	**ma**	**po:ši**	**asu:r**	
he	me	having seen	is	= he has seen me

20. *Wakhi*. Direct contact between Shina and Wakhi, a Ghalcha language, scarcely exists at present, and has probably been even less in the past. Wakhi immigration into Upper Hunza (the Chapursan Valley and Gujāl) and Upper Ishkoman is of recent date, I believe, and only in the latter case are Shina and Wakhi speakers living in contiguity. Burushaski and Warchikwār (Burushaski of Yasin) speakers have sat astride the main routes to Wakhān through Hunza and Yasin probably since before the advent of the Shīns or of the Shina language into Gilgit.

Wakhi, whether or not it has had any influence on Shina, possesses a construction with the past tenses of trans. verbs which though not passive suggests that it may possibly once have been so. The verb has a constant form for the pret., perf., and plup. respectively; the actor-subject is in the nominative form of the noun or pron.; the object is in the accus.; and there are floating pronominal particles which vary with the person of the subject. These particles may be suffixed either to the verb or the subject, or may be interjected elsewhere in the sentence. The case may be

akin to that of Gabri Persian when the latter puts the object in the accus., but the personal particles have greater freedom of position and they are used not only with trans. but also with intrans. verbs. They, or forms very like them, appear also to act as parts of the verb "to be". Shaw seems correct in saying that the Wakhi trans. verb "cannot be considered an impersonal verb with an instrumental case as in Hind. past tenses", and the evidence is against an agential origin of these particles.

The above remarks are based on R. B. Shaw's article "On the Ghalchah Languages" (*JASB.*, vol. xlv, pt. i, No. 2, 1876), supported by my own personal observation.

The phenomena described appear to be common to other Ghalcha languages.

21. *Kashmiri* is, like Shina, a Dard language. At the present day it has little or no influence on the Gilgiti dialect of Shina. It has the passive construction with the past tenses of trans. verbs following the same rules as Hindustani. (See *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. viii, pt. ii, p. 290.)

22. Of the languages which we proposed to examine we have now only *Burushaski* left to deal with. This language is not Indo-European, and its affinities are still a matter of uncertainty.

It is generally assumed to be the original language of the Gilgit area, or at least more original than any other language now existing there. This hypothesis would seem to be supported by its geographical situation in the remoter and less accessible parts of the Agency—the side valleys of Hunza and Yasin. It may be supposed that the speakers of the language have at some time been pushed out of the lower regions by Shina-speaking invaders, or else that their language has been silenced and superseded there by Shina.

The vocabularies of the two languages share a good many words which are not apparently of Sanskritic origin, and are probably true Burushaski. In morphology, Burushaski stands quite by itself, but in manner of speech it shares some general features with the Dard languages, Shina and Khowār—for instance, the repetition of a final verb in the form of a participle at the commencement of the following sentence, and the use of the p.pc. of the verb "to say" at the end of the record of a speech or thought, with the effect of closing marks of quotation.

It is remarkable that in the matter of trans. verbs Burushaski

bears a considerable resemblance to Shina. The subject appears in an extended form, but the verb agrees with it, and the object is in an uninflected form which may be either the nominative or accusative, but is presumably the latter.

It is to be noted, however, that Burushaski has not the **-s** suffix of Shina, and that the extended form of the subject appears in general only when the verb is in a past tense. As in Shina the impf. is associated with the present and not with the past tenses, and the simple form of the subject is employed with it. At least one verb, however, generally takes the subject in the extended form in all cases. This is **hɛnʌs,** to know. I suspect that the use of the extended form is optional in all cases.

In Burushaski the extension of the subject takes the form of a suffixed **-ɛ,** or, **ə.** This gives the form of the general oblique, or formative case, i.e. the form of the genitive and that to which case or postpositional suffixes are added.

In the case of the 1st personal pronoun sing. the form is **ja,** which is also the genitive or formative, the nom. and accus. being **jɛ.** It will be recalled that in Pashtu the case in which the actor appears with the past tenses of trans. verbs is also the formative. In Shina the suspected agential forms are composed of the nominative plus the **-s** suffix.

As in Shina so in Burushaski there is nothing in the behaviour of the past (or present) tenses of trans. verbs to suggest that they have a passive meaning.

23. Returning now to Shina it may be remarked that, if the analysis of the past tenses of trans. verbs is accepted, it does not render it impossible that these tenses are essentially passive and the subject in the agential case. What for convenience I have called the p.pc. active might really be passive, and the appended part of the verb "to go" would still, according to Shina practice, agree with the actor in number and person, and where admissible, in gender. If these p.pc.'s were passive they would be verbal and impersonal, and not adjectival like the **zʌmi:to** forms.

Where these apparently active p.pc.'s are used independently, followed by an intrans. verb, the subject is given in the extended form preceding the pc., and the intrans. verb follows agreeing with it. Thus:—

mʌs adɛ thɛ: ga:s	I thus saying went away
ro:s adɛ thɛ: bɛṭo	he thus saying sat down

rɛs adɛ thɛ: nɪkha:ti she thus saying came out

(**tho:ɪki** means to "say" as well as to "do").

On these lines it would not be impossible to regard **mʌs zʌmɛ:gʌs** as signifying: by me striking-having-been-done I became, i.e. I struck. But in this case how does the object stand? **mʌs ro zʌmɛ:gʌs. zʌmɛ:** would have to be regarded as personal: "he having been beaten by me I became," which, to say the least, is a complicated form of expression for "I beat him".

The remaining tenses, viz. the present and imperfect, and probably also the imperative and optative, go back to the future, and the future, in the absence of any argument to the contrary, must be regarded as a simple tense formed of the root of the verb plus pronominal suffixes, these suffixes agreeing in number and person with the subject, i.e. the actor. There are no grounds for suspecting in it the presence of a passive participle.

24. Two more characteristics of Shina demand notice before we proceed to sum up the case of the nature of the Shina trans. verb.

The first of these is that there is no distinctive form for the accusative in Shina of either nouns or pronouns. The form, therefore, of the direct object of a trans. verb is the same as the nominative; this makes possible the supposition that there is, or originally was, no accusative case. Burushaski is in the same position. In the other languages to which we have referred there are distinct forms for the accusative at least of some of the pronouns. These forms are used for the object of a trans. verb when the construction is *active*; the nominative is used when the construction is *passive*. The total absence of special accusative forms in Shina and Burushaski favours the possibility of there having originally been no such thing as the object of a trans. verb and therefore no such thing as an act. trans. verb in these languages.

25. The second point deserving note is the use of the 3rd pers. forms of the pret. tense of verbs as quasi adjectives. This is common in the case of intrans. verbs, where it may have arisen from the idiom which acts as a substitute for the relative pronoun.

bʌla wʌto mʌnu:jo nɛ.i wʌtʊn

the yesterday-come man has come again.

bʌla wʌto o: mʌnu:ẓo nɛ.i wʌtʊn

yesterday he came, that man has come again.

Very probably the two idioms are identical. The same use occurs with trans. verbs.

ʌšpo	**wʌlɛ:gu**	**mʌnu:ẓo**	**go:n**
horse	he brought	man	has gone

i.e. the man who brought the horse has gone.

In this example the use is on all fours with that in the preceding examples of intrans. verbs. The man remains the subject of the verb. which has transitive force.

But there is a totally different idiom in which the same part of the verb is used to all intents and purposes as a passive participle.

The following was taken down to dictation in the ordinary course of narrative :—

ru:yɛs ko mʌnu:ẓo həri:gyɛ to "ha ha" tho:jɛ həri:go o: mʌnu:ẓe.i no:m de: "bɛs həri:gyɛs" thɛ: həɾɛnən

When witches carry (lit. carried) off a man, crying "ha ha" and mentioning the name of the carried-off man, and saying "we have carried him off", they bear him away.

Here **həri:go** is clearly a pass.pc. agreeing with **mʌnu:ẓo**. understood. **ru:yɛs** does not stand to it in the relation either of subject or agent.

I have since obtained other examples of this usage, but it is rare in my experience, the p.pc. passive being used, or the finite verb:

həri:to mʌnu:ẓo fʌtu mu:o

the carried-off man subsequently died.

ris həri:gyɛ o: mʌnu:ẓo fʌtu mu:o

they carried (him) off, that man subsequently died.

I do not think this **həri:go** could be used with a pronoun of the 1st or 2nd person.

The **həri:go** forms are inflected for gender and number :

maɾɛ:gɛ mʌnu:jɛ	slain men
chini:gɛ po:nɛ = chi:di po:nɛ	broken roads

26. Taking into consideration all the facts and appearances which we have been examining, it appears to me that our conclusions must remain indefinite.

(1) The trans. verb active at the present day contains and conveys no sense of the passive.

(2) The past tenses (pret., perf., and plup.) of trans. verbs act. may originally have been passive. The analogy of other Aryan languages, and, in particular, of other languages of the Dard group, makes this probable; and this would supply a *raison d'être* for the **-s** suffix.

In the same sense the lack of a form for the accusative case and the occasional use of the forms of the 3rd pers. pret. act. as an adjectival passive participle may be of significance.

(3) There is no analogy that I know of for the future and present tenses being passive. It could only be assumed that, when the consciousness of the passive in the past tenses had been lost, the use of the still surviving **-s** suffix having become associated with the trans. verb, was illogically extended to the subjects of *all* parts of trans. verbs. The parallel case of Gilgit–Hindustani, **hamne karega,** *I shall do,* has already been quoted.

(4) The fact that with the adjectival pass.pc. (**zʌmi:to**) the agent, when expressed, is given the **-s** suffix, would prove the agential nature of the **-s** suffix, if illogical analogy, which we have postulated to account for its use with the future and other tenses, could be ruled out. But we cannot have it both ways.

Example—

mʌs zʌmi:to mʌnu:jo the man beaten by me

(5) The **-s** suffix itself remains unexplained, unless grounds for identifying it with the Tibetan **-s** can be adduced, or, which seems less unlikely, it can be referred to the Skr. gen. ending **-sya.**

For the development of an agential meaning in the genitive we have noted the case of Old Pers. **manā,** which again, as it happens, has provided the nom. **mʌn** = I, in standard Mn. Pers.

The forms in **-se** could not, however, have been derived *directly* from forms in **-sya** (or the equivalent), as **-se** appears to be added to the Shina nom. form, e.g.:

	nom.	-s form.	gen.	formative.	
sg.	**mʌnu:jo**	**mʌnu:jʊs**	**mʌnu:jɛ.i**	**mʌnu:jɛ-**	man
pl.	**mʌnu:jɛ**	**mʌnu:jɛs**	**mʌnu:jo**	**mʌnu:jʊ-**	men
sg. m.	**ro**	**ro:s**	**rɛ:se.i**	**rɛ:sɛ-**	he
f.	**rɛ**	**rɛ:s**	**rɛ:se.i**	**rɛ:sɛ:**	she
pl.	**ri**	**ris**	**rine.i**	**rinʊ-**	they

The attachment to the nominative favours a comparatively late introduction of the suffix, and this in turn favours, rather than otherwise, its somewhat unintelligent introduction from a foreign source.

GILGIT.
28th December, 1923.

Postscript.—Since writing the above I have received a further communication from Sir George Grierson regarding matters dealt with in this article, from which I gather the following:—

1. He agrees with the identification of **hanus** and **asus** in the present and perfect and in the impf. and plup. respectively, as already stated in para. 9 above.

2. These verbs, owing to their capacity for inflection for gender, he considers must be participial in origin.

3. He does not favour the verb "to go" theory for the past tenses, considering it more probable that the **-g-** is derived from an original **-ka** suffix, and that the form is a past pc. "The **-g** past pc. is common in Dardic." The form **zamɛ:g-** would, therefore, be by origin a past pc. (passive ?), and the terminations, I presume, my "B endings" for the pret., and the **hanus** and **asus** endings for the perf. and plup. The analogy of other Dard languages must be of great weight, and the use of the **zamɛ:go** forms as a past pc. passive is a strong argument, unless these forms are really distinct from the 3rd persons of the pret.; but an explanation is still required of the **-ga** of the 2nd sg. masc. pret., and the other similarities to the verb "to go".

4. Sir George also suggests as probable that the suffix **-sɛ** is in origin the same as Skr **-sya**, "which as in Tirahi has become a general oblique case, and then has become allotted to the Transitive Nominative (my term for the forms with the **-s** suffix—D. L.) under Tibetan (or ? Burushaski) influence."

The point now occurs to me that in the Shina pronouns the gen. sg. ending is **-sɛ, sɛ.i, se.i,** etc., which may be a survival of the **-sya** in its original function.

ko	who ?	gen. **kɛ:sɛ**, etc.	cf. Skr. **kas**, gen. **kasya**
o	that	gen. **ɛ:sɛ**	cf. ? Skr. **asya**
ro	that	gen. **rɛ:sɛ**	
anu	this	gen. **anəsɛ**	

The **-se** would thus occur in two strata, one older and one younger, represented by the gen. **kɛ:sɛ** and the agential **ko:sɛ, ko:s.**

If Sir George would allow himself to be sufficiently provoked by my fallacies or ignorance to give the interested public an authoritative statement of his views based on his unrivalled knowledge and experience, or if any philological expert would take up the challenge, this article would have served a very useful purpose.

GILGIT.
4th February, 1924.

Postscript No. 2.—1. The kind interest of friends threatens to make it impossible to bring this unhappy article to a final conclusion. Since it went to the press I have had some correspondence with Dr. Grahame Bailey on the phonetic aspects of Shina, and I must crave indulgence for a second postscript.

2. I have first to say that at Dr. Grahame Bailey's request I have paid special attention to the differentiation of cerebrals and non-cerebrals, and aspirates and non-aspirates, and the forms now given in this article represent my final, or at least latest, information and views regarding the various words contained in it.

3. I have already added a note above drawing attention to my misuse of the symbol : to represent " long " instead of " very long ". Further, in many cases where I have thus marked a vowel as " long ", the longness is little more than the inevitable (?) lengthening produced by the incidence of the stress accent ; it would have been sufficient to mark the stress accent and omit any " long " mark. All stressed syllables are, I think, more or less lengthened, whether marked so or not.

Stress and length are also, I think, liable to be affected by extraneous circumstances.

This explanation may be taken to absolve me from asking the unfortunate printers to alter all the length marks.

4. Dr. Grahame Bailey pointed to inconsistencies in the phonetic representations of some words ; most of his criticisms I had already anticipated by alterations of my own.

Two points remain to be noticed, my use of

ai.i and **au.u**

e.g. in **bai.i** and **gau.u**.

These are meant to represent vowel sounds equivalent to the English

by+ee and dhow+oo (the last syllables being short)

as *I* should pronounce them. How they should be correctly represented

in I.P.A. symbols, frankly, I do not know. I accordingly let them stand with this ambiguous explanation—for what it is worth.

Perhaps **bæi** would be the nearest thing to what I mean by **bai.i.**

5. As regards the few Urdu words quoted. I gather that Dr. Grahame Bailey would render them :

bæṭhjana and
mæne ɔrət mari fiæ

My version was written without regard to phonetics, as Urdu is commonly written in India.

RAMA, ASTOR.
28th August, 1924.

It is to be noted that in this article sounds in the production of which the tip of the tongue is drawn back, even slightly, behind the teeth-ridge are reckoned cerebrals. This is in accordance with the definition which I believe has been adopted by Dr. Grahame Bailey and the modern school of Phoneticians, and includes what elsewhere I have divided into two categories, viz :

Cerebrals and
Post-Alveolars.

CRITICAL REMARKS ON INTONATION RESEARCH

By O. GJERDMAN

THERE is scarcely anything in language so meagrely dealt with by scholars as musical accent. That is particularly the case with such languages as have no so-called etymological tones; but musical accent in "tone languages" has also been most inadequately examined. The reason for this is of course that the student considers himself incapable of clearing up this side of the language he is examining. That it is, however, possible to penetrate very deep into the tone systems of a language without having a sharp ear for music (in the usual sense of the words) is shown in K. E. Laman's *The Musical Accent or Intonation in the Kongo Language*.[1] This work is undoubtedly a most important attempt to disentangle the musical accents of a tone language, and deserves to be studied by all those who have an interest in such things, not only by Africanists. I do not propose here to give a regular review of it, but as I suppose most readers of this *Bulletin* do not know Laman's book, I will give a short summary of its contents.

After a preface and some introductory remarks, the author first briefly describes dynamic accent, quantity, and the pronunciation of vowels and consonants, in the Kongo language. Then (pp. 7–13) he enters upon his discussion of musical accent: speaks of intervals, intonation, tone of voice (key) and gradations of pitch; and gives a "graphic scheme of the pitch", phonetic symbols for it, and rules for their use. On pp. 13–16 he illustrates some important word accents, marking the stress, the quantity, and the pitch of the syllables by strokes of different thickness and length at different heights. Pages 17–29 are occupied by a musical notation for the stress, length, and intonation of words and word-formations in the Kongo dialect Kingoyi. Pages 31–3 deal with syllabic pitch, word-pitch, ground-pitch, influenced pitch, falling pitch, rising pitch, and two sorts of pitch that he calls acute and grave; pp. 34–8, with stress and pitch; pp. 39–41, with quantity and pitch; pp. 41–3, with the pitch and the quality of the sounds. On p. 45 begins a treatment of the character and rules of pitch in isolated stems and derivatives; high pitch, low>high, semi-

[1] K. E. Laman, *The Musical Accent or Intonation in the Kongo Language*, Stockholm, 1923.

high>high, acute and semi-acute, semi-high, semi-low or low>semi-high, semi-low, grave and semi-grave, high or semi-high>semi-low, low, high>semi-high>low, very low pitch. Pages 87–104 give an account of the character of and the rules for pitch in genitives and adjectives, in prepositions, in tense and mood, in pronouns, in questions: pages 109–22, of pitch in verb- and noun-formation. The book ends with eight tables of notes, representing, most of them, musical word-accents in different Kongo languages and dialects, one the tones used by two women quarrelling about some pigs, one a little song, and one the tones employed by a person mocking birds, etc.

The reviews I have seen of Laman's work show that others have found, as I have, that it is a very important book. To expatiate on its merits is unnecessary. They are evident. Of course, it also has its deficiencies. With material so difficult to manage, that is almost as it should be. In the following pages I shall dwell upon some deficiencies that other readers of the book cannot discover, for reasons mentioned below. But I shall also touch upon some others.

One is that the author has not given us any examples of the intonation of small every-day phrases and similar speech, proverbs for instance, and a comparison between the intonation of the words in these phrases and that of the same words in an isolated position. The little song and the mocking of the birds are interesting, but it would have been more valuable in a book like this to have had simple sentences instead. Certainly there is one example of connected speech, the quarrel between the two negro women, but it was too animated to turn out quite well from a phonetic point of view.

That he has no accurate ear for music, Laman confesses (p. 1). Conscious of that imperfection, he has made himself, and caused to be made by others, phonograph records of the musical accents in many of the Kongo languages and dialects he has examined. The intonation of the recorded words has been determined by ear and transcribed in musical notation by Dr. Heinitz at the phonetical laboratory at Hamburg. These transcriptions, indicating the intonation, quantity and main stress of the words, Laman has printed in his book. It is, however, not on these phonograph records and Heinitz' transcription of them that he has based his rules for the different accents. The present writer, at whose disposal the phonograph records have been placed, can attest that these rules, and consequently also the results of the author's researches, must have been arrived at in outline before the records were taken. The grouping of the words on

the cylinders, among other things, proves that. Dr. Heinitz' transcriptions have been of great use to Laman in so far as they have given him information of the exact tones that—according to Heinitz—were used by those who spoke the words into the apparatus, which, of course, has made it easier for Laman to write his book, giving him, as it were, a handy alphabet. But, in my opinion, the author has not only benefited by these transcriptions: it seems to me that he has paid too much regard to them. They have so to speak spirited him into the mountain, and he has not always found his way out again.

One and the same word is in general recorded on the cylinders only once; a few words, however, are met with a little oftener, in different surroundings: *paka* = to cut up, *baka* = to catch, *kanga* = to roast, *kanga* = to bind. These words Heinitz transcribes as follows: [1]

pāká (D–D), *páka* (D–D), *páka* (C sharp>D–D), ? *páka* (B>C sharp–C), *páka* (E sharp–C), *páka* (D–D);

báka (D–B), *báka* (D–B flat), *báka* (E–C);

kánga = to roast (D>E–C), *kánga* (C sharp>D–B), *kánga* (E>F sharp–C sharp);

kāngá = to bind (D–E), *kánga* (C–D), *kánga* (C–D), *kánga* (C sharp >D–E).

The accentuation of each word is, as we see, somewhat different almost every time. The reason for this may be that Heinitz has understood the same impression differently in different surroundings, or that the speaker has not always used the correct pronunciation, or that the different intonations represent pronunciations that were all familiar to him and equally correct. In the tables of notes Laman has only printed the following, given by Heinitz:

báka (E–C).

kánga = to roast (D>E–C).

pāká (D–D) or *páka* (C sharp>D–D).

kāngá = to bind (C–D) and *kāngá* (D–E) or *kánga* (C sharp>D–E).

Why has he left out the rest? Has Heinitz made mistakes, or the speaker? On one cylinder *baka* is followed by *bakulu*, *wabaku*: but Laman does not print the form *báka* (D–B flat) that Heinitz gives here. Almost the same intonation, *báka* (D–B), is given in another place by Heinitz. But Laman prints *báka* (E–C). Why? It looks as though he had decided for *báka* (E–C), because *baka* with this intonation

[1] Instead of his musical notes I have made use of the corresponding letters, and write, for instance: *pāka* (C sharp > D–D), which means that the first *a* is long, that the second syllable has the strongest stress, that the pitch rises from C sharp to D in the first syllable, and that the second is pronounced on D.

occurs once among some ten other verbs which were intoned in the same way. If this is his reason, the objection can be made that, as these words evidently belong to the same type of intonation, they will very easily be intoned without variation, in precisely the same way, when, as here, they are spoken or sung in a line one after the other.

From a pedagogical point of view, it was perhaps convenient to leave out the other varieties given by Heinitz, but scientifically it would have been of great interest to have these examples and many more of the same word in different surroundings, and a discussion of the different intonations they would probably have indicated, in order to get a view of their sphere of latitude. As most words are recorded only once, and the groups of words are very often spoken not truly in isolation, but rhythmically, it also seems to me as though the author would have done better if he had employed Heinitz' transcriptions mainly as illustrative material: for I am sure he did not intend, when he began his work, to give a description only of the intonation used at the moment when the words were recorded.

In the preface the author tells us that out in the Kongo he made use of special terms, such as "nzambi-pitch", "nkanda-pitch", etc., as a key to words with the same intonation. I think he would have done well to describe the accent of these key-words closely from as many phonetic points of view as possible, just as he heard them with his inaccurate ear for music. I am convinced that he would have given us much very valuable information that we have now failed to get, to a great extent, I suppose, because he has forgotten that musical accent was not invented by, or intended only for, persons who have an absolute ear for music, but without doubt mainly for men much poorer and more fallible in that respect than himself. That being the case, I think that statements by such persons on this subject may be of even greater importance than statements in musical notation, however good that may look.

On p. x Laman says: "In studying the pitch and comparing the musical notation we must remember that the musical system is not intended for singing the words but to give a good notion of the musical accent and its pronunciation." But the words whose notation is given on pp. 17–29 (not the others in the book) were spoken into the phonograph not with a speaking but with a singing voice, so far as I, and other persons whom I have asked to listen to the records, could hear. It may therefore be questioned if this material, to which Laman pays particular regard, is as valuable for an analysis of the musical

accents in a *spoken* language as the other material. I for my part do not think that this fact has seriously affected Laman's results as far as pure pitch is concerned, but of course he ought to have mentioned this circumstance. Probably he did not notice it himself, just as we commonly do not notice that we very often use a speaking voice instead of a singing voice when we have lost the thread of a song and repeat it from the beginning in order to pick it up. To make clear what I mean by singing with a speaking voice, I may add that many children (whether it is only those with an inaccurate ear for music I do not know) have a great inclination to sing with a speaking voice. The pitches of the syllables may be quite right, but it does not follow that the performance is real singing. The organs of speech—those which are above the vocal chords, and no doubt the vocal chords too—work differently in the two cases, so that the acoustical result, the tone-complex of a vowel for instance, gives the effect of something somehow unharmonious in speaking and in singing with a speaking voice, and of something harmonious in singing. It also seems obvious to me that the way in which the organs work in speaking favours the tones that intensify the vowel character, whereas in singing tones are favoured which make the tone-complex as a whole more sonorous, but diminish the vowel characteristics. That the use of a singing voice alters the phonemes used in ordinary speech is certain, but to what extent it may have affected the Kingoyi musical accents mentioned it is of course impossible to say, as we have not the same words pronounced with a speaking voice. If, however, we presume that the musical accent is more than the purely musical element—pitch—then it can hardly have escaped being affected in these words as they are now pronounced.

Laman talks much about an accent that he calls "acute" and another which he names "grave". As the Swedish and Norwegian languages distinguish between two accents with the same name, for instance in the words *ánden*=the wild duck (acute) and *ànden*=the ghost (grave), or *búren*=the cage and *bùren*=carried (participle), I have, as a Swede, been particularly interested in the acute and grave Kongo accents. On p. 32 ff. the author says of them: "They have a special character both as to their pronunciation and their influence upon the pitch-rules, and have therefore been given special signs so as to be more easily recognized" [*á*=acute, *à*=grave]. What then is the phonetic difference between them? Laman (l.c.) writes: "The acute pitch in primitive words is a high root-pitch with a rising

character both as to its tone and its stress." Heinitz describes some of the acute accents as rising, e.g. *Nzambi* = God. Many others, however, are given by him without a rising tone, and of them Laman himself says (p. 63) that they have "level root-pitch". Since it must be added to this that in inflexion the acute may appear with a falling root-pitch, e.g. *wa Nzambi* = of the God, it is difficult to see what are the tone characteristics of the acute. That the tone begins high cannot be the deciding factor, for that characterizes other "tones" also in the Kongo languages, among others the grave according to Laman. What then of the stress? On pp. 13 ff. the author has tried, as I have already mentioned, to illustrate the pitch, stress and quantity of some important "accents" by strokes of different thickness and length at different heights. Among the examples are words with the acute accent. But I cannot see any difference in stress between them and words without the acute illustrated there.

It is no easier to find what characterizes the Kongo grave phonetically. And here a very remarkable thing must be mentioned. On p. 149 Laman says that the first ten of the Bembe words transcribed on pp. 146 ff. have the grave accent. Of these—to my ear—*ntsanda*, *nganga*, and *ndangi* have my Swedish acute: *Nzambi*, *ngambu*, *bembe*, *ngundu*, *nkumbi*, my Swedish grave. It is the same with the corresponding Yaka words transcribed on pp. 150 ff. Here also *ntsanda*, *nganga*, and *ndangu* have to my ear my Swedish acute and *Nziambi*, *ngamba*, *bembe*, *ngunda*, *kumbi* my Swedish grave. The tenth word I must, for a special reason, pass over: unfortunately the Bembe and Yaka records were partly so indistinct when I got them that I could not decide the accentuation of all the words recorded. But, judging from those audible, my Swedish grave is a very common accent in Yaka as well as in Bembe, and very similarly used in both dialects. Very similarly, but, as it seems, not quite in the same way, for a few words have in that respect different accents in Bembe and in Yaka. This difference can be explained in two ways: either Yaka has the Swedish grave accent as well as Bembe, but differs from it now and then in the use of it; or the Swedish grave occurs in Bembe as well as in Yaka, but without being a *sine qua non* for either of them, i.e. the words quoted above, for instance, can be pronounced so that a Swede hears his Swedish grave, but also so that he does not get this impression, without the one pronunciation being less good Bembe or Yaka than the other. As I have had many opportunities of hearing, the Swedish grave occurs accidentally in many languages in which it is

not a regular accent, both in continuous speech and in isolated pronunciation of words: for instance, when the speaker wants to give prominence to the endings. Having never met a Bembe or a Yaka man, I cannot of course say if the Swedish grave accents that I have heard on Laman's Bembe and Yaka records—but not his other records—are accidental or not, particularly as each of the words occurs only once in the records; but the comparatively great frequency of this accent in the Bembe and Yaka records—in at least more than a fourth of the 75 words recorded—and its occurrence for the most part in the same words in the two dialects, makes it probable that it is not accidental. If so, I think that a thorough comparison between the words with the "Swedish" grave in Bembe and Yaka, and the corresponding words in other Kongo dialects, Kingoyi, for instance, might rather easily clear up the origin of the grave, and even perhaps throw some light upon the origin of the Swedish and Norwegian grave accents. There are signs that seem to me to point to that.

On p. 144 Laman comes back to the acute and grave accents once more. There he writes: "acute with a rise (or *tendency to be raised*) in pitch and stress, passing through a great interval in the intonation, and grave with a fall (or *tendency to be lowered*) in pitch and stress, passing through a small interval." From the words I have italicized here it seems as though the author, having got so far, found the definition of the acute and grave he had given on p. 32 insufficient. But he has given us no further particulars of what he means by these expressions "tendency to be raised" and "tendency to be lowered". That is to be regretted, for is a mere "tendency" a sufficient distinguishing mark? When once in conversation with Laman I maintained that his descriptions and Heinitz' notations give a rather chameleon-like picture of the acute and the grave, he protested that in spite of all the variations of the acute, he always gets from it an auditory impression and a feeling such as he gets from no other Kongo accent. And I believe him. My Swedish grave may vary in many ways, as my sensations, my ear and my own instrumental researches have taught me. But for all that I am sure that there is something in all these varieties of the grave that holds them together and distinguishes them from the acute accents. I am also convinced that Noreen is in the right when he says in his modern Swedish grammar, *Vart Språk*, ii, p. 204, that the difference between the sorts of Swedish grave and acute here alluded to mainly depends on a difference in the stress, though not on the degree of stress but on the way in which the stress is distributed

within the syllables. Through listening to Laman's records I am now convinced that the impression I get from the Kongo acute also depends most on the intensity.

His general opinion of the so-called musical accent the author gives us on p. xi, when he says: "There is surely a considerable musical element in the musical accent, since it can be rendered so exceedingly well by notes. But there are also other factors, because the same pitch of tone is not always of the same character and pronunciation." A reference to § 26 shows that he was thinking chiefly of the acute accent when he wrote this. But it seems to me very regrettable that he has not entered more fully into the matter. For instance, what is the difference between the Kongo grave and the Swedish grave in cases where the former sounds like the Swedish acute? It seems somewhat unfortunate that Laman has used the two terms with an unusual meaning. Probably he felt himself incapable of analysing these factors, and therefore found it better to confine himself to the musical side. Everything, however, seems to go to show that the purely musical element is not even the most important factor in any musical accent. The reason why the musical accent is in general only treated from the musical point of view is, I suppose, the fact that whispered speech, in which the musical element in the proper sense of the word disappears, is looked upon as abnormal speech. I think it would be very useful for the solving of the mysteries of the musical accent if those who devote themselves to the investigation of these accents would lay to heart the fact that a whispered language has as many distinct musical accents as the same language when voiced. A Chinaman whom I once asked if the Chinese have any difficulties in understanding one another when they are whispering, looked at me with a smile full of pity, and answered: "No." Certainly he had never thought that a man could be stupid enough to ask such a question. The term musical accent and the possibility of examining the pitch experimentally, whereas it is impossible or difficult to examine the intensity and the timbre in the same way, must not induce us totally to neglect everything else for the pitch.

How has Laman decided if a tone used by those who have spoken into the phonograph is high, semi-high, semi-low or low, the four "tone-positions" he speaks of? So far as I can see, he has collected all the tones which, according to Heinitz, have been used by the speaker, and then arranged them in the four groups according to their pitch. That seems certainly rather arbitrary and vague. A small

step only, and a high tone becomes middle, a middle tone low. But is it possible to classify them in any other way? Are not the tone-positions high, semi-high, etc., something very relative? Men and women who speak a tone language speak both in high, middle, and low tones, but their high tones are not at all the same, nor are their middle and low tones. The woman's low tone may be the man's high tone, one man's high tone may be another man's middle tone, and so on. Consequently it is generally said in works dealing with tone languages, that one must listen to a stranger a little while before it is possible to settle his tone-positions and so easily follow his speech. Is this true? So far as I know, there are no proofs given that, for instance, a Chinaman hearing another Chinaman speak for the first time has any difficulty in understanding him at once, provided that they speak the same dialect. A difficulty of the kind supposed to exist must, of course, be diminished by the fact that commonly syllables of different pitch and tone-glide follow one another; but such a language must be said to be too imperfect to be plausible.

When producing a high tone men and women do not articulate (with their vocal chords for instance) in the same way as when they produce a middle or a low tone, and a man and a woman articulate their high, middle, and low tones principally in the same way. Listening to a man and a woman singing the same tone, we hear that it is the same tone, but we can also hear that it is a high tone for him and a low tone for her. There are several differences. The high tones, for instance, sound (more or less) smooth, the low tones (more or less) rough. Between them we have tones that sound intermediate. The conformity in articulation and acoustic effect between men's and women's high, middle, and low tones does not vanish when the vibrations of the vocal chords vanish, when voice is changed to whisper. It would be of considerable value if those who have good opportunities to examine people speaking tone languages would try to find out if the factors just discussed do not play a most important rôle in their so-called musical accents. If it is true, as Nekes, among others, says in *Anthropos*, vi. p. 547, that the tones of a word in a tone language form an indissoluble whole with its sounds, that the negro cannot even conceive the sound-complex of the word without the tones belonging to it, then I cannot help thinking that the purely musical elements are not the only, not even the most important, factor that the hearers go by when deciding which musical accent the speaker uses. But if such things as the quality I have just mentioned and the intensity

have a finger in the pie, then we know that even persons without an accurate ear for music are able to master musical accent.

Another question that is intimately bound up with this and that the reader of Laman's book would have liked discussed, is whether a person wanting to learn the musical accents of a Kongo language must necessarily be so particular about its tones and intervals as Laman's book is. Is it, for instance, necessary in dissyllabic Kingoyi nouns with a high root-pitch and a falling word-intonation to pronounce the last syllable five semi-tones lower than the preceding one ? Do I make a mistake if I pronounce it six semi-tones lower or four, as in dissyllabic verbs with a high root-pitch and a falling intonation ? Heinitz' transcriptions (p. 17) and Laman's descriptions (pp. 46 and 48) indeed seem to imply that it is necessary, but nevertheless I doubt it : all the more since Laman maintains under Stress and Pitch (p. 34 f.) that such nouns have a stronger stress in the root syllable and a weaker stress on the last syllable than the corresponding verbs. If the last syllable in these verbs really always lies a tone higher than the same syllable in the nouns, this might perhaps be a natural consequence of the fact that the verbs have a stronger stress on the last syllable than the nouns. But must the last syllable really always lie a tone higher in the verbs ? My doubt as to this does not of course imply that the nouns and verbs in question can be accentuated in quite the same way. After listening to Laman's records, I am, on the contrary, more inclined to think that verbs and nouns not only in this, but in all other cases, never coincide accentually, not even those nouns and verbs that Heinitz (p. 21) marks exactly alike as to pitch, intonation, stress, and syllabic length. I think I hear an accentual difference even between them. But since, as I said before, the cylinders are now in a very bad condition in places, I only mention it for the benefit of those who study Kongo dialects and cognate languages.

In most cases Laman's descriptions agree with Heinitz' notations as to quantity and stress as well as pitch. In a few cases, however, the former conflict with the latter. Since the impressions that Heinitz' notations illustrate now and then do not agree with the impressions that I and other Swedes have got by listening to the records, I should have liked Laman to discuss these notations also. I do not at all mean to reject Heinitz' work. But we must not forget that persons with different mother tongues hear somewhat differently. Germans and Englishmen, for instance, very often hear the accent on the last syllable of a Swedish word such as *Stockholm*, but we Swedes hear it on the first.

On the other hand. Swedes often assert that the stress on such words as *Dickens* spoken by Englishmen lies on the second syllable.[1] Of course one can discuss who is in right in such cases, but it is rather unprofitable. Instead it would be very profitable, I think, if we tried to come to terms about the reason why we hear differently. But then one must have absolutely the same acoustic phenomena to study over and over again. Possibilities of this, however, are only offered by records on speech-machines. Laman's Kongo records might have been of great help also in researches of a general application of that kind if copies of them could be got, but he probably had not the means to procure matrices when he had got the records on the cylinders. This is to be regretted from many other points of view, for instance, from the pedagogical. I myself know how dim my ideas of the musical accents in the Kongo languages were before I got an opportunity to study them with the help of Laman's records, and yet I had bestowed a great deal of labour on his descriptions and Heinitz' notations. This resource is now irreparably spoiled.

Laman's book has given me occasion to touch upon some factors that my own studies of so-called musical accents have made me think—certainly in some cases and perhaps in all—not less important and deserving of investigation than their purely musical side. I therefore also think that this side ought, if possible, not to be studied in isolation. For then there is really a danger that what has already been done must be done again sooner or later. That I have chosen Laman's work as a basis of discussion does not mean that he has been more one-sided—according to my opinion—than many others. On the contrary, his book shows such thoroughness and desire to solve other difficulties as to the musical accent in the Kongo languages that I am sorry he has not solved them all.

[1] I am indebted for this information to Mr. L. J. Potts, English Lector at the University of Uppsala.

THE AKHYAYIKA AND THE KATHA IN CLASSICAL SANSKRIT

By Sushil Kumar De

THE distinction made between the *ākhyāyikā* and the *kathā* by the writers on Sanskrit Poetics is well known. We propose in this paper to consider how far the prescriptions of the rhetoricians apply to the few existing specimens of the *ākhyāyikā* and the *kathā* by Subandhu and Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa, and what light, if any, they throw on the development of these species of prose composition in Classical Sanskrit.[1]

The oldest writer on Poetics who deals with this matter appears to be Bhāmaha, who draws a rigid distinction between the *ākhyāyikā* and the *kathā*. Bhāmaha lays down (i, 25–9) that the *ākhyāyikā* is a literary composition (1) which is written in prose in words pleasing to the ear (*śravya*) and agreeable to the matter intended (*prakṛtânukūla*); (2) but which may contain metrical pieces in *vaktra* and *aparavaktra* metre, the object of these verses being to give a timely indication of future happenings in the story;[2] (3) which should have an exalted substance (*udāttârtha*) with some characteristics supplied by the poet's imagination as a special mark,[3] and having for its theme the abduction of a girl (*kanyā-haraṇa*), a fight (*saṃgrāma*), a separation (*vipralaṃbha*), and the (final) triumph (*udaya*), apparently of the hero; (4) in which an account of his own deeds[4] is given by the hero himself: (5) in

[1] The reader need scarcely be reminded that the Sanskrit theorists define poetry so as to include any literary work of the imagination, and absolutely refuse to make rhyming or verse an essential.

[2] The text reads (ed. Trivedī, *B.S.S.*, lxv, 1909) reads *vaktram cāparavaktram ca kāle bhāryarthaśaṃsi ca*. Sankara, quoting this verse in his commentary on the *Harsa-carita* (on *śl.* 10), reads *kārye kāryârthaśaṃsi ca*.

[3] The reading, which is apparently corrupt, is *kaiś cid abhiprāya-kṛtaiḥ kathanaiḥ kaiścid ankitā*, "marked by certain narrations created by the intention of the poet." Premacandra, quoting this half-verse in his commentary on the *Kāvyadarśa*, reads *kaiś cid abhiprāya-kṛtair ankanair ankitā kathā* introducing a grave variant and connecting it with the *kathā*. But it is not intelligible how he connects the next line in Bhāmaha (*kanyā-haraṇa*, etc.) with the *ākhyāyikā*. From the text as it stands in Bhāmaha, both these lines should rightly go with the *ākhyāyikā*, and not with the *kathā*; and for this we have the authority of the text of the *Agni-purāṇa*, which appropriates one of these lines.

[4] *vṛttam ākhyāyate tasyām nāyakena sva-ceṣṭitam*, where the word *vṛtta* in connexion with *sva-ceṣṭita* may indicate "actual history" or "facts of experience" as opposed to "invented fiction". This should be read with Bhāmaha's prohibition of self-revelation by the hero in the *kathā*. In the *kathā*, Bhāmaha pointedly says "what noble man flaunts his own merits?" It may be asked in this connexion how is it that Bhāmaha allows the hero to narrate his own exploits in the *ākhyāyikā*, to which this objection also apparently applies? To obviate this seeming inconsistency we should

which the story is divided into several pauses called *ucchvāsas*.[1] In the *kathā*, on the other hand, there are no *vaktra* or *aparavaktra* verses, no division into *ucchvāsas* ; and the story should not be narrated by the hero, but by some one else. It may be written in Sanskrit or in Apabhraṃśa,[2] which indicates by implication that the *ākhyāyikā* should always be composed in Sanskrit.

Daṇḍin appears to criticize and reject all these fine distinctions, which, in his opinion, are not essential but more or less formal requirements. He states that some people would distinguish between the *ākhyāyikā* and the *kathā* by maintaining that in the former the narrator is the hero himself, in the latter the hero or some one else (*nāyakena itarena vā vācyā*), on the ground that the discovery of one's own merit is not a fault in one who is only stating what is true (*bhūtârtha-śaṃsī*). Daṇḍin disagrees with this opinion, and holds that the fact that the hero or some other person is the narrator is not a real ground of distinction, and it is not strictly observed in current poetical usage (*aniyamo dṛṣṭaḥ*) ; for sometimes in the *ākhyāyikā* the narrator is found to be some person other than the hero Secondly, Daṇḍin urges that the employment of specific metres like the *vaktra* and *aparavaktra* need not be rigorously binding in an *ākhyāyikā*, for they may (like *āryā* and other metres) incidentally occur in the *kathā*. Thirdly, the designation *ucchvāsa* is sometimes found indeed applied to the divisions of an *ākhyāyikā*, like the term *lambhaka* in the case of the *kathā* ; but nothing can be concluded from this. Fourthly, themes like the abduction of a girl, fight, separation, or triumph, are not special characteristics of these prose compositions, for they are also found in the *sargabandha mahākāvya*.[4] Fifthly, special marks due to the inventive power of the

suppose that since in the *ākhyāyikā* what is narrated consists more or less of facts of actual experience, the hero (who is the narrator) cannot be suspected of self-boasting ; but since the *kathā* is more or less an invented story, this trait of vanity should not be allowed in the hero, and therefore some other person should be the narrator.

[1] The word *ucchvāsa* (lit. breathing out) indicates a pause for breath ; and so it is a name for a chapter which constitutes the pause for the narrator, who cannot be supposed to tell the story " in one breath ", but should recount it in an easy manner with necessary pauses.

[2] The linguistic forms, according to Bhāmaha, for literary compositions are Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhraṃśa (i, 16), but it is not clear what Bhāmaha means by the last term. Daṇḍin gives a definite connotation to this term as the language of the Ābhīras and others in the *kāvya* ; but in the *śāstra* it is a name applied to all languages other than Sanskrit (i, 36).

[3] As in the *Harṣa-carita*, as Taruṇa-vācaspati in his commentary points out.

[4] Daṇḍin is here intentionally misunderstanding Bhāmaha. No doubt these themes are found in the *mahākāvya*, but Bhāmaha probably means that while these things are subordinate in other species of poetic composition, they should be prominent in the *ākhyāyikā*.

poet [1] need not be a fault elsewhere (i.e. in a *kathā*), for there is no limit as to the means which a poet may adopt for the attainment of his purposes. And lastly, Daṇḍin expressly says that the *kathā* may be composed in all languages as well as in Sanskrit: for the wonderful story of the *Bṛhat-kathā* is said to be written in the *bhūta-bhāṣā*.[2]

We are not concerned here with the much-discussed question whether these remarks of Daṇḍin are directly levelled (as they probably are) against Bhāmaha in particular: but we should note that while Bhāmaha makes a sharp distinction between the two species, Daṇḍin does not admit this distinction; and considering the admittedly *a posteriori* nature of these earlier works on Alamkāra, it is not improbable that their respective conclusions were based upon the observance of current poetical usage, which they analyse, and in which an explanation of this divergence of view should be sought.

Let us now turn, therefore, to Bāṇa's *Harṣa-carita* and his *Kādambarī*, which are respectively designated by the author himself as an *ākhyāyikā* and a *kathā*, and see how far the teachings of these two earliest theorists are illustrated by these two typical works, or whether their conclusions were based upon some other prototypes.

The *Harṣa-carita* begins with twenty introductory stanzas in the *śloka* or *anuṣṭubh* metre, concluding this preliminary part with a verse in *jagatī*. These verses contain an obeisance (*namaskriyā*) to Vyāsa, and to the deities Śiva and Pārvatī, and dwell upon poets and poetry generally, incidentally praising great poets and poems of the past. After briefly stating the merits of an *ākhyāyikā* (*śl.* 20) the author praises king Harṣa, devotion to whom supplies the motive of his literary composition, notwithstanding the existence of great works and authors in the world.

After this comes the prose story, of which eight *ucchvāsas* remain. That the chapters were entitled *ucchvāsas* by the author is indicated by the obvious pun in *śl.* 10. With the exception of the first, every *ucchvāsa* begins with a pair of stanzas, which give an indication of what is to follow. The metres of these verses are fairly uniform, consisting

[1] This special "mark" (*cihna* or *aṅka*) is interpreted by commentators old and new (Taruṇa-vācaspati and Premacandra) as signifying the trick of special words (like *śrī* at the end of Māgha's poems, *lakṣmī* in Bhāravi, *anurāga* in Pravarasena, etc.) to indicate the end of a canto (*bandha-cihna*). But perhaps this remark in Daṇḍin connects itself with Bhāmaha's remark that the *ākhyāyikā* may sometimes bear the marks of the poet's inventive power (*kaveḥ abhiprāya-kṛtaiḥ kathanaiḥ kaiścid ankitā*), and refers to the invented episodes or parts in the matter-of-fact *ākhyāyikā*.

[2] By which term Daṇḍin implying the Paiśācī Prakrit shows himself conversant with the legendary account of the origin of this work

generally of *āryā*, with the single exception of a stanza in the *śloka*-metre in Ucchvāsa iii.

In the prose-part we have a detailed account of the poet's family, extending from the first to the third Ucchvāsa, his youth, introduction to the court of Harṣa's step-brother and the manner of his reception there, his return to his native country, and relation of the story of king Harṣa to his relatives. Thus the main story begins with the third Ucchvāsa and continues to the eighth, where it breaks off.

It may be noted that the prose narrative contains some verses in different metres, of which one (ed. N.S.P., 1918, p. 125) is expressly stated to be in the *vaktra*-metre, while four (pp. 18, 78, 125, 159) are similarly stated to be in the *aparavaktra*-metre.[1] The other verses contained in the prose narrative are in *vasanta-tilaka* (ii, p. 54), *śārdūla-vikrīḍita* (ii, p. 69), *āryā* (iii, p. 86; iv, p. 140; vi, p. 185), *sragdharā* (iii, p. 93), and *śloka* (v, p. 153), the last two Ucchvāsas containing no verses at all.

Before taking up the *Kādambarī*, we may briefly indicate the nature of the other (and earlier) *kathā* in Sanskrit, viz. Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*, which is referred to by Bāṇa himself in his *Harṣa-carita*. This work begins with twelve introductory stanzas in *āryā*, with an obeisance to Sarasvatī, Kṛṣṇa and Śiva, some praise of good poets, and a statement of Subandhu's authorship. The prose story is immaterial for our purpose; but it may be noted here that we do not get this form of the story of Vāsavadattā elsewhere, the particulars of it being probably due to the inventive genius of the poet. There is no interruption or pause in the narrative, and no division into chapters; nor are there *vaktra* or *aparavaktra* verses, although some metrical pieces in *āryā*, *śikhariṇī*, *śārdūla-vikrīḍita*, and *sragdharā* occur thrice. The tenor of the story is more or less peaceful, love being the prevailing sentiment; and there is no *saṃgrāma* or *kanyā-haraṇa* (as in Bhāmaha's *ākhyāyikā*), unless Vāsavadattā's being carried away to the Vindhya mountains be construed as an instance of the last theme.

[1] The scheme of the *vaktra* as given in the *Harṣa-carita* verse may be analysed thus :

⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — — | — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑

⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — — | — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑

This is really a variation of the *śloka*-metre, as Pingala, v, 9, indicates, the important difference being that the penultimates in the second and the fourth *pāda* are long, with which exception it approaches *pathyā*. The scheme of the *aparavaktra* is this :—

⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑

⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑

But Pingala gives it somewhat differently :—

⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑

⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑

The *Kādambarī*, the story of which is too well known to require recapitulation here, is similar in form, but perhaps less complicated in plot. The prose narrative, which is continuous, is introduced by some verses in *vaṃśastha*, which contain an obeisance to Brahma, Śiva, and the author's guru Bhatsu, some remarks on the effects of good poetry, and an account of the author's race and family. The tenor of the story is similarly peaceful, with love as the prevailing sentiment, and is not based upon any known *itihāsa*, the main plot being probably an invention of the poet.

Taking the *Harṣa-carita* as a typical surviving specimen of the earlier *ākhyāyikā* (its date being the first half of the seventh century), we find at once that while it conforms in some points to the requirements prescribed by Bhāmaha, it cannot yet be taken to typify exactly the *ākhyāyikā* described by him. The work is written in agreeable prose with verse-adjuncts, but the *vaktra* and *aparavaktra* verses contained in it are merely topical and do not fulfil the requirement that they should indicate the tenor of the plot, this work being done by the pairs of verses (generally in *āryā*) appended at the beginning of each chapter. The story is indeed *udāttārtha*, being the history of a great king, and is regularly divided into *ucchvāsas* : but it does not touch the themes of *kanyā-haraṇa*, etc. ; and it is difficult to see what special mark of the poet's inventive genius it bears, inasmuch as it professes to be the actual life-history of a royal personage narrated by an eye-witness. But the most important point to note in this connexion is that it does not conform in the essential characteristic laid down by Bhāmaha that the narrator must be the hero himself.

Taking these facts into consideration, it will not be wrong to draw the conclusion that the prototype of Bhāmaha's *ākhyāyikā* was probably not the *Harṣa-carita* of Bāṇa, but some other work which has not come down to us. From Bhāmaha's treatment we may, however, conclude that in spite of some controversy in his time on this point, two kinds of prose narratives, respectively known as the *ākhyāyikā* and the *kathā*, existed which could be differentiated from each other on very important points. Apart from merely formal requirements, Bhāmaha's analysis makes it clear that the *ākhyāyikā* in his time was more or less a work of the nature of an autobiography, where the narrator is the hero himself, who recites the facts of his own experience, and who (as interpreted by Daṇḍin) cannot therefore be accused of self-boasting, unworthy in a noble personage. Bhāmaha indeed allows some scope for poetic invention and introduction of interesting

themes to prevent its being a bare recital of facts : but the prevailing tendency to matters of fact is emphasized by Bhāmaha as the distinguishing mark of the *ākhyāyikā* as contrasted with the *kathā*. Bhāmaha's description of the *kathā*, on the other hand, is purely negative (excepting his injunction as to the language to be employed) ; but it appears by implication that the *kathā*, as distinguished from the *ākhyāyikā*, was more or less of the nature of a fiction, an uninterrupted story or narrative, where the narrator should be some person other than the hero. With respect to subordinate points, viz. the presence of *vaktra* and *aparavaktra* verses and division into *ucchvāsas*, Daṇḍin certainly evinces a great deal of common sense in rejecting these formal requirements as essential features. But they do not appear to be altogether immaterial, and the animus with which the earlier theorists enter into the controversy can be understood if we consider that some of these formal differences find an explanation in the respective differences in the general character of these two species. The real issue involved in the *ākhyāyikā*, however, is not whether the name of the chapter should be *ucchvāsa*, or whether the kind of metre employed should always be *vaktra* and *aparavaktra*, but the fact that it is essential that the *ākhyāyikā* should be divided into well defined pauses or chapters, while the *kathā* should be continuous narrative, and that certain verses (possibly inserted at the beginning of each chapter) should foreshadow the tenor of the chapter following. The pauses in the *ākhyāyikā*, as already pointed out, were necessary because the hero, who is himself the narrator, should be allowed to recount his story in an easy manner : while the appearance of the indicative verses is excluded in the *kathā* by the fact of its being an uninterrupted narrative. The semblance of reality which the appearance of the hero as the narrator adds to the *ākhyāyikā* is similarly out of place in the *kathā*, where the poet or some other person should be allowed to weave out the narrative. This was, in general, the conception of these two species of prose composition in the time of Bhāmaha. The *ākhyāyikā* was more or less a serious composition dealing generally with facts of actual experience with an autobiographical or semi-historical interest : while the *kathā* was essentially a fictitious narrative—which may sometimes (as Daṇḍin contends) possess an autobiographical form, but whose interest chiefly resides in its invention. The *ākhyāyikā* declined in later times and did not keep strictly to the characteristics detailed above ; but the *kathā*, although it was well defined (after Bāṇa's works)

in Rudraṭa, was less touched by changes in form and substance even from Subandhu's time.[1]

This will be clear from the attitude of Daṇḍin, as well as from the fact that in the later *Agni-purāṇa*, and more markedly in Rudraṭa, these two species were defined somewhat differently and were modelled apparently on the works of Bāṇa. The existence of an *ākhyāyikā* like the *Harṣa-carita*, in which the narrator is not the hero himself, probably urged Daṇḍin to maintain that this characteristic, in conformity to current usage, should not be taken as a fundamental point of distinction: and Taruṇa-vācaspati pertinently refers to Bāṇa's *Harṣa-carita* as an illustration to the point. The older and more rigid distinction was being obliterated by the innovation of bolder poets since Bhāmaha's time: and Daṇḍin insists neither upon the person of the narrator, nor the kind of metre, nor the heading of the chapter, nor the limitation of linguistic form as essential marks of difference, maintaining as he does, in view of the poetical usages of his own time, that such trivial distinctions are no longer material, and that both the species come under the same class of composition with only a superfluous difference in nomenclature. It was a period of uncertain transition in the history of these species of prose compositions, when older distinctions were losing their interest, but when no fixed rules had been (as Daṇḍin's negative and destructive criticism implies) yet evolved to govern the practice or theory relating to them. Thus Vāmana, coming after Daṇḍin but probably before Rudraṭa,[2] brushes aside (*vṛtti* on 1, 3, 32) the controversy and discussions in which Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin apparently engage themselves, and refers the curious reader to the works of "others", apparently regarding the question as of no great theoretic importance.

When we come to the *Agni-purāṇa*, which more or less uncritically copies the dicta of Daṇḍin and other authors,[3] we find, however, the

[1] As the definition of the *kathā* did undergo much material change in the course of its history, Bhāmaha's somewhat general characterization is applicable to Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* as well as to Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*: but it is possible that the latter was not the prototype contemplated by him, just as the *Harṣa-carita* was not the prototype of his *ākhyāyikā*. This would corroborate the date of Bhāmaha as a younger contemporary of Dharmakīrti (as conjectured by Jacobi in *Sb. der Preuss. Akad.*, xxiv, 1922, pp. 211–12: see my *Hist. of Sanskrit Poetics*, vol. i, pp. 48–9), and possibly therefore of Bāṇa himself. Bhāmaha, if he at all knew Bāṇa's works, could not yet regard them as authoritative examples and he apparently draws his conclusions as to the nature of these compositions from other established works of his time, which are now lost.

[2] See my *Hist. of Sansk. Poetics*, loc. cit., pp. 66–1, 87–8.

[3] This point regarding the nature of the alaṁkāra-section of the *Agni-purāṇa* is noticed in the work cited in footnote 13, pp. 102–4.

influence of Bāṇa's works reacting upon the theorists and making them change their definitions to suit the new conditions. According to the *Agni-purāṇa*, we have in the *ākhyāyikā* (1) a praise of the author's family (*kartṛ-vaṃśa-praśaṃsā*) in prose, (2) themes like abduction of a girl, fighting, separation, and other untoward incidents (*vipattayaḥ*), (3) division into *ucchvāsas*, (4) presence of *cūrṇaka*,[1] or of *vaktra* and *aparavaktra* verses, (5) a brilliant diction exemplifying the excellence of *rītis* and *vṛttis*. In the *kathā*, on the other hand, (1) there is the praise of the poet's family in verse, (2) there may be an episode or another story (*kathântaram*) introducing the main story (*mukhyasyârthâvatārāya*), (3) we have pauses or *paricchedas*, but sometimes there may be divisions called *lambhaka*,[2] (4) *catuṣpadī*-verses may be introduced in each *garbha*.[3] This is practically the conventional enumeration, but with a marked difference, the most important point being the *kartṛ-vaṃśa-praśaṃsā*, and the use of the *kathântara*, which are omitted in the discussion of earlier writers, but which are admitted here (and more pointedly in Rudraṭa) probably through the influence of Bāṇa's works.

Rudraṭa differs very noticeably from the older writers in his treatment : and it may be generally said that he has accepted and generalized the characteristics of Bāṇa's two works into universal rules governing the composition of the *kathā* and the *ākhyāyikā* respectively. According to him, we have in the *kathā* (1) an introductory *namaskriyā* in verse to the *devas* and *gurus*, and a statement of the author's family and the motive of his authorship : (2) the prose narrative, written in Sanskrit (or in verse in other languages) in light alliterative words, the plot including *pura-varṇana*, etc. (as in the case of the *utpādya-kāvya*, xvi, 3) ; (3) a *kathântara* at the beginning, which is immediately connected with the main story : (4) a theme consisting of the winning of a girl (*kanyā-lābha*), which being the main issue, the sentiment of love is developed fully in it (*vinyasta-sakala-śṛṅgārā*). In the *ākhyāyikā*, on the other hand, (1) we have the *namaskriyā* to *devas* and *gurus* in verse, together with an incidental praise of older poets, a confession of one's own inability and a statement of the poet's motive in writing, notwithstanding these drawbacks, which motive may spring from the

[1] Vāmana defines (i, 3, 23–5) *cūrṇa* (one of the subdivisions of prose diction) as *anāriddha-lalita-padam* (delicate words and no big compounds, *utkalikāprāya* being the reverse.

[2] Read *bhared vā lambhakaih kvacit* for *bhaved vâlambakah kvacit* in the printed text.

[3] The *Agni-purāna* speaks of *khaṇḍa-kathā*, *parikathā* and *kathānikā*, for which see *Locana*, p. 141 (which adds *sakala-kathā*), and Hemacandra, who defines various other subspecies (pp. 339–40).

poet's devotion to a particular king, his addiction to the praise of other people's merits, or from some other special causes ; (2) the story should be written in the manner of a *kathā*, but emphasis is put on the injunction that an account of the poet himself and his family must be contained in it, written in prose and not in verse ; (3) there are divisions into *ucchvāsas*, and two *āryā*-verses should occur at the beginning of each chapter, excepting the first.[1]

It will be seen at once that these characteristics detailed by Rudraṭa apply fully and strictly to the cases of Bāṇa's two works. Rudraṭa, along with the author of the *Agni-purāṇa*, gives interesting remarks concerning the introductory stanzas, all the peculiarities of which are minutely observed in the introductory stanzas of Bāṇa. Even the requirement that in the *ākhyāyikā* the poet should state in verse that his devotion to a king or some other cause supplies the motive of his writing, and that he should describe his own race and family in prose, agrees with Bāṇa's practice in the *Harṣa-carita*, which also almost strictly fulfils the condition of having two *āryā*-verses at the beginning of each chapter, as well as the condition concerning verses in the prose narrative, which need not be in any prescribed form, but may contain *vaktra* and *aparavaktra* verses. It appears, on the other hand, that the question as to who should be the narrator, after Daṇḍin's criticism and Bāṇa's example of the *Harṣa-carita*, was probably of no interest to Rudraṭa, who does not, like the author of the *Agni-purāṇa*, even mention it. Taking Rudraṭa's analysis side by side with the two works of Bāṇa, one cannot but conclude that Rudraṭa has only generalized the cases of the *Harṣa-carita* and the *Kādambarī* into universal instances of the *ākhyāyikā* and the *kathā* respectively.[2] The distinctions and definitions of older writers on Poetics were now mere conventions, and the new *ākhyāyikā* and the *kathā* had become stereotyped after the model of Bāṇa's two famous works.

It will be noticed, however, that although Rudraṭa does not speak upon the general nature of the two species and does not consider the question whether the *ākhyāyikā* should be of the nature of a serious relation of actual facts and the *kathā* of the nature of an invented narra-

[1] Some matters of detail are added, viz. on the occasion of a doubt concerning a past incident or an incident not witnessed by the speaker (*parokṣa*), or concerning a present or future object, the poet, in order to dispel the doubt, should let someone cite in the presence of the doubting person one or two of the poetic figures *anyokti*, *samāsokti*, or *śleṣa* ; and the metres employed in these cases should be *āryā*, *aparavaktra*, or *puṣpitāgra*, or, according to circumstances, metres like the *mālinī*.

[2] Nami-sādhu in his commentary apparently agrees with this view.

tive. he yet emphasizes the softer character of the latter by indicating that its main issue is *kanyā-lābha* (and not the more valorous *kanyā-haraṇa* in the *ākhyāyikā* of older Poetics) which gives free scope to the delineation of the amorous sentiment in all its phases (*vinyasta-sakala-śṛngāra*). With this statement Rudraṭa lays stress upon one of the distinctive features of Subandhu's and Bāṇa's works, viz. that in their *kathās* love is the prevailing sentiment : and this throws into relief the general character of Sanskrit prose *kathā* as an invented love-story, which approaches the nature of romantic fiction. Ānandavardhana, who deals with prose composition only topically (p. 141) in connexion with his discussion of *saṃghaṭanā* (condition of compounds in diction), appears to recognize this point. He says that in the *kathā* we have the same kind of diction as in the *ākhyāyikā* ; but in the former the rules relating to *rasa* should be observed (iii, 8), implying thereby this peculiarity of the delineation of *rasa* (especially *śṛngāra*) as its principal concern. To Abhinavagupta, on the other hand, who accepts the older convention, the two species are interesting only from the point of view of form, the *ākhyāyikā*, in his opinion, being characterized by *ucchvāsas* and *vaktra-aparavaktra* verses, and the *kathā* being entirely devoid of these. Hemacandra (p. 338) follows the same convention, but admits Daṇḍin's criticism (as do most later authors) regarding the narrator and the linguistic form, and pointedly quotes the *Harsa-carita* and the *Kādambarī* as typical instances. He agrees with Rudraṭa, however, that the *kathā* may be wholly in verse, citing an unknown *Līlāvatī* as an example. Vidyādhara does not deal with the question at all ; and to Vidyānātha the *kathā* is unknown. The latter speaks of *gadya*- and *padya-kārya*, citing the *Kādambarī* and the *Raghuvaṃśa* as instances ; while the definition of the *ākhyāyikā* is attempted, as in the case of Abhinavagupta's definition, mainly from the formal point of view. Viśvanātha, the latest writer who devotes some attention to this question, merely puts Rudraṭa's generalization in a precise form : and his treatment shows that the older distinctions were already forgotten, and the new types evolved on the basis of Bāṇa's works had firmly established themselves. But, like Rudraṭa, Viśvanātha emphasizes the *sarasa vastu* as the substance of the *kathā*, although he is silent with regard to the question of the subject-matter of the *ākhyāyikā*.

Thus we can distinguish two or three well defined stages in the growth of the *kathā* and the *ākhyāyikā* in Classical Sanskrit. The earliest forms of these, as we have seen, are noticed by Bhāmaha, and their characteristics may be summarized thus :

Ākhyāyikā. (1) The subject-matter gives facts of actual experience : (2) The narrator is the hero himself : (3) The story is divided into chapters called *ucchvāsas*, containing indicative *vaktra* and *apara-vaktra* verses : (4) Scope may be allowed to poetic invention, and the themes may embrace subjects like abduction of a girl, fighting, separation, and final triumph : (5) It should be written in Sanskrit.

Kathā. (1) The subject-matter is probably an invented story : (2) The narrator is some one other than the hero : (3) There is no division into *ucchvāsas*, no *vaktra* or *aparavaktra* verses : (4) It may be written in Sanskrit or in Apabhramśa.

These characteristics to not apply strictly to Bāṇa's two works, which, however, begins to influence the theorists a little later, and we find a destructive criticism of these fine distinctions as early as Dandin. The new *ākhyāyikā* and the *kathā* which rose in later times and which finds itself modified from the older types partly on the model of Bāṇa's two works, are distinctly authorized by Rudraṭa, who generalizes the characteristics of Bāṇa's two works into rules of universal application. The characteristics may be given thus :

Ākhyāyikā. (1) The subject-matter gives facts of actual experience : (2) The narrator need not be the hero himself : (3) It is divided into chapters called *ucchvāsas*, which should (excepting the first) open with two stanzas, preferably in *āryā*, indicating the tenor of the chapter in question : (4) It possesses a metrical introduction of a literary character.

Kathā. (1) The subject-matter is a story, generally a love-story, for the most part invented by the poet : (2) The narrator should be some person other than the hero, who may sometimes take that rôle : (3) There is no division into chapters : (4) It should have a literary metrical introduction.

This practically stereotypes the two species in Sanskrit literature : and as a natural result of this fixing of the characteristics, the *ākhyāyikā* and the *kathā* declined to such an extent that most later theorists do not think it necessary to dilate upon the question.

ABHASA-BHASA

By L. D. Barnett

ECCE iterum Crispinus! The readers of this *Bulletin* are doubtless as weary of the *dis crambe repetita* of the Bhāsa-controversy as I am, and I must crave their indulgence for returning to it in reply to Professor Keith's remarks in Vol. III, p. 295 ff.

There are three distinct questions at issue, which Professor Keith persistently confuses. They are: (1) whether the Trivandrum plays are earlier than Kālidāsa; (2) whether they are all by the same author; and (3) whether they, or any of them, are the works of Bhāsa.

To the first question no decisive answer can be given. All arguments drawn from the language, whether Sanskrit or Prakrit, and from the technical terms used are perfectly inconclusive. The arguments from style depend almost wholly upon subjective taste. As I have repeatedly pointed out, the supposed archaisms are more or less the common technique of Keralan playwrights. As to the Prakrit, I was the first to show that it represents the teaching of an old school of grammarians which has survived only in Kērala, and is used by local playwrights and scribes of quite late date; hence its presence in a play proves little or nothing for the antiquity of the play. Professor Keith, who writes as though the existent Prakrit grammars were the only authorities on the subject, may with profit study Hertel's introduction to his new edition of the Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad, in which Hertel incisively points out that we do not know what kinds of Prakrit Kālidāsa used; we only know the Prakrits which later grammarians, editing manuscripts of his plays, have foisted into them. Professor Keith's argument that because there is no Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit in the Trivandrum plays they must be earlier than Kālidāsa ingeniously combines the fallacies of *petitio principii*, *accidens*, and *non sequitur*: the fact is that southern playwrights have usually avoided Māhārāṣṭrī, even in comparatively late times, and hence its absence proves nothing as to date.[1] The *Matta-vilāsa*, of the seventh century, has none, nor has the comparatively late *Tapatī-saṃvaraṇa*. Dr. Morgenstierne's scholarly study of the relation between the *Cārudatta* and *Mṛcchakaṭika* has certainly

[1] It may be remarked that the Śāurasēnī Prakrit in these plays, as given in the printed texts, is of a very mixed sort, including a number of forms that according to the published grammars belong to Māhārāstrī.

established a fair possibility for the contention that the latter is an adaptation of the former: but even if we admit this, the age of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* still remains uncertain (Professor Keith himself thinks it may be as late as the eighth century), and therefore we cannot infer that the Cārudatta is earlier than the fifth century, the presumptive date of Kālidāsa.

Professor Keith remarks that "Bhāsa's dramas not merely commence with the entry of the Sūtradhāra after a Nāndī . . . but they omit the name of the author and the work, and this latter peculiarity is not followed in the other dramas played in Kerala". The last sentence is a typical example of the Professor's love of drawing sweeping conclusions from imperfect information. The comedy *Bhagavadajjukīya*, of which I have copies, and which I hope will soon be published by Mr. Pisharoti, possesses all the features which, according to the Professor, stamp it as a work of Bhāsa: it opens with the entrance of the Sūtradhāra after a *nāndī*, it makes no mention of its own title or the author's name, it uses the term *sthāpanā*, and it is all in Sanskrit and Śāurasēnī of sorts. But even the Professor will not claim it for Bhāsa when he reads it, especially as it contains a passage which looks suspiciously like an imitation of one in the *Matta-vilāsa*. The same features occur in the *Dāmaka-prahasana*, except that it is all in Sanskrit.[1] Thus the Professor's statement that "the other dramas played in Kerala" do not omit the name of the author and the title of the work is not true, and so his "obvious explanation of this peculiarity" as being a feature of Bhāsa's day (a very pretty example of the fallacy of *petitio principii*, by the way) falls to the ground.

Lastly, Professor Keith wholly fails to meet my objection that the *Pratimā* mentions Mēdhātithi's *Nyāya-śāstra*, which, it seems to me, can only mean the *Manu-bhāṣya*, a work of about the tenth century.

The term *Nyāya-śāstra* signifies either (1) a book of law, or (2) a book of logic. In this connexion logic is quite out of place; but even if it were admissible, the fact remains that the only *śāstras* by Mēdhātithi on record are the famous *Manu-bhāṣya* or commentary on Manu, the *Smṛti-vivēka*, and a *Jyōtir-mēdhātithi*, the first two on law and the third on astrology, and of these only the *Manu-bhāṣya* has survived. I therefore conclude that the book to which the play refers is the *Manu-bhāṣya*.[2] The Professor contests this conclusion because (1)

[1] It may be remarked that some plays, such as the *Yayāti-carita* and *Bhīma-parākrama*, have no prologue at all.

[2] It is perhaps worth noting that Mēdhātithi is quoted quite early by *Southern* writers (Winternitz, *G.I.L.*, iii, p. 494).

in the enumeration in the play the Nyāya-śāstra is separated from the text of Manu, and (2) "it is clear that a different kind of Çāstra is desired and is actually given". These two pleas are really one, and prove nothing. As to the first, if we suppose (which is rather unlikely) that the author is so careful that he would not mention a commentary upon Manu at such a distance from the text of Manu, what shall we say of passages like *Mahābhārata*, XII, cci, 8, which enumerates the three Vēdas and then the Vēdāṅgas, among which the *Nirukta* or commentary on the text comes *third*? It is the custom of Hindu pedagogues to make their pupils learn their texts by heart and then, sometimes after a considerable interval, to teach them the commentaries. As to the Professor's second plea, it is merely another instance of his affection for the *petitio principii*.

As it is not in the least relevant to the main issue that the genealogy of Rāma in the *Pratimā* is Puranic (I myself pointed out this fact in a note), or that the story of Avimāraka is earlier than Daṇḍin, we may sum up by saying (1) that the evidence suggests the tenth century or later as the date of the *Pratimā*, (2) that some of the other plays may be of the seventh century, and perhaps somewhat earlier, but (3) that no case has been made out for the contention that any of the plays is earlier than the period of Kālidāsa, i.e. the early fifth century.

The second main issue is whether all the plays are by the same hand. As admittedly they are all anonymous, and show considerable differences of style, even the Professor will grant that this issue may be regarded as an open one. Now I have shown reason for supposing the *Pratimā* to be later than some others of the batch; if then the *Pratimā* may be by another author than the others, the batch is not homogeneous, and there may be three, four, or more authors concerned in it.

But now let us, for the sake of argument, assume that all the plays are by an author earlier than Kālidāsa, and consider whether we can identify him with Bhāsa.

The identification rests wholly on the fact that Bhāsa is known to have written a *Svapna-vāsavadatta*, and one of these plays is a *Svapna-vāsavadatta*. This argument is a broken reed. There were certainly two plays of that name, and probably more, just as there are two *Kumāra-sambhavas* and two *Kalyāṇa-saugandhikas*: for the passages quoted by writers on rhetoric from a *Svapna-vāsavadatta* cannot be traced in the Trivandrum play.[1] This fact naturally arouses

[1] On this point new and valuable evidence has been brought forward by M. Sylvain Lévi in his *Deux Nouveaux Traités de Dramaturgie Indienne*, J.A., Oct.–Dec., 1923, pp. 197, 217.

suspicion, and suspicion deepens into conviction when we find that Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra in their *Nāṭya-darpaṇa*, a work of the twelfth century, quote a verse as from "the *Svapna-vāsavadatta* written by Bhāsa",[1] with a summary of its context, and neither this verse nor the context can be traced in the Trivandrum play.

This last fact will convince every reasonable reader that the anonymous Trivandrum play is *not* by Bhāsa. With this the attempt to father the whole batch upon him collapses, and Professor Keith's confident assertion that "the case for accepting Bhāsa's authorship appears enormously strengthened" reads like a joke. *Solvuntur risu tabulæ.*

[P.S.—Since the above note was printed I have had the pleasure of reading Mr. Gaṇapati Śāstri's note in the October number of the *JRAS.*, in which he quotes references to a *Svapna-vāsavadatta* from the *Bhāva-prakāśa* and *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*. As, however, these works refer to the play without mentioning its author, they prove nothing as to Bhāsa's authorship.]

[1] M. Sylvain Lévi in discussing this passage (*ut supra*, p. 197 f.) is doubtless right in holding that Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra here specifically mention Bhāsa as author in order to distinguish his *Svapna-vāsavadatta* from another play of the same name.

HINDI PROSE BEFORE THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

By T. Grahame Bailey, M.A., B.D., D.Litt.

THE early literature of the Hindi group of languages, that is the literature written in Avadhī, Bihārī, Rājputānī, and Hindi proper, was largely poetical, and prose was rare. In the beginning of the nineteenth century Lallū Jī Lāl and Sadal Miśr entered Dr. Gilchrist's service and at his suggestion translated some early works into modern vernaculars. The works selected were chiefly Sanskrit, and they were translated into Braj or *Khaṛī Bolī*. Lallū Jī is the better known of the two, but he was not a pioneer, nor was his example followed. For nearly fifty years after he wrote, nothing of real merit was produced in *Khaṛī*. The practical founder of modern Hindi prose, the man who gave it its impetus and started it on its career of prosperity, was Hariś Chandar. A somewhat exaggerated emphasis has been placed on Lallū's and Sadal Miśr's translations, and this has resulted in a lack of perspective. Lallū has been acclaimed as the " Father of Hindi prose ". The title is inaccurate, and has been made the subject of protest. One Hindi writer, in complaining of his being called the " Creator of *Khaṛī Bolī* ", maintains that such an idea is entirely erroneous, and remarks that before his books were brought out Sadā Sukh Lāl and Inshā Allāh were writing in straightforward Hindi. He adds, in an amusing aside, that they wrote on their own initiative and not at the behest of another. He also criticizes Lallu's style as being too much tainted with Braj idioms and poetical turns of expression. Sadal Miśr he regards as Lallu's superior.

Hindi prose has existed for centuries, some would say for nearly six hundred years, and there are about thirty known writers of prose before Lallū Jī, several of whom wrote in *Khaṛī*. There may have been many more.

Attention should be drawn to another point. It is unfortunate that many authors have written of translations (e.g. Prem Sāgar, Rājnīti, Śakuntalā) as if they ranked with original compositions. This is damaging to the reputation of Hindi literature. A similar mistake has not been made in the case of Urdu. We may be sure that in no language would more than perhaps one translation in a thousand, or even many thousands, be considered worthy of mention in a history of its literature unless that literature were deficient in writers of ability.

The following list, including the dates, has been taken from Hindi sources. Students of Central Indian languages may be glad to have it in a convenient form. It goes without saying that some of the dates are open to reconsideration, but certainty will probably never be attained.

The earliest Hindi prose composition is to be sought in the deeds of gift of early rulers. It is difficult to be sure of their genuineness. The Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Sabhā, in its search for early MSS., found a number of these deeds which, if authentic, take us back to the eleventh century. Confining ourselves to regular composition, we have the following prose writers who preceded Lallū Jī.

1. Gorakh Nāth, the father of Hindi prose. Keay speaks of him as a semi-mythical person living about A.D. 1200, but Śyām Sundar Dās gives his date as 1350. In this he is followed by the Miśr brothers, by Greaves, and by Vraj Ratn Lāl, all of whom favour the middle of the fourteenth century. An extant prose work in the Braj dialect is attributed to him, but it may have been written by his followers. We are much in the dark, and to deny his authorship is as useless as to affirm it. It is noteworthy that Avadhī was not favoured for prose writing. Gorakh Nāth lived far to the east, but this book is in Braj.

The next known extant prose work dates from the sixteenth century, two hundred years later.

2. Viṭṭhal Nāth, 1515–85, son of Vallabhāchārya, wrote in Braj a book entitled *Śringār Ras Maṇḍan*.

3. Gokul Nāth, son of Viṭṭhal Nāth, flor. 1568, wrote the famous "*Chaurāsī* (*Vaiṣṇavō kī*) *Vārtā*" and "*Do sau bāvan Vaiṣṇavō kī Vārtā*". These are devoted chiefly to stories of his grandfather's followers. He probably wrote the *Ban Yātrā*, though the Miśr brothers say it was written by Mahā Prabhu Jī, i.e. Vallabhāchārya. All three are in the Braj dialect.

4. Nand Dās, after the middle of the sixteenth century, was the best known of the four members of the Aṣṭ Chhāp who were attached to Viṭṭhal Nāth. His greatest title to fame is that he was probably Tulsī Dās's brother. He wrote two prose works in Braj, which are not extant.

5. Hari Rāy, a contemporary of Nand Dās, produced three prose works.

6. Gaṅg Bhāṭ, 1570, has the distinction of being the first prose writer who used *khaṛī bolī*. He has left a 16-page book called *Chand Chhand Barnan kī Mahimā*.

7. Before 1614: a Sanskrit treatise on astrology named *Bhuvan Dīpikā*, is accompanied by a commentary in *bhāṣā*. The author is unknown. The MS. bears the date 1614, the composition itself cannot be later, but may be earlier.

8. Jaṭmal, 1623, is the author of *Gorā Bādal kī Kathā*, telling of Ratn Sen, Padmāvatī, Gorā and Bādal. It is poetry with a large admixture of prose in *khaṛī*. Jaṭmal is therefore, so far as our knowledge goes, the second writer of *khaṛī bolī*.

9. Manohar Dās Nirañjanī, about 1650, wrote *Gyān Chūrn Vachnikā*, in Braj prose.

10. Jasvant Siṅgh, Mahārājā of Jodhpur, 1625–81, the famous writer on poetic style, was the author of a prose work called *Prabodh Chandroday Nāṭak*.

11. About 1658 Jagjī Chāraṇ produced the *Ratn Maheśdāsot Vachnikā*, in which he extolled the bravery of Ratn Siṅgh Maheśdāsot, Rājā of Ratlām.

12. In the same year, 1658, Dāmodar Dās, the Dādūpanthī, wrote in Rājputānī prose a translation of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇ.

13. In 1663, unknown author: prose translation of the Yogvāsisṭh.

14. Seventeenth century, date usually given as 1680: Baikuṇṭhmaṇi Śukl wrote two works, *Vaiśākh Māhātmya* and *Agahan Māhātmya*. These are in Braj poetry, but contain much Khaṛī prose. The Miśr brothers say they are in Braj prose.

15. Bhagvān Dās, 1699, translated the Gītā into prose under the name of *Bhāsāmrit*. The Miśr brothers refer to this work as "kavitā". This may be an oversight.

16. Surati Miśr flor. probably during the first third of the eighteenth century, though he has been put earlier, translated the *Baitāl Pachīsī* from Sanskrit into Braj prose. This was done at the command of Mahārājā Jai Siṅgh.

17. Ajīt Siṅgh, 1680–1721, son of Mahārājā Jasvant Siṅgh, mentioned above, is known to have written a work named *Gunsar*, partly in verse and partly in prose. It is an account of Rājā Sumati and Rāṇī Satyarūpā. His language is a mixture of Braj and Rājputānī, the former predominating.

18. Debī Chand, 1720, a translation of *Hitopdeś* in Braj prose.

19. Unknown author, a MS. dated 1720, containing a work in Braj prose called *Krisṇ jī kī Līlā*.

20. An unknown author, about 1719; translated into Hindi a Persian translation of the Upaniṣads.

21 and 22. Lalit Kiśorī and Lalit Mohinī, 1743, joint authors of a 46-page book in Braj bearing the title *Śrī Śvāmī Mahārāj jū kī Bachnikā*. The Mahārāj here referred to is the sixteenth century religious leader Hari Dās, to whose sect the authors belonged.

23. Amar Siṅgh Kāyasth, latter half of eighteenth century, wrote *Amar Chandrikā* in verse and prose mixed. This is a commentary on Bihārī's *Sat Saī*.

24 and 25. Agr Nārāyaṇ Dās and Vaisnav Dās, in the end of the eighteenth century, wrote jointly a prose commentary on Nābhā Dās's and Priya Dās's *Bhaktmāl*. The Miśr brothers do not mention the fact of their joint authorship or allude to prose writings. They say that Agr Nārāyaṇ wrote the *Bhaktras Bodhinī Ṭīkā*, explaining that it is a commentary on the *Bhaktmāl*. They give the same name to a work by Vaiṣṇav Dās without the explanatory remark, and they leave the reader to understand that there is no connexion between the two. Vraj Ratn Lāl states that their book exists in two MS. copies, one dated 1772 and called *Bhaktmāl Prasaṅg*, the other dated 1787 and called *Bhakti ras Bodhinī*.

26. Bakhteś, 1765 or 1771, wrote a commentary on the *Rasrāj*, an erotic work by Mati Rām Tripāthī, which discusses various kinds of lovers, both men and women, especially women. The Miśr brothers mention only this commentary among the works of Bakhteś, and say that he wrote charming poetry.

27. Śer Siṅgh, killed in 1793, son of Vijay Siṅgh, who was King of Mārvāṛ, wrote a mixture of verse and prose in a work entitled *Rāṁ Kṛiṣṇ kā Jas*. The date was approximately 1789, and the language used Mārvāṛī.

28. Kaibāt Sarbariya, about 1797, was author of *Anant Rāy* (or *Ānand Rām*) *kī Vārtā*, which contains both prose and verse.

29. Sadā Sukh Lāl wrote many articles in Khaṛī. Unfortunately none of his books are extant. He was about a quarter of a century before Lallū Jī.

30. Inshā Allāh Khān, the only Muhammadan in the list, wrote before 1809 *Rānī Ketakī kī Kahānī* in "ṭheṭh Hindī", a somewhat peculiar variety of Khaṛī. This appeared before the Prem Sāgar.

31. Sadal Miśr, 1773–1848: his chief work was *Chandrāvatī*, 1798, a translation of the Sanskrit *Nāsiketopākhyān*. His other prose works are not extant.

Of the prose writers of the early nineteenth century it has been said that Inshā Allāh was Venus, Sadal Miśr dawn, and Lallū Jī morning.

THE FOWL AND THE CAT: A SWAHILI POEM IN THE TIKUU DIALECT

By Professor Alice Werner

A LETTER received some time ago from my Lamu correspondent, Muhammad bin Abubakar (commonly known as Muhamadi Kijuma), contains a passage which may be translated as follows :—

"Behold these verses : I obtained them from the Watikuu (that is to say), from an aged woman of Rasini ; it contains a testimony (to the ancient glories) of Emezi, which was a great country [city ?][1] with mansions of stone, very large, and before the Arabs settled in Africa, it was already in ruins. It lies to the south of Waraka."

The Watikuu are the Northern Swahili (also called Bajun or Wagunya) who inhabit the mainland north-eastward from the Lamu archipelago, though some of them settled at Rasini (Faza) about three hundred years ago.[2] Their dialect presents many peculiarities,[3] and the specimen before us is archaic in addition, dating "from the time when the Emezi dialect was in existence". (This, no doubt, must be taken with reservations, though it is quite possible that the Emezi dialect survived the destruction of the city.)

Emezi is said to have been on the site of the present Wangi—at the head of the Mongoni creek, which opens out of the Siu channel to the northward. Waraka I have been unable to identify.

The poem takes the form of a dialogue between a Fowl (*kuku*) and a species of genet (?) called *kanu*, explained by Muhammad as "an animal which eats fowls" (*nyama alao kuku*). But it is explained that these stand, figuratively, for a man of rank (*mtu bora*) and a plebeian (*mtu dhaifu*).[4]

The stanza is the widely current one used in such popular compositions as the *Ayubu*, the *Shufaka*, and the *Kutawafukwe Muhamadi*. It consists of four lines, each having two beats and (approximately) eight syllables, three of them rhyming together and the fourth on a

[1] *Nti* is the word, but the writer may have meant *mui* (*mji*).

[2] Stigand, *The Land of Zinj*, p. 168 ; see also p. 34. For Emezi, see pp. 29, 44.

[3] For examples, see Stigand, loc. cit., and Taylor, *African Aphorisms*, p. 18.

[4] *Kuku* is used metaphorically (and contemptuously) for persons of low or servile condition ; cf. the proverbs *kuku haekwi shahidi, wala hajui sharia* ("A fowl is not set as a witness, nor does it know the law"), and *kuku na maci mdowe : ukumuuusa alevi ?* ("What's bred in the bone . . . ") ; also *Kuku mwenye kuvaa viatu*, for a parvenu—slaves being forbidden to wear sandals

different syllable, which, strictly speaking, should be the same throughout the poem. Here, however, the rule has not been observed in two out of the eight stanzas, one of which ends in *-na* and the other in *-ya*, the remaining ones rhyming on *-wa*. This may be due to corruption of the text, which there is reason to suspect on other grounds. Though not expressly so stated, the copy sent me by Muhammad (which is in his own handwriting) was no doubt taken down from oral recitation—but whether previously so transmitted I have no information. He subsequently sent me a corrected copy, with notes of his own, which I have mainly followed in the text here given. The passages which defy interpretation at present appear to be corrupt: and I should be grateful to any resident on the Coast who would be kind enough to throw any light on these, or on the probable date of the piece—which can hardly go back to the seventh century A.D. (The *first* settlement of Pate is usually assigned to the year A.H. 69.)

KUKU

Mwendani, nilikuwene
Wakeeo kama jini,
Huzingazinga iyoni,
Ni muizi ujile kwiwa.

My friend, I have seen you, who sit like a jinn; you keep wandering about in the evening; you are a thief, you have come to steal.

KANU

Ewe, Kuku, situkane,
Maneno hayo sinene:
Waungwana si wangine,
Ni sisi wa kuzaliwa.

You, Fowl, do not abuse (your betters); do not say these words. Freemen (nobles) are not (like) others: it is we who are the (nobly) born.

KUKU

Na mkiwa waungwana
(Hamtuwasi kunena)
Mungalizinga mtana,
Na watu wakiwaona.

But, if you were nobles (you shall not prevent us from speaking) you would walk abroad in the day, when people can see you.

KANU

Mtana tutazingale.
Ni fungu la wanazali:
Kaulize Simambali
Hatta kisiwa cha Goa.

By day we will walk abroad; that is the privilege (lit. share) of the nobly-born; Go and ask (the men of) Simambali, or even the island of Goa.

KUKU

Simambali ikizinga
Kwa mabunduki na panga
Ndisi wana wa Yunga,
Hatuonani na yua.

(Even) if (the men of) Simambali walk about (swaggering) with guns and swords, yet we are the sons of Yunga, (who) do not meet the sun.

KANU

Simambali na Emezi
Kwenye majumba makuzi
Yaundao majahazi
Yakizinga na uziwa.

Simambali and Emezi are places having great mansions, who build ships sailing hither and thither on the sea.

KUKU

Na yua likitupata
Hudenka kama nta;
Hatuwi kama ukuta
Upandao kenda kwiwa.

And if the sun reaches us, we melt like wax; we are not (solid) like a wall which you scale to go and steal.

KANU

Kwiwa hatiwi za watu;
Hulia malı zetu
Na penye misu mitatu
Tukanyakua mmoya.

As for stealing, we do not steal other people's (goods); it is they who consume our property: and (therefore) where there are three half-grown chicks, we (always) seize one.

NOTES

1. *Mwendani* (or *mwandani*, cf. Aphorisms, p. 86): in current Swahili *mwenzangu*, *mwenzio*, etc. *Nilikuwene*, a tense not recognized in any grammar known to me: *niwene* (or *mbwene*) is the archaic perfect of *ona* and *ni-li-wene* might be a pluperfect. *Wakeeo* (one would have expected *ukeeo*): *kee*, perfect of *kaa*. The meaning seems to be that during the daytime the *kanu* lurks in dark corners, but wanders up and down (*zingazinga*) in the evening, like a thief. *Mwizi* for *mwivi* "thief" (here written مزي) is not confined to the Lamu dialect: it is found also at Zanzibar and on the adjacent mainland (see Madan's *Dictionary*, s.v. and the story of *Mwizi na Tajivi* in *Masomo ya Pili*, p. 51). *Ujile*, old perfect of *kuja*, "come"; mod. *umekuja*. *Kwiwa*, "steal," mod. *kwiba* (cf. *Ayubu*, st. 43)—but in the Lamu dialect *kujepa*.

3. *Ha-m-tu-wasi*: the verb may be Ar. عصى, "rebel," which, by an extension of meaning, might bear the sense here given to it; Muhammad explains it as equivalent to *kataza*, "forbid." It occurs in a proverb—Taylor, Aphorisms § 173*a*.

4. *Zingale* is a form not easy to account for: perhaps merely a poetical licence for *tutazinga*. *Simambali* (*Simambayi* or *Simambaya*) appears to be a ruined town on an island about half-way between

Kiunga and Kwaihu. The "Island of Goa" is not Goa in India, but "near Kiunga, in the Tikuu country . . . there are many minarets, and the Goanese were buried there: there are (also) graves of the Portuguese". The *kanu* evidently claims citizenship, either in this town or in Emezi.

5. *Mabunduki* is an unusual plural, but it is quite common to find loan-words whose first syllable cannot be taken as a prefix, fluctuating between classes 5–6 and 9–10 (e.g. both *gari la* and *gari ya* are heard, while the plural may be either *gari* or—more usually—*magari*). *Ndisi* = *ni sisi*. *Yunga* is taken by Taylor (Stigand, *Dialect*, p. 91, note) as an honorific epithet of Pate: "Pate-*Sanspareil*" but Muhammad explains the phrase *wana wa Yunga*, "sons of Yunga," as *zijana za kushaua*, "boastful young men," *kushaua* being equivalent to the Zanzibar *kujivuna*. (Madan renders "show off".) If Pate is meant, point is given to the arrogant boasting of the *kanu* (who seems intended by the author to have the last word), since Emezi and Simambali, with which he may be understood to claim connexion, are older than Pate: in fact, Muhammad (unless I misunderstand him) says that Simambali is the place whence Pate was colonized (*asili ya watu wa Pate*). The Fowl seems to say that though now fallen on evil times, his house is as good as the best, and its members so delicately reared that they cannot meet the eye of the sun—"they would melt like wax," as subsequently stated.

6. *Makuzi*, an old (or poetical ?) form of *makuu*. *Yaundao* is in concord with *majumba*, but it is quite a permissible licence to take it as referring to the inhabitants of the houses. *Uziwa* (same root as *ziwa*, "lake") is explained by Muhammad as equivalent to *bahari*.

7. *Hudeuka*: the *hu*-tense is more freely used, even to this day, in the Lamu and other northern dialects than in those of Mombasa and Zanzibar (where it is usually confined to the third person). *Deuka* = *yeyuka* (or *yauka*). وُپَرُو can be read either *upandao* or *upandwao*. The sense seems to require the second unless we can suppose that *upandao* is a contraction for *u-u-panda-o*, "which you climb"; and this, as giving a better rendering, has been adopted in the text. "Which is scaled to go to steal," would not, however, be an impossible construction in Swahili.

8. *Hatiwi* = *ha-tu-iwi*. *Mali* (treated as a noun of Class 10) is understood as governing *za*. *Hu-i-lia*: literally, "they eat for themselves," *-i-* being the reflexive pronoun in the northern dialects—

elsewhere *-ji-*. *Misu* (pl. of *musu*, or *mwisu*?) is explained by Muhammad as "half-grown chicks" (*vijana va kuku wakuu katiti*), quite small ones being *vijiso* (pl. of *kijiso*).

The following rough attempt at a metrical version represents fairly well the main drift of the original—which, it may be thought, is scarcely worth the trouble. But it is not without interest, from a linguistic point of view.

FOWL: My friend, I see you seated in
Dark corners, lurking like a jinn,
Or, in the evening, bent on sin,
A-roaming up and down.

CAT: O Fowl, from ribald talk refrain—
The laws which common folk restrain
Are nought to us who still maintain
Our fame and high renown.

FOWL: If ye were noble as ye say
(My words no fear of you shall stay)
Ye sure would walk abroad by day
For all the world to see.

CAT: If that we list to walk by day,
We'll do it—'tis the freeman's way:
Let Simambali city say,
Or the Goans' isle so free.

FOWL: Let Simambali's haughty sons
Swagger abroad with swords and guns:
'Tis *we*, the gently-nurtured ones
Must shun the light of day.

CAT: Emezi once, and Simambal'
Were glorious, with bower and hall
Stone-built, and ships majestical
Sailed thence the ocean way.

FOWL: If once the sun strike head of ours
We melt like wax and wilt like flowers:
We are not solid walls or towers
To be scaled by thieves like you!

CAT: No thieves are we: who reave our gear
Are thou and thine. So, when ye rear
Three pullets, know that we draw near
To snatch one as our due!

THE DIALECTS OF THE ZANZIBAR SULTANATE

By W. H. Ingrams, Assistant District Commissioner, Zanzibar

Introduction

THE language of Zanzibar *par excellence* is Swahili, and Zanzibar may be said to be the home of this language, not in the sense that its oldest form is spoken there, but because the Zanzibar dialect has come to be known best, owing to the writings of such men as Steere, Madan, Sacleux, and, to some extent, Krapf, though his dictionary is mainly devoted to the Mombasa dialect. Also in the days of the opening up of Africa, explorers and traders generally fixed up their caravans in Zanzibar, and these porters and soldiers journeyed into the far interior, some of them remaining there and thus making Swahili a *lingua franca* understood, as Steere says, along the coasts of Madagascar and Arabia, and in Central or inter-Tropical Africa, as well as by the Seedees (Sidis) in India.

The old classical or literary Swahili is known as Kingozi, and there are but few specimens of it surviving.[1] The name is said to be derived from Ngozi, the plot of land where the palace of the old King of Pate stood. Ngozi in Swahili means skin, and the application of the word to the place suggests the story of Carthage, and also that of Kilwa, though there the land was bought from a neighbouring chieftain for the cost of surrounding it with cloth. A similar story is extant at Tumbatu.

The Arabs have made of Swahili a language full of Arabic words Swahiliized, and this form of speech has been carried by Arab traders as far as the Congo.

It would be difficult to say what is the purest form of Swahili spoken to-day. The word itself is Arabic and means the people of the coasts (Sawahil). Ki-swahili means the language of these people. Ki-swahili may, therefore, legitimately include words of Arabic origin, as the Swahili people have been intermarrying with the Arabs for many centuries.

In the Zanzibar protectorate there are several dialects and, even in the town itself, several forms of speech, which vary only as the

[1] Except in poems, of which large numbers are known to exist. Some of the MSS. appear to be of considerable antiquity, comparatively speaking.—A. W.

speech of Whitechapel varies from that of Whitehall. In the Arab quarter of Baghani many words are used but slightly disguised. In Malindi the harsh gutturals of Arabs born in Arabia are more apparent, while in Ngambo the speech is far more African.

The speech generally of Zanzibar is known as Kiunguja, Unguja being the native name of the island.

In the outlying portions of the Sultanate there are three dialects, the first of which has several forms.

Kihadimu is the dialect of the Wahadimu. These people live in the south and east of the island. The most archaic form of their language is spoken in Makunduchi and Jembiyani, large villages of respectively 1,500 and 400 huts on the south-east. This dialect is totally incomprehensible when spoken to a person knowing only Kiunguja, owing not only to the number of different words and the peculiar conjugations of the verbs, but to its unusual pronunciation, which is very nasal.

Coming northwards up the east coast the dialect of the next two villages, Bwejuu and Paje, varies again and has forms peculiar to itself. Nearly every village has different forms till one reaches Nungwi, the northernmost village of the island, where, if an inhabitant spoke in his own dialect to a man of Makunduchi speaking his own dialect, they would to some extent not understand each other, and to an outsider would appear to be speaking different languages.

Kizimkazi, the most south-westerly village in the island, and the old capital, has a number of forms peculiar to itself, but coming northwards up the west coast the dialect approximates more and more to Kiunguja proper.

But these dialects are to-day known as Kikale or Kikae, a word meaning archaic, and while they are used in the villages, Kiunguja is known to most of the people.

Separated by a channel about a mile wide from the north-west of the island of Zanzibar is that of Tumbatu, where the dialect used is called Kitumbatu. This has many forms in common with Kihadimu, but nevertheless differs more from the various forms of the latter than they do from each other.

The Wapemba, so-called aborigines of Pemba, speak another dialect called Kipemba, which again varies considerably from Kihadimu and Kitumbatu.

In addition to the dialects of every day there are others used by the witchcraft guilds. In Pemba this is known as Kipepo, and is

spoken in different ways by the Robamba, Kumbwaya, and Umundi guilds. In Zanzibar there is a similar dialect called Kimundi.

The medicine men have a form of speech, consisting mostly of peculiar names for the trees and herbs they use, which is called Kiganga. There are different forms of this in Zanzibar and Pemba.

Kinyume is not a dialect, but an enigmatic way of speaking. The commonest form, at which many natives are expert, is the transposition of the last syllable of a word to the beginning. This causes a shift of the accent. e.g. *mbengo nguwa faameku naja* for *ng'ombe wangu amekufa jana.*

Explanatory Notes on the Vocabularies

Possessive Pronouns and the Preposition "of"

The *vy-* forms are, except in Kipemba, only used adverbially: *Twende vyetu*, let us go home.

In their possessive sense these pronouns have the ordinary form: *Nguo zangu*, my clothes.

In Kipepo. K signifies the Kumbwaya and Pungwa guilds: U the Umundi (Mdindi).

J signifies the name Juma bin Hassan, one of the principal witch doctors in Pemba, who was my informant. The words thus marked are used in Robamba and perhaps in Umundi. Uk = Unguja kuu.

Robamba is spoken in a drawling way, Umundi and Kumbwaya fast.

Shingazija is of course not properly a Zanzibar dialect. I give it as not much of it has been published (except by Heepe). There are about 10,000 Comorians in Zanzibar. It may be said to be a native language in the same way as Gujarati and Arabic, which are so described in the Code of Regulations, and for the knowledge of which, in addition to Higher Standard Swahili, a bonus of £50 is allowed. There may be said to be a Zanzibar dialect of Arabic, as there are those of Egypt, Syria, Hejjaz, Hadhramaut, Iraq, and Muscat.

English.	Kiunguja.	Kipemba.	Kitumbatu.	Kihadimu.				Kipfpo.	Kimundi.	Shingazija.
				Makunduchi.	Bwejuu.	Kizimkazi.	General.			
Able, be	weza	dabua	vyeza	tarigoma						
Abode (small unmudded house)		vuru								
Abscess	jipu	ipu, tambazi	dyipu	kundi			kumri (big), ipu			jipu, shuwi (small) konze
Accompany	fuatana	ongozana	(twende) tosi	ozezana			ongozana			(u) dungana
Account, to (if not asked for)		-umbeya								
Ache	mshipa	msipe	mshipa	mizize			mzize	uzige (K)		mshipa
Adze	sezo	shezo	tezo	mbajo			tezo			tsezo, risi (broad)
Age, old	uzee	ukongwe	(kamawa mzee)						shaibu ? (mzee)	mrumdukazi (mzee)
— extreme old	uzee sana	kongogo								
Agree	kubali	ridi	madumba	dumbu			dumbu			sikiri
All	-ote	-ose	tote	-opia			opia			(-onzi) -ontse
Ant	sisimizi zizimizi	sizumizi	sizimizi	ndudu			sisimizi			nyansu (nsu)
Anus	kidumdu mavi	kibipe	kidutu							
Arab	mwarabu							wangatumbo (J) wasongalemba (J) msokota (K)		
Ash	jivu	zivu	jivu				ipu			vu
Ask	uliza	-uza	uza							(u)zisi
Back (body)	mgongo	miongo	miongo	miongo	myongo		miongo			dingo
Bait (for fish)	chambo	kiambo	chambo	suko			chambo			shambo
Banana	ndizi		ndizi					mlakomba (J) and (U) lakomba (K)		ndovi
Bareness	utupu	ushi	yuchi	uchi						wazi
Basket (made of plaited coconut leaf)	pakacha	tumbi	tumbi							tsungua (small), kanga
Bead	shanga	kilinzi (to wear in hands)	kama	kidani			kidani			kame
Bear, to (children)	-zaa	-vya	-vya	-vya			zaa	-pongo (K)	pongoa	zaa

Beard	ndevu		ndevu				manyanga mvule(K)	ndevu
Beat	piga					vonoro (Uk.)		
Bêche de mer	jongoo		gungwi (millipede)	zhindwe			jongwe (J)	
Bed	kitanda		kitanda	maiowe (of cords)			ngarawa (J) (K)	kitanda
Beginning	chanzo	kianzo	chazo	nyaza		nyaza		
Belly	tumbo	mimba	tumbo				mavagazo (J) mkanda (K)	mba
Betel, leaf	tambuu	uraibo (when together with nut)	tambuu				kibogamanga (J)	matapa urambuu
— nut	popoo		popoo				kitoetoe (J)	chikichi wowoo
Big (of animals)	mkubwa		mkuyu	jike				huu
Bird	ndege	nyuni, shigi	ndege			nyuni		mombe nyunyi
Blood	damu		damu				pomi (J)	humra mwazi
Board (small)	kibao	kibago	kibao					ipande
Body	mwili	kiwiliwili	mwile	maungo		muwili		ziungo
Boil, to (water)	chemka	shemka	chemwa	popwata	tokota			(u)rohora
Bottle	chupa	shupa	chupa					falasika
Bowels	matumbo	(ma)shango	matumbo	(ma)chango		(ma)chango		urumbo, pl. marumbo
Bowl, cover of	mkungu	kibia	kibia					
Boy (attained puberty)	mtoto mwanume	mvuliyana	mtu mwume	mwana kele mvuriyana	mvuriyana			mooto mwanume
Brain	ubongo	udongo	ongo	uongo		uongo		ubongo
Bread	mkate		mkate	bembe bumbuta		bumunda	mkalia pamoja (J) and (U) kidenge denge (K)	mkate
Breath	pumze		pumuze	miondo			mcnda kwende (K)	fiya
Breathe, to			rudiza pumuze	vumua				
Brother, sister	ndugu	maharim	mwana kwetu			dumbu (f.)		mwanama (my) mwananya (your)
Brother-in-law	shimeji	mwamu	mwiamu	mwamu		mwamu		shimeji
Bullock	ngombe	pindwa	ngombe					mbe
Buttermilk	mtindi	mtinda	mtinde					maji adziwa
Buttocks	matako	katio	mashina					makalio
Cannot, I	siwezi		sinavyeza	sinauweza sugomo		navukutwa (Uk.)		
Carry, to	chukua		chukua					jusa, raa (to carry on head)
— a child on hips	beba	eleka	eleka	ereke				bahara
Cassava	muhogo		muhogo				maza mashi (J)	muhogo
Cat	paka	shume (male)	shume				nyao (K)	paha, mbaba
Catch	kamata	gwiya	shika	gwiya			mficha kucha (J)	usiha

English.	Kiunguja.	Kipemba.	Kitumbatu.	Kihadimu.				Kipepo.	Kimundi.	Shingazija.
				Makunduchi.	Bweju.	Kizimkazi.	General.			
Chain	mkufu									
Chase	fukuza					gasiza		mnyemgereko (J)		mkuru
Chief	mfalme	diwani	mfayume	mfaiume			mfaume		wakonga kilemba	mfaume
Child	mtoto	mwana			zama			mdugudi (J), pl. vitoto ngovi	kembe	mwana
— (one troublesome to look after)				muhuni	mwehu					
— at breast						teha				
Chin	kidevu	kilevu	kidevu							idevu
Circumcise	tahiri, tina	vwaza							upashoto hara	rina
Circumcision lodge	kumbini	jandoni								bandani
Clean	safi		-zuri	kivivwa					zeni	
Clear the throat				kokomoa						
Climb (coconut)			kweya	kweya						
Cloth, small				kata						
— new				utali						
— old		pindi		ichakaa	ichakaya (also Paje)					
Clothes	nguo		nguo		nguyo (also Paje)			mgovi (J) mgovi govi (K) and (U) msokoto (J)	tamvuu	nguo
Cock	jogoo	jumbi	jumbi						membe	kudume kuhudume (kuhumshe = hen)
— in circumcision ceremony		mayombe	mayombe							
Coconut	nazi		kinazi							
— branches	gubi				kozi			kikoromo (J)		nazi
	dafu	dafu						mtonga (J)		
— empty "dafu"				dutuu, koma (small)			bufuru la dafu			
	koroma	kooma		jonja			jonja			
— empty shell	kifuu				kipangaya (also Paje)					
				tahi (useless empty nut)						

— scrapings		ndaza								
after drying		tumbwi						tonga (K)		
— tree,										
white								mwepepe (J)		
red								mkunduku (J)		
black								mwilili (J)		
Come quickly						chaza				
						songoka				
Cook	mpishi		mwipise							piha (to cook)
Cooking pot	chungu	nyungu	kibombwa	bungu (large)				kiburuma (J) (K)		
	mkungu	kiba	kiba							
Copulate	tomba		tomba					chachomeka (J) (K)		
Country	inchi	shi	muchi							ntsi (yahatu)
Crown	taji	utaji								
Cultivate	lima			pakana (first day)						lima
— cut down bush	lima (para)	tema			lima					
— cut down small bush			fyeka		fyeka					
— clear road					chenga					
— break up sods					buruga					
— dig up stumps	lima	lima								vira
Dandle		kivinya				kivinya				
Dance (n.)	ngoma		ngoma					mdindi (J)	gumiyo	ngoma
								mdinindi (J)		
								mnemo (K)		
Day light	mchana		chanake					kuchanga 'nka (J)	neu	mtsana
— to-morrow	kesho							ukao, makeo (K)		maudu
— day after to-morrow	kesho kutwa			uchao		uchao				usha wa maudu
— on the 3rd day		mtondo		unjwa uchao						usha wa usha wa maudu
— on the 4th day		mtondogoo								
— sunrise	macho ya jua		ulawiya jua	unju				mlenge wachopoka (J)		jua le hao (heya)
— midday	jua kitwani		jua vichwani	jua hwa vichwani				mlengeo mtwikione (J)		jua ivule mruni
— sunset	jua likishuka		uchwe jua	dyoni				mlengo watu-gumiya (J)		le jua angalitswao le jua alitso
— sunset, fall (v.)				tengua, kindua						
Destroy	haribu	tisa, fujya	tisa	nanga						menya
Destroyer	harabu		harabu	(kua) nziwe						

English.	Kiunguja.	Kipemba.	Kitumbatu.	Kihadimu.			General.	Kipepo.	Kimundi.	Shingazija.
				Makunduchi.	Bwejuu.	Kizimkazi.				
Devil	sheitani, pepo		pepo	(mavua)						
Die	kufa		kufa	patache kafo – 3rd pers. past tense			kafu = 3rd pers. past tense	jongomeo (J) kwenda kitope (J) kitumbo juu (K)	kinyunja ahera ufudikiya (kafa)	hufa (ufa = kupamba)
Dirtiness	uchafu	kinyaa	mkoyo							kudi
Dog	mbwa	jibwa	jibwa	jibwa			hunge	kibenena (J) and (K) kibuzimeno (K) domo (J) nyani (K)		mba
Donkey	punda									
Door	mlango	mliango	mliango uvi (one panel)	mwango, pl. miango						mwango
— stop	kisingiti		kisiyangu	kisiyangu						
Ear	sikio	shikio	shikio	shikio	shikiyo (also Paje)		shikio	komangio (J)		shishio
Eat	kula	kulya	kulya	kalie	kulya (also Paje)			kumeruka (K)	kumeuka	hula
Egg	yayi	igi, pl. yagi	yayi					mkiyo fumba (J) kwiyo fumba (J) kiyu fumba (U)		juwayi, pl. mayayi
Elbow	kisigino	kipa	kisingano	kigudi						ivuhu
Elephant	tembo	ndembo	tembo				ndovu			tembo
European	mzungu							kubwaka bwaka (J) mabinda (K)		mzungu
Exorcise	punga	lewa	punga							
Eye	jicho	zicho (ma-)	dicho					ndoleo (K) ndoreo (J)		dzitzo, matzo
Fall	anguka	gwa	gwa	-gwa, -gu	gwa himbia (of man only)		-gu (Jembiyani)			(hu) wa
Falsehood	wongo	baja bwaja urongo	ongo					ubafi (U)		ndabu
Fastened, to be	kufungwa							uzigi (J)		ufungwa
Father-in-law	mkwe	hau	hau							mbaba
Fear	ogopa	tya	tenda oga	naoga						hura
Feast	karamu		kiwao, uwaiyo	ukumbini						
Female	mwanumke	mtumke		mwanumke				mjakazi (J) (K)		
– (animals)	jike	mke	mke	mke						mshe
Ferry, to	vusha	chusha (Kojani only)	vusha							

Fight, to	pgana	wana	(kwi) wana			fyokocho (Jembiyani)		wana
— wrestling		(u)goc						shahako
Finger	kidole							(pl. zahako)
— thumb		kidole cha gumba	kidole cha gumba					
Fire	moto					mgiyogiyo (K) mkonge (J)	nari	mro
— set fire to	tia moto	psa	choma ? mgia puti	taka (catch fire)				tamro, siha mro
— brand of					tindija			
Fish	samaki		swi	sui		mpapatiko (J) kumbamaji (K)		fi
Float (of fishing nets)	chelezo	kielezo	cheleza	chelea				sheleza
Foetus	mimba	tumbo	tumbo	mjamzito		tumbo mbili (J) kidunguli (K)	(ka) tungata (v)	mziro
Food	chakula	kiakula	makulya	vyakulya		kimeruko (K) mbatiyo (K)	kumeuka	(ziyo) shahula
Foot	mguu				mguyu (also Paje)	mkwatuo (J)		mdu
Forest	mwitu	msitu	msitu					msiru
Forget	sahau		sahau	duwaa				
Fowl	kuku		kuku			kwiyo (K) mkwinyo (J) mkinyu (U) ufumba (K)	membe mkwinyo (Tumbatu)	kuhu
Frog	chura	kura	chuya					chura
Game	mchezo						nyemi	
Girl		mshikyana	(mtunke)	msichana mwanakewe				moto mwanamshe
Give	(ku)-pa	-twa	-ka	-ka		panga (J) pangosa (U)		(hu) va
Go	kwenda							enda
— ahead	tanguha	ongolea	ongolea	ongolea (if on donkey)				(u) tende
— away	ondoka	uka	uka	uka				(u) juha
— out	toka				pona			
Goat	mbuzi	beberu (male)	mbuzi			kivinya vinya (J) kinyima yima (K)	bakara (Tumbatu)	mbuzi
God	muungu			mwathamkwa		mkeketa (K) msipwesa (K)	mooli	mungu
Grass	majani	mani	mani machama (to sweep with)	mani				
Grind	saga		saga		chua			tahani (unga) uhatza
— stone	(giwe la kusagiya)	(jiwe la) nsiyo	jibwe la kusagiya	Liwe		kiwe		bwe lo sagia bwe lo hatzisa

English.	Kiunguja.	Kipemba.	Kitumbatu.	Kihadimu.				Kipepo.	Kimundi.	Shingazija.
				Makunduchi.	Bwejuu.	Kizimkazi.	General.			
Hair	nyele		nyuwili	nuwilo			nyiwili			nyile
Hand	mkono		mkono					mpokelewa (K) mpokeleo (J)		mhono
He, him	yeye	uwe	yeye							ndaie
Head	kitwa, kichwa	kichwa	kichwa	kichwa				kitoma (K) mtonga (J)	rasi	hitzwa
Heart	moyo	mtima	moyo					mtima (K)		moyo, roho
Heel	kisigino	kisubudi	kisingano	kisingano			kisigino			koma, ndu, kulinko
His (of things)										
	chake, vyake	kiakwe, vyakwe	chakwe	chakwe						yahaihe (yake) shahaihe
	lake	liake	liakwe	liakwe						
	zake	vyakwe	vyakwe	vyakwe	vyake					lahaihe zahaihe haihe (kwake)
Hoe	jembe	wembe, kijingo (small)	jembe					kichumbohyo (K) mchimbuo (J)		
Hole	shimo	jimbu kitoma	bonde				genge			shimo (if dug)
Horn, cupping	chuku	shuku ? pembe	pembe							ngama nyonga
House	nyumba		nyumba					bang 'aa, kibang 'aa (J) (K) (dim.)	bang 'aa	nyumba
Hurt	uma	(tafuna)	yuma	vukutwa						(u) hoza
I	mimi	miye	miye	miye						ndami
Incense	uvumba							kivundo vundo (K) uvumba ninga (K) mwenda na wafu(J)		
	ubani									
— dish	chetezo	kietezo	chetezo	cheteze						mbafu (white)
Indian	Hindi									
— Banyan	Banian							bunumnane (J) binda (J) wa songa binda (J)		
— corn	muhindi									
Iron	chuma	kiuma	chuma							tama (mtama = rama)
Jar	mtungi		kitundwi kibukwa	chombo						shuma mtsunji
Kitchen	jiko	ziko	mwiko, fuji(ni)							dziho
— stones for cooking on		mafya	mafya	mafya						
Knee	goti	futi	futi	futi			futi			
Knife	kisu	kifyu	kifyu	kipangaa	kifyu					

— bush	mundu	ndu		mdu				kipene (K)	
Know	jua	tambua	jua						(u) jua
Kuran								kursiyu (K)	
Lay, to (eggs)	taga	-ta, -ata	-ta	-ta					(taga) usa
Leg	mguu		mguyu						mdu
- - knee to ankle		muundi	muyundi	muundi	muyundi	muundi			nsuli
— knee to thigh	paja	ondo	paja (front) gungu (back)			gungu			paja
Lemur	komba							kipunga mkia (K) kipunga mzigo (J)	
Lick	ramba		yamba	lamba	yamba				homba
Lime	chokaa	shokaa	chokaya		chokaya (also Paje)			moto (J)	tsaha
Lips	midomo		moyomo		miyomo				
Male	mwanume	mtu mume		mwana mume				mtwana (K)	
Man	mtu		mtu					mlimwengu (J)	shaibu mru
— old	mzee	mkongwe		mkongwe				mkongwe pare (J)	
Marry	oa (mke)		yoya					zongomeza (J) udozi (K)	(u) lola
Mat	mkeka	bacha (old)	bacha (old)	bacha (old)		bacha (old)			dau
- - for drying cloves	jamvi			kiyinge					jamvi
- - round	kitanga	kitangara		kizange		kitange kizinge (Uk.)			
(Measures)	dhiraa							mpokeleo (J)	shungwa mhono
	shibiri	nyanda	sibiri						sibiri
Medicine	dawa		dawa					ngoda (K)	mtera dalau
Milk	maziwa							meli (J)	dziwa
Mock		cheja		chessa					
Moon	mwezi		tonga toto					mlenge (J)	mwezi
Morning	assubuhi	unju	yunju						(wa) tasi
Mosque	mskite		msikite					bang 'aa la	msihiri
								mkeketa simba (K)	
Mother-in-law	mkwe	hau	hau	mkwe					mkwe
Mountain	mlima		mlima	kirima					mlima
	kilima			kijongorima		kingurima			
Moustache	sharubu	mdembo	ndevu	(mabau)		masharubu			momwa, wajuu
Mouth	mdomo	mnomo	mwomo	mwomo					mwomo
	kinywa	kianwa							
My									yahangu
	changu	kiangu	changu						shahangu
	langu	liangu	liangu			liangu			lahangu
	zangu	viangu	vyangu			viangu			zahangu
	kwangu	kwangu	kwangu						(ndo) hangu
Name	jina	zina (ma-)	dyina						dzina
Neck	shingo	singo	singo	singo		singo			tsingo
Necklace	mkufu	kidani							ujisa

English.	Kiunguja.	Kipemba.	Kitumbatu.	Kihadimu.				Kipepo.	Kimundi.	Shingazija.
				Makunduchi.	Bwejuu.	Kizimkazi.	General.			
Search for	tafuta	zinga	kweza	vapa						tsaha
See	ona	chunza, oa, ole	-yoiya	kuona = kona						(hu) ona
Shave	(ku) nyoa		mioiya	-miowa						
She	yeye	uwe								
Sheep	kondoo	kondoro	kondoro		kondoyo (also Paje)					mea
Shin	mfupa ya mguu	muundi	muyundi							konzoo
Shoulder	bega	kipombaja, fuzi	kombe ya mkono = (armpit)							nsule, shiba (bone)
										fuzi
Show (v.)	onyesha	oteza	manga	ongoa	ongoyea (also Paje)					
Sit on heels				-chutama						(hu) onesa
— on eggs	-atamia (?)	-atamia	-atamia	-amiya						
Skin	ngozi	ngovi	kingo							
Slave	mtwana, mtumwa					mja				ngozi
Sleep	lala	konjoka	yaya	dalia	dayaya (also Paje)			mtenda shonge (J)	uzemi	mrumwa mtwana
Sling	kombeo	teo	kumbayawe							lala
Small	kidogo	kidigi, kidinya	kidugu	kidigi			kum bawe			
Smoke	moshi	mossi	mosi	mossi						myavin sunsu
										msutu (mdogo)
Snake	nyoka									jossi (a lot)
										uvu (of house)
								mnuririko (K)		nyoha
Song (s)	nyimbo (umbo)	mwiya						tambashi (K)		
								mjororo (J)		
Sour	kali	keche, yagega								
Space (in front of house)	wanja	ubungu	yuga	uga						
Speak	sema	tongowa	ronga	chowea		tongoa				wanza nzi
Spear	mkuke	fumo								
— pig		konzo						ronga (K)		rongoa
— fish		mango		umangu			umangu (north)			mkuhe, fumo
Stand	simama		-ima	-imawima			muunda ima			
— up		uka	uka							
— — make to	simamisha		mi e		imika					

Start up suddenly				charuku					
Stick	fimbo	upweke							
— for old man		mkongojo		ugoda				mpondeo (J)	mvuda
Stomach	tumbo	mimba		tumbo			tumbo		
Stone	jiwe	panjiyo, panjiwe	jibwe	jibwe			jibwe (Ngandandi) bwe (Kaole)	kigomango (K)	bwe
— large		panjago							
— very large		mshimashi		jijibwe					
— rocks		joma		magoma					
Stool		kibago							
Story	hadithi	hadisi, ngano	ngano	haditi					
Suck	nyonya		koka	kokho, kokha					hali
Sugar cane	mua		mua						(hu) amwa
								mringa mkomele (J)	mwa
— syrup	asali	aswale	mdambadote					fyomvea mku-fyomvele (K)	
								kiadada (K)	njize
Sweetness	utamu	uwada	ada					kiadaada (J) and (U)	
Tail	mkia	uche							ujiba, utamu (of food)
									mshia (of animals)
									utsungo (flexible part)
Take out	toa	avia	leti	lavia			peleka		shuno (of man)
Teacher	mwalimu					avia			renga, towa
								kinong'oni	
— woman (confidential adviser)	kungwi	msomo						mpiga kinong'oni (K)	
Tear	chozi	shozi	dichozi (ma-)						
Tell	-ambia								(ma) tzoze
Testicle	pumbuu	koko (one)						rongea (J) & (U)	(u) ambiye
Thief	mwizi	mwivi	mwivi						
Thigh (of ox)		kiga							mwidzi
Thing	kitu	kidubwana							
Think	fakiri		-aza	-aza			(Uk.)		hindu
Threaten							tantambuia		fikira
Throw	-tupa	-lenga	-gea	taza			lembea		latza
— down or away	tupa	gea	gea	gea					latza, raansi
Tired, to be	choka	shoka					(pumua)	tebweuka (J)	(u) lemewa
Tobacco	tumbako	chipwi			mnoga			mfutuko (J)	msi
Toe, big		gumba							

English.	Kiunguja.	Kipemba.	Kitumbatu.	Kihadimu.				Kipepo.	Kimundi.	Shingazija.
				Makundi chi.	Bwejuu.	Kizimkazi.	General.			
Tongue	ulimi		yulimi	kidimu			kidimi (of child)			uhmu
— uvula				kidonga tongi						
Tooth	jino	zino (ma-)	gino					sagio (K)		dzinyo, pl. manyo
Town	mji	kiambo (small)		kaye (small)				kaya (J)		mji
Twins	pacha			msiwanda						
Twist	sokota			paza	uaza					(u) tsihitsa
Turban	kilemba		pakusa					kilembua (K)	kilemba	kiemba (Bohora) ilemba (Arab)
Urinate	kojoa	bauwa		-nya, -bau						nyawa
Vagina	kuma		nya					ng'wang'wang'a (K)		
Vein	mshipa	mizi								mshipa
Verandah	baraza	ufinga, msitani (?)		upenum						jando, baraza
Vessel (or implement)	chombo	kiombo	chombo							shombo
Wall	ukuta	kiza	yukuta							uhura
Want	taka		taka	chaka			chaka			(hu) anza
— I don't	sitake	sebu, pl. hatwebu	sebu	sechebu	sidumbu					msuhanza
— thou dost not	hutake	huebu, pl. hamwebu								
— he does not	hatake	hebu, pl. hawebu								
Water	maji							maovu (K)		
Well	kisima			panga	panga					isima
Wife (proposed)		mchumba								
Wind	upepo	vugujo		tufani (strong wind)						upepo
— breaking	mashuzi	mashudu	jamba							
Wizard	mchawi	mwanga		mwanga						mchuwayi
Woman	mwanamke	mtunke	mtunke	mwanamke				mjakazi (J), tumbo mbili (Fumba)		
Wood (thin firewood)		kibago shanja								
— piece of		kibago		kigogo						ndeja
— long thin piece of		uchapu								
Words	maneno					tongoo				
Worthless	mnyonge					mwidu				
Write	andika							papua (K)		andziha

Year	mwaka				ujaka (J)		mwaka
Yes	ndio	ndiviyo	ndiviyo	ndiviyo	tamwa (J)		ndizo, ewa
You	wewe (s.)	ewe (s.)	weye				ndawe
	nyinyi (pl.)	uwe (pl.)					
Yours	chako	kiako	chako				shahaho
	liko	hako	hako				lahaho
	zako	vyako	vyako				zahaho
							yahaho
One	moja	mosi	mosi	moji		Done on fingers : Up to 4 on left hand, fingers closed. 5, fist closed. 6, grasp left hand with right and leave four fingers out. 7, leave three out, etc. 10, bang both fists together. 20, bang twice, and so on.	nzima
Two	mbili	pili	pili				bili
Three	tatu	tatu	tatu				mraru
Four	nne	une	une	ne			nai
Five	tano	taano					tsano or taano
Six	(sita)						ndadaru
Seven	(saba)						nfukari
Eight	nane	nane					nane
Nine	(tisa)	kenda	kenda	kenda			shenda
Ten	kumi	kumi					kumi

Specimens of Kiganga

English *and/or* Scientific Names.		Kiunguja.	Kihadimu.	Kiganga (Zanzibar N.).	Kiganga (Zanzibar S.).	Kipemba.	Kiganga (Kipemba).
Chilli.	*Capsicum annum*	filifili hoho	hoho	mpili pili			
Pepper.	*Piper nigrum*	filifili manga	mwitu				
	Euphorbia adenapetalum	mchongoma		muhegama			
	Fimbristylis extilis	mche je		mshinda			
	Strychnos spinosa	mtara wanda	mtaa wanda	mtoga			
	Tamarindus indica	mkwaju	mkwaji	mshika jemaa	mlemiya ndovu		
					mshinda ndovu		
	Phœnix senegalensis	mkindu		hapitwa numa			
	Ricinus communis	mbarika		mbono			
	Cassytha filiformis	mlangamia	msheta kanga	matunda kanga	mwamba mji	mtanda kanga	
		mfaggio	ufaggio	mpekwizi.	mfaggia kunga	mkama kuma	mzima kiwanda
					mfaggia viwi		
		mpofuo macho				muomvu	muamtu
		mpinga	muumbuzi	mpinguzi	mpinga waume		
		mvu manyuki	mvu manyuki			mvuma	mvuma
		munga nyungu					hang'ongwa
		mtumbika	mtundu tundu	mpukusa mume			
		ubondwe					mwagiliza
		mwuesa jini		muuza jini	mrusha jini		
		mtakawa				mtakawa	muopuakiale
		mtope tope				mchakwe	mchakuzi
		mjoma		mtichali	mgoma marathi		

THE MATHARA-VRTTI

By Professor A. Berriedale Keith

IN a paper contributed to the Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume [1] in 1917, Professor S. K. Belvalkar announced the discovery of a new commentary on the *Sāṁkhyakārikā* by Māṭhara, and identified it with the lost Sanskrit original of the commentary on that work preserved in the Chinese translation of Paramārtha (c. A.D. 550). Commenting on this suggestion in 1918,[2] I observed that derivation of the newly discovered commentary and of Paramārtha from the same source was an alternative possibility. Professor Belvalkar has now, in a paper which was written to form part of the collection presented to Professor Hillebrandt on his 70th birthday, and is published in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*,[3] adduced reasons in support of his original suggestion.

There are two questions immediately involved: the first is the relation of the new commentary to the version of Paramārtha and the commentary of Gauḍapāda; the second is the authorship of the commentary. The first rests on internal, the second on external, evidence, and, by citing parallel passages in extenso, Professor Belvalkar has greatly simplified the task of any investigator of the facts.

The first point which clearly appears is that there are large portions of text present in Paramārtha and in the new commentary, which are omitted in Gauḍapāda. But what is requisite is to establish that there are grounds for holding that Paramārtha's version was derived from the new commentary, and not merely from the original of it, and no evidence to this effect is now adduced by Professor Belvalkar. On the contrary, he admits candidly that the new commentary has been contaminated by admixture from Gauḍapāda, and even cites a verse of the *Hastāmalaka*, ascribed to Çaṅkara, and he places the amount of students' interpolations at as high as twenty per cent.[4] This is a very different thing from his contention in 1917 that Gauḍapāda's Bhāṣya was "merely a paltry abstract of the *Māṭhara-Vṛtti* with an occasional addition here and there". As a matter of fact, the extracts given in order to show the relationship of the new commentary and Gauḍapāda, and to support the conclusion [5] that Gauḍapāda's work is a "simplified abridgment—with an occasional

[1] pp. 171–84. [2] *Sāṁkhya System*, p. 70, n. (ed. 2, p. 80, n. 2).
[3] 1924, pp. 133–68. I am indebted to the author for a copy of this paper.
[4] p. 168. [5] p. 148.

addition here and there which is implied in simplification—of the *Māṭhara-Vṛtti*" yield no such result. Professor Belvalkar does not point to anything proving derivation of one from the other, and, as he admits contamination of the new commentary by use of Gauḍapāda, it would be more legitimate to claim that Gauḍapāda's work formed the basis of much of the *Māṭhara-Vṛtti*. The true conclusion, however, is obviously that both go back to an original commentary which neither faithfully preserved, and which is also inaccurately represented by the translation of Paramārtha.[1]

The second question then presents itself: what is the value of the title *Māṭhara-Vṛtti*? It is given in one MS. of Saṁvat 1457, and it would be idle to regard this as in the slightest degree conclusive evidence of authorship. If there really were a famous commentary on the *Sāṁkhyakārikā* by Māṭhara, we would expect to find it mentioned elsewhere, and Professor Belvalkar claims [2] that references have been discovered to Māṭhara or Māḍhara in the *Nandīsūtra* and the *Anuyogadvārasūtra* of the Jainas, which belong to a time not later than about A.D. 450. But it is most important to note what these references are; they consist simply in the fact that, in lists of works, after the *Saṭṭhitaṁtaṁ* appears the *Māḍharam*,[3] and the obvious meaning of this is confirmed by Guṇaratna Sūri in his commentary on the *Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya*, who talks of the *Ṣaṣṭitantroddhārarūpam Māṭharabhāṣyam* as the first of his authorities for the Sāṁkhya. The *Māḍhara*, therefore, was an exposition of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*, and not of the *Sāṁkhyakārikā* or *Sāṁkhyasaptati*, which is given separately by Guṇaratna, followed by the *Tattvakaumudī* and the *Gauḍapāda*, the *Ātreyatantra*, etc. The notice of Rājaçekhara Sūri, cited by Belvalkar,[4] is obviously a reproduction of exactly the same notice as that in Guṇaratna. Contrast this with the comment of the new commentary on the last Kārikā of the ordinary text of the *Sāṁkhyakārikā*; there is no hint to connect this work with the *Ṣaṣṭitantroddhārarūpam* of Guṇaratna. Further, we have the fact that Paramārtha leaves us entirely without any suggestion that he knew the name of Māṭhara, and Gauḍapāda and Vācaspati are equally silent.

We have, moreover, a very interesting piece of evidence in Guṇaratna, which tells definitely against the use by Paramāratha of the *Māṭhara-Bhāṣya*. Professor Belvalkar [5] cites in support of his

[1] As in the case of the extra Kārikā interpolated after 61.
[2] p. 155. [3] See Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, xvii, 9.
[4] *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, p. 174. [5] *Annals*, p. 154.

theory the fact that Maladhāri Rājaçekhara (A.D. 1350) "actually quotes a stanza from the *Māṭhara-Vṛtti* under Kārikā 37 :—

hasa piba lala moda nityaṁ
viṣayān upabhuñja kuru ca mā çaṅkām
yadi viditaṁ te Kāpilamataṁ
tat prāpsyase mokṣasaukhyaṁ ca.

which is unknown to Gauḍapāda, while Paramārtha seems to give in the same place what appears to be a translation of the more familiar verse :—

pañcaviṅcatitattvajño yatra tatrāçrame rataḥ
jaṭī muṇḍī çikhī vāpi mucyate nātra saṁçayaḥ."

Now Guṇaratna[1] gives us the former quotation in an improved form as *Māṭharaprānte*, which can only mean at the close of the *Māṭhara-Bhāṣya*—where, indeed, one would expect to find it, and then goes on to give the second verse as *çāstrāntare*. This means, as all our evidence above also shows, that Paramārtha followed a different authority from the *Māṭhara-Bhāṣya*.

There is, therefore, no possible conclusion other than that the new commentary on the *Sāṁkhyakārikā* is not what the discoverer claims it to be, the *Māḍhara* referred to in the Jain texts. Why the title *Māṭhara-Vṛtti* was accorded to it in the MS., we cannot say for certain : very possibly it contains some matter which appeared in the real *Māṭhara-Bhāṣya* : conceivably it is the work of a later Māṭhara ; but we are not called upon to account for the many absurd ascriptions of authorship by scribes.

It follows from this conclusion that no weight can be attached to the attempt[2] to push the date of Īçvarakṛṣṇa back to the first century A.D. or the first part of the second, by the argument that, as the new commentary styles him Bhagavant, and as Māṭhara lived before A.D. 450, Īçvarakṛṣṇa must be allowed to be at least as old as the dates suggested. On the contrary, the date of the commentary may reasonably be regarded as shown to be late by this use of Bhagavant : the time of Īçvarakṛṣṇa evidently lay far beyond the compiler, since an additional Kārikā is boldly added to the established text.[3]

These negative results leave us in the position that we now have three sources for the reconstruction of the original of Paramārtha, but these three are quite inadequate to enable us to carry out any satisfactory reconstruction ; a certain amount of matter alone can be established as belonging to the original source, far too little to be of

[1] p. 96. [2] p. 168. [3] p. 147.

substantial value. Was this original by Īçvarakṛṣṇa as Dr. Takakusu [1] once suggested ? We are left merely to conjecture, but one point may be noted, as it bears very definitely on the issue, and has not yet been adduced. We find given [2] expressly as by Īçvarakṛṣṇa himself a definition of the *Kārikā* allusion to the nature of perception, viz. prativiṣayādhyavasāyo dṛṣṭam, to the following effect : pratiniyatādhyavasāyaḥ çrotrādisamuttho 'dhyakṣam. This looks precisely as if we had before us a citation from Īçvarakṛṣṇa's own elucidation of his *Kārikā*, and the idea is strengthened by what we read in Gauḍapāda, who has : prativiṣayeṣu çrotrādīnāṁ çabdādiviṣayeṣv adhyavasāyo dṛṣṭam pratyakṣam ity arthaḥ. It is significant that the new commentary [3] uses netrādi in lieu of çrotrādi in its version, thus departing from the version ascribed to Īçvarakṛṣṇa, which is the obvious and natural order and is followed by the new commentary on *Kārikā* 4, as by Gauḍapāda. As the *Kārikā* is no more than a summary of established doctrine—whether in Sūtra form or not—it was to be expected that Īçvarakṛṣṇa should comment on it, and here we seem to have definite proof of his doing so, apart from the question of his identity with Vindhyavāsin or Vindhyavāsa, of whom we have prose citations of commentary type.[4] On that point there is no doubt that Guṇaratna's evidence is negative in character, for he certainly cites [5] Vindhyavāsin apart from Īçvarakṛṣṇa. We have, of course, the possibility that he drew from different sources, as these commentators often do, and that in one case he simply took the name as given : this is strongly supported by the fact that the verse which he cited is found also in the *Syādvādamañjarī* [6] of Malliṣeṇa, which was doubtless familiar to him ; if so, there is nothing in his evidence to negate the identity suggested by Takakusu. What is clear is that, as pointed out elsewhere,[7] we must distinguish between the Sāṁkhya teacher Vindhyavāsa or Vindhyavāsin and the Mīmāṁsā authority Vindhyavāsin, who rejected *inter alia* an ātivāhika çarīra, and cannot possibly have been Īçvarakṛṣṇa or perhaps even a writer on Sāṁkhya.

[1] *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 50 : apparently withdrawn later (Garbe, *Sâṁkhya-Philosophie*[2], p. 86).

[2] Guṇaratna, p. 108. [3] p. 151. [4] Bhojarāja on *Yoga Sūtra*, iv. 22.

[5] But he also cites the *Kārikā* without naming Īçvarakṛṣṇa (pp. 98, 102, 103, 109), and as at p. 103 he says Sāṁkhyair ittham ūce, it looks as if he were citing at second hand again. This is confirmed by his citation, slightly incorrectly, of *Kārikā* 62 (p. 107), as *Kāpilāḥ*, while just above an incorrect version of *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*, i, 2, 10, occurs. The citation from Patañjali (p. 105) is not in the *Yoga Sūtra*.

[6] Ed. (Chaukhambā Sanskrit series), p. 119 ; Jacob, *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 356.

[7] *Karma-Mīmāṁsā*, p. 59.

AN EMBASSY FROM KING JOHN TO THE EMPEROR OF MOROCCO

By E. Denison Ross

ON pages 559–64 of Vol. II of *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris (London, 1874) we find under the date of A.D. 1213 the following curious anecdote regarding King John. The heading runs: *Qualiter rex desperans miserit ad admiralium Murmelim.*[1] The story, which never seems to have attracted the attention it deserves, is of considerable interest to students of Islamic history, whether it be based on fact or no.

How the King in Despair sent to the Amír ul-Mu'minín

He therefore sent most secret envoys with all haste, namely Thomas of Herdington, Radulfus, son of Nicholas Esquire, and Robert of London, a cleric, to the Admiralius Murmelius, King of Africa, Morocco and Spain, who is commonly known as Miramumelinus (i.e. *Amír ul-Mu'minín*), announcing that he was fully prepared to hand over himself and his kingdom and to hold the same from him, and if it pleased [the Moorish king] would become his tributary. That he would not merely relinquish the Christian faith, which he considered vain, but would adhere faithfully to the law of Mohammed. Which, when the said envoys had secretly received, they arrived at the court of the said prince. They found a few armed men at the first gate guarding the inner approaches with drawn swords. At the second entrance (courtyard) to the palace they found soldiers armed to the fist and smarter than the former ones, and as one might judge, stronger and more noble than the others. In the second entrance of the inner palace they found what were apparently more powerful, more ferocious, and more numerous soldiers than in the first. When they were quietly ushered in, by permission of the amir himself (for their great king is called *admiralius*), the envoys, on behalf of their king that is of England, saluted respectfully and explained fully the reason of their coming, delivering a royal letter, which was clearly translated by an interpreter who had been called in. This having been understood, the king closed the book he had been perusing; for

[1] This narrative is also to be found in the *Gesta Abbatum S. Albani*, i, pp. 236–42 (Riley). An English version is to be found in the J. A. Giles' Translation of *Roger of Wendover* (vol. ii, pp. 283–6) [Bohn. London, 1849].

by his throne there was seated a scholar, a man of youthful age and stature, but mature in bearing, eloquent in speech, and circumspect. And after a little, as if conferring with himself, he replied, modestly saying: "I have just been reading a book in Greek written by a learned Greek Christian by name of Paul, whose manner and words have given me much pleasure, and *I accept them*. One thing about him, however, displeases me, namely that he did not remain in the faith in which he was born, but with inconstancy flew over to another one like a fugitive. And now I say the same thing of your English King, who in a waxen (soft) and unsteady way is sliding away [*glisit transmeare*] after abandoning the most holy and *universal* faith of the Christians in which he was born." And then he added: "The omnipotent God, the Creator of all things, from whom nothing is hidden, knows that if I were an infidel (*exlex*) I would choose that faith above all others, and would embrace it whole-heartedly." He next inquired what was the condition of the King of England and his kingdom. To this Thomas, the most eloquent of the envoys replied: "He was born of kingly ancestors, noble and free, his lands are rich and content with its blessings, cultivation, pastures, and meadows, and it abounds in forests. From it all kinds of metals are extracted by the process of *conflatilium* (smelting). Our race is erudite and ingenious, and learned in their tongues, namely Latin, French, and English, also fully instructed in liberal and mechanical arts. However, our land does not produce any vineyards or olive groves or fir-trees, but obtains these in abundance from neighbouring countries by way of trade. The air is salubrious and temperate; lying between the west and the north, it takes coolness from the north, and the result is an agreeable temperature. As it is encompassed round by the sea it may be called the Queen of Islands. Being a kingdom governed by an annointed and crowned [head], and being recognized from of old as free and ingenious (independent) looking to none but God for guidance. Our church and the practice of our religion there more than in any part of the world has prospered and is ruled by the Papal and royal laws."

Having heaved a deep sigh from the depth of his bosom, the [Moorish] king replied: "I have never either heard nor read of any king possessing such a prosperous and loyal kingdom, who wished of his own accord to ruin his own principality, and to turn a free into a tributary state, to pass it from himself to a stranger, and from happiness to misery, and to surrender himself unwounded voluntarily

to another. Rather I have often read and heard of those who with much shedding and spilling of blood have gained freedom for themselves, which is laudable. Now I learn that your master is despicable, mean, and cowardly, that he is less than a nobody: he wished to turn from a free man into a slave, which is most despicable, indeed most wretched—(*nullique miserabilis*)." He next inquired—but with contempt—regarding the king's age, figure, and physical strength. To which the following answer was given: "He is about fifty years of age, and wholly white haired, strong in body, not *stout* but well set up and strongly built." When the king heard this he said: "His strength of youth and manhood has already begun to cool and freeze. Within ten years, should he live so long, his strength will depart before he has achieved any real work if he now begins to go to pieces, nor shows any courage. He is really fifty, but he seems to be sixty. He'd better seek peace for the rest and lie low." [*Pace de cætero sibi adquirat et quiescat.*] Weighing all the questions and replies of the envoys, the king after a brief interval of silence, having indicated his great indignation by pantomimic gestures [*subsanatio*], the Amir heaped abuse on King John in the following words: "He is no king, he is only a knight who is already in senile decay; I care not a bit for him, he is not worthy of making an alliance with me." Then turning to Radulphus and Thomas, with a scowl he added: "Do not return to my presence, nor let your eyes look further on my face. The fame, or rather the infamy of your king, who has already apostasized, makes me positively ill." The envoys having therefore retired with blushes of shame: the amir or king happened to notice Robert of London, who was one of the envoys, and who was small and dark, with one arm longer than the other, and mis-shaped fingers—two being joined together—and the face of a Jew. The amir, thinking that such a despicable person could not be deputed to explain so difficult a mission unless he had knowledge and understanding, observing his crown and tonsure, and realizing that he was a cleric, he ordered him to be summoned, who while the others were talking had remained silent, standing at a distance. He having been retained while the others were spurned, the king spoke of many things with him in secret which Robert divulged to his friends afterwards. The king asked him various questions about King John of England, saying that if he deviated from the truth in his replies he would never believe a Christian, especially a cleric, again. Robert, taking an oath by his Christian faith, undertook to answer everything truthfully.

He then answered the king that John was a tyrant rather than a king, a subverter rather than a ruler, the oppressor of his own people, and envious of others, a lion to his own subjects, a lamb to foreigners and rebels: who by his greed had lost the Duchy of Normandy and many other lands: and, further, was thirsting either to lose or destroy the kingdom of England. After scurrilous allusion to the king and his court, when the amir heard these things, he cursed him in accordance with his own faith and said: "Why do these wretched men allow such a one to rule over them? Of a truth they are effeminate slaves." Robert replied: "The English are the most patient of men, until they are goaded beyond endurance. But now, being enraged, like a wounded lion or an elephant, they, though tardily, strive to remove their necks from under the yoke of the oppressor." And when the amir had heard all this he criticized the excessive patience of the English; which the interpreter, who was present throughout, declared properly interpreted as *formidolositas*. Robert returned laden with gifts, but none for John nor even a greeting. When the envoys returned home, and announced to their master what they had heard, John was much grieved to learn that he should have been so slightly spoken of by that amir, and that he should have been baulked in his scheme, but Robert, having shown his respect to the king by giving him some of the rich gifts he had received, managed to get a more favourable hearing than the rest, although he had at first been kept quietly in the background. The king therefore honoured him more than all the others, and this rascally plunderer granted him the custody of the Abbey of St. Albans, although it was not vacant. So that this renegade from the faith rewarded his cleric with the goods of another.

The Moorish king referred to is no doubt the Almohade Abū 'Abdullah An-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Abī Yūsuf, who ruled from A.H. 595 (A.D. 1199) to A.H. 610 (A.D. 1215). He was born in A.H. 576 (A.D. 1180). He is described by a contemporary writer, al-Marrâkeshī,[1] as being "brave but averse to the shedding of blood: and disinclined to discuss matters which he had not well studied." His reign of nearly sixteen years was mainly occupied with the suppression of revolts in Africa, but in A.H. 607 (A.D. 1210), owing to the rupture of the peace he had concluded with the King of Spain, he crossed the sea to attack the Christians. At the beginning of A.H. 608 (A.D. 1211) he entered the

[1] See R. Dozy, *History of the Almohades*. Text, second edition, Leiden, 1881, p. ٢٢١.

Christian territory and laid siege to the strong fortress of Salva Tierra, which he captured. He afterwards remained in Spain till the month of Ramaẓan, A.H. 609 (January, A.D. 1213), when he returned to Marrâkesh, where he died in Sha'ban, A.H. 610 (December, A.D. 1213). The embassy of King John, if it went to Morocco and found the Moorish king in his capital, must have arrived either before A.D. 1211 or after A.D. 1213, January.

However, from a passage which occurs on pp. 565–6 it appears that the expedition of the Moorish king into Spain took place after his interview with King John, and therefore the embassy of King John must have arrived before A.D. 1211, although in the Chronicle it appears under A.D. 1213. The passage in question runs as follows :—

"About this time the king, or emir, Murmelius, of whom mention was made above, with a large army which he had collected, with John's consent, as is said, determined to take forcible possession of the kingdom of Spain: and he was inspired with this boldness by the wavering faith of King John, and the interdict on that kingdom. When, however, the Christian followers of the king of Spain heard of this, they bravely opposed him, and dispersed his whole army, and drove them from the country, after slaying his eldest son and capturing his royal standard."

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

DIE BERGDAMA. Von H. VEDDER. (Hamburgische Universität: Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde.) $11 \times 7\frac{3}{4}$; vol. i, pp. 199; vol. ii, pp. 131. Hamburg: L. Friederichsen and Co., 1923.

The "Hill-Damara", as they are usually called in South Africa, have long provided one of the standing problems in anthropology. Cust, writing in 1883, says (*Modern Languages of Africa*, vol. ii, 438, 440): "A Negro race on the West Coast has been subdued by the Nama, and has adopted their language, and is called Dama or 'Conquered' . . . Their proper name is Hawkoin [this is disproved by Herr Vedder, who shows that it is merely the Nama word for 'strangers']; the Nama call them Ghoudama. They are . . . in something akin to the Bushmen, loving the solitude of the desert and not caring for dwellings [but] possessing flocks and skilful in gardens and agriculture: small of stature and oppressed by the Herero and Nama, numbering thirty thousand at least, according to Palgrave." Herr Vedder puts their number, in recent years, at not more than 25,000. The form "Damara", as he points out, originated in an error, *-ra* being the feminine dual suffix. No doubt some inquirer, seeing two women and asking of what tribe they were, mistook the import of the answer "They are two Dama (women)".

It is the first time that a thorough study has been made of this intensely interesting tribe—"ein Völkchen, das entschieden das allerprimitivste des ganzen afrikanischen Südens ist." The author—who over ten years ago published in the *Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen* an excellent grammar of the Bushman language—has lived long enough in the country to be on intimate terms with a very shy and difficult people, and has thus collected an amount of information whose value cannot easily be over-estimated. This applies more especially to the sections headed respectively "Die Familie" and "Religion und Aberglaube": but there is not a page in the book which the student can afford to neglect. The first volume appeals more especially to the anthropologist, the second to the linguist, but the latter, with its collection of carefully elucidated songs and proverbs, has an interest beyond the merely philological one.

The institution of the "Sacred fire" (pp. 20–38) is one to which

special attention should be directed. It appears to be peculiar to the Dama among non-Bantu and the Herero among Bantu tribes, and there is no indication that either has borrowed it from the other. The Herero living beyond the Kunene (known as Ovatjimba), who remained behind when the main body migrated southward, and have never been in contact with the Dama, observe this custom: and there are several striking differences in the ritual as practised by the two peoples. The Herero have no special tabus connected with the sacred fire—the Dama have many, and extinguish it if any one of them is infringed. The official called *tsā-am-aob* (translated by Vedder "Speisemeister"), whose functions are intimately connected with the sacred fire of the Dama, is quite unknown to the Herero. On the other hand, the Herero carefully and reverently preserve the drill used for lighting the fire, and hand it down from father to son: the Dama attach no special value to this implement.

The Dama social organization is of the most primitive kind. The family is the largest unit, and no kraal (*werft* is the word in use here) contains more than one family—if we understand by this word the direct descendants of a man still living. There is no chief, but the head of the family. His head wife is the guardian of the sacred fire, and his right-hand man is the "Speisemeister" already mentioned, whose duties are to taste all provisions brought in (no doubt in order to take off a tabu, as Bantu chiefs have to taste the first of the new crops, so that it may be safe for the people to use them), to cook and distribute the meat, to attend to the sacred fire and kindle it afresh when necessary from the embers kept for the purpose in the head wife's hut. He is also employed as a messenger to other kraals, and is expected to possess a knowledge of medicinal herbs. He is appointed by the chief—not necessarily from among the members of his own family. "Der Ursprung dieses merkwürdigen Amtes . . . ist rätselhaft."

Enough has been said to show that we have here a noteworthy contribution to anthropological research, in a field where hitherto very scanty results have been obtained. It may be noted in passing, that the much-discussed Kattea or "Vaalpens" of the Transvaal, who have sometimes been set down as entirely mythical, are, in all probability "Bergdama". The author's remarks on the enormous difference observable in physique between those Dama who eke out a miserable existence in the Otavi hills, and those who go to work on farms—where they are well and regularly fed—recall the statement of Colonel Hodson (in a lecture delivered at this School) as to the higher type of

features and general appearance produced in the jungle tribes of India by improved conditions of living. It seems to be suggested that many so-called racial characteristics are less permanent than was once thought to be the case.

A. WERNER.

KILIMANJARO AND ITS PEOPLE: A HISTORY OF THE WACHAGGA, THEIR LAWS, CUSTOMS, AND LEGENDS, TOGETHER WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE HIGHEST MOUNTAIN IN AFRICA. By the Hon. CHARLES DUNDAS, O.B.E. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$: pp. 348. London: H. F. & G. Witherby, 326 High Holborn. 1924.

Very little has appeared in English relative to the Wachaga since the publication of Sir Harry Johnston's *Kilimanjaro Expedition*. Mr. Dundas has been resident for many years in East Africa, latterly as Senior Commissioner in the Tanganyika Territory, and has made the fullest use of his opportunities for inquiring into the life of a little-known and extremely interesting people. The first chapter, containing a detailed description of the mountain (the summit was first reached by Dr. Hans Meyer in 1889), will be specially attractive to climbers. Some earlier travellers—no doubt unacquainted with the language, and staying too short a time to have any real intercourse with the people—have asserted that there are no myths or legends connected with Kilimanjaro, and that it does not seem in any way to have impressed the Chaga imagination. How far this is from the truth has already been demonstrated by Gutmann, and Mr. Dundas shows clearly what an important factor in tribal life it is. The highest peak, Kibo, "is the great landmark and focus of the Chaga people . . . The dead are buried with the face turned towards Kibo: the side of the village facing Kibo is the honourable side, where the house-master is buried, and the villagers assemble for feasts and councils."

The Wachaga appear to be a people of composite origin who have, in the course, probably, of some five centuries, evolved a singularly homogeneous culture, though never arriving at a political unity. They now form "twenty-eight small states, the population of which varies from 1,000 to 20,000 inhabitants", and of which, sometimes one, sometimes another has attained a sort of local and temporary supremacy. Some clans trace their descent from the Kamba, Taita, and other Bantu tribes, others from the Masai and Dorobo, but Mr. Dundas is disposed to think the Kamba the predominant strain. It seems probable that both Kamba and Chaga started from a common centre,

the former having migrated to the north and the latter to the south; "the people of the small district called Keni in Rombo [on the S.E. slope of Kilimanjaro] have a tradition that they are the ancestors of the Kamba tribe, and curiously enough I have often been told by the Kamba that they came from the region of Kilimanjaro."

There are legends of an aboriginal pygmy tribe called the Wakonyingo, who were encountered by the first Chaga settlers. These have become in legend the "Elves" or "Good People" who haunt the upper part of the mountain, recalling, in some particulars, the mythical characteristics attributed to the Bushmen of South Africa. Canon MacCulloch suggests that all the varied folk-lore concerned with elves, dwarfs, trolls, etc., may have grown out of a belief in the *ghosts* of vanished pygmy races. Another tradition relates to the *Umbo* people, who invaded Kilimanjaro from Usambara, or, according to some "were driven out of their own country and passed westwards into an unknown land. The horde was so vast that it took seven days for the whole to pass". It is remarkable that a similar name to this crops up in at least three different parts of Africa. Near Mount Kenya we have the *Embu*, in Nyasaland the *A-mbo*, inland from Quelimane; further south, the Zulu *Aba-mbo*. The account given by the Wachaga suggests the migration of the Zimba, who spread such terror in the sixteenth century, and who may or may not be identical with the "Jagas" who appeared on the Congo a hundred years later—but no identity of name can be suggested here, even if it were possible to take the *zi-* of Zimba for a prefix.

Many interesting passages call for quotation, but enough has been said to show that we have here a most valuable contribution to African anthropology. One is glad to see the appreciative notices of B. Gutmann, a writer whose work is far too little known in this country; much of Mr. Dundas' book is avowedly based on it, and some passages actually translated. But—as will be obvious to anyone who takes the trouble to compare the parallel passages in *Dichten und Denken der Dschagga*[1]*-Neger* and *Volksbuch der Wadschagga*—Mr. Dundas has obtained independent versions of most, if not all, of the tales and legends. We would take this opportunity of calling attention to a highly important series of papers by the same writer, in the *Zeitschrift für*

[1] German writers mostly adhere to this spelling, which suggests a doubt whether the initial consonant is voiced or not. Sir H. H. Johnston has adopted "Caga". "Chaga" seems to be the most satisfactory form for general use. It is not clear why Mr. Dundas has retained the double *g*, while rejecting the *dsch*: this would be an unprecedented phenomenon in Bantu.

Eingeborenensprachen for 1923–4, entitled "Kerbstocklehren der Wadschagga", giving an account of the teaching symbolically conveyed by the old men in the initiation ceremonies, by means of notched sticks forming a kind of *memoria technica*. Mr. Dundas does not mention this, though he alludes to something of the sort as forming part of the girls' initiation.

A. W.

ASHANTI. By Captain R. S. RATTRAY, M.B.E. (Gold Coast Political Service.) 9×5½; pp. 348. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923.

Captain Rattray has already rendered signal service, both to anthropology and linguistics, by his *Chinyanja Folk-Lore* (surely this ought to be reprinted!), *Hausa Folk-Lore, Ashanti Proverbs*, and his grammar of the little-known Mole language. But we may be pardoned for thinking that the present volume surpasses in value all his previous works. It is a determined and, one is convinced, successful effort to get below the surface of Ashanti belief and ritual, and to show that much which seems to us strange and even repulsive is not without its reason, and that a relatively sound one. The name Ashanti is for most of us associated with unspeakable horrors of blood and licence—though Dr. R. A. Freeman and Dr. Claridge should have done something towards dissipating that ancient prejudice—so that a passage like the following will come with a shock of surprise: "I approached these old people and this difficult subject (their religious beliefs) in the spirit of one who came to them as a seeker after truths . . . which not all the learning nor all the books of the white man could ever give to me.

". . . I attended these ceremonies with all the reverence and respect I could accord to something which I felt to have been already very old before the religion of my country had yet been born as a new thought, yet not so entirely new, but that even its roots stretched back and were fed from that same stream which still flows in Ashanti to-day."

Some of the invocations and prayers here translated are very remarkable, and equally so the "oracles", utterances of a priest or medium, e.g. the following ascribed to the spirit Ta Kora:

"From the time of Osai Tutu until the reign of Agyiman, if any one were in need and he came to me and told me, I made it right for him . . . I am called Ta Kora, if it be that anything is spoiled, I mend it (*kora*, to mend) . . . The man who loves me comes to me, and when he goes away, I shall stand behind him and accompany him on a good path that he may go his way. And this one who has come

[Captain Rattray], I grant him permission to go to my rock should he wish to go. Let him go and behold the place where I reside . . . Many of my children say they will go to school, and I do not stand in their path and say they must not serve the Supreme God. In my own being, I am the son of God, and if my grandchildren say that the white man loves me and has drawn nigh to me, I, too, shall stand behind him."

The detailed description of the various ceremonies which the author witnessed in person, and which were explained to him by the most competent native authorities, is extremely valuable. The fact that he was allowed to be present—and was, moreover, conducted to the most jealously guarded sacred places: the Bosomtwe Lake, the source of the Tano and the Bosomtwe Rock—speaks volumes for the confidence with which he has been able to inspire the people.

The chapter on the Drum Language (the substance of which has already appeared in the African Society's *Journal*) introduces a subject of great interest, and one not hitherto studied in detail by any English writer. It appears that phoneticians do not agree with the writer as to the possibility of rendering the *tones* of the language on the drum, but this point cannot be argued here. Of great importance, also, are the very full discussion of relationship systems contained in Chapters I and II—in which, incidentally, an entirely unexpected light is thrown on the position of Ashanti women—and the account of land tenure in Chapter XXI. Attention must also be directed to the passages dealing with the Golden Stool, which has been the object of so much misapprehension. The question of the Ashanti "gold-weights" which has been a standing puzzle to the ethnographer (some having come to the conclusion that they were not weights at all, but a kind of *memoria technica* for tales and proverbs) is very fully elucidated, and, we venture to think, finally settled.

The general appearance of the volume is quite in keeping with the traditions of the Oxford University Press, and the numerous photographs are of unusual interest, and sometimes of real beauty.

A. W.

Die Kpelle-Sprache in Liberia. Grammatische Einführungen, Texte und Wörterbuch. Von Diedrich Westermann. $9\frac{1}{2} \cdot 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. vii—278. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, Hamburg: C. Boysen, 1924.

Kpelle is a member of the Mande (Mandingo) speech-group, which occupies an extensive area in West Africa. This is well shown in

Sir H. H. Johnston's map (*Liberia*, vol. ii, p. 1093), but should be somewhat extended, as this writer does not include Kpelle (called by him Kpwesi or Gbele [1]) in the Mandingo group. There seems no doubt, however, that it should be so placed, and that, with its sub-dialects of Toma, Gbunde, and Gbande, and the closely related Mano, Gio, and Mende languages, it forms a subdivision which Westermann calls the Kpelle-Mende group. This belongs, with Susu and some others, to what M. Delafosse has called the *Mande-fu* division, *fu* being their word for the numeral 10, while other Mande languages have *tan* or *tamu*.

The Mande languages "bilden eine geschlossene Einheit von eigenem Typus" and cannot be classed with the author's Sudanic family, as the greater number of their word-stems consist of two syllables, in marked contrast to the monosyllabic basis of the latter. Another peculiarity is the change in the initial consonant of a noun when used definitely (voiceless consonants become voiced, voiced ones prefix a nasal)—a change which takes the place of an article. But the definite noun, in addition, takes a suffix, and as the plural is also formed by means of a suffix, it is a little difficult to understand Professor Westermann's remark, "Die Affixlosigkeit teilen sie [die Mandingosprachen] mit den Krusprachen und dem Songai." In genitive construction the possessor comes before the thing possessed—the reverse arrangement to that of the Bantu languages: and the position of the direct object is between the subject and the verb.

Tone is a conspicuous feature in Kpelle, though stress is not altogether absent: there is a slight stress on the stem-syllable in polysyllabic words. Pairs of similar words only distinguishable by tone are not uncommon: thus, *yē* with the level tone is "hand", but with the high tone "cotton".

The grammar proper only takes up twenty pages of Professor Westermann's book, but, as he says, it does not profess "eine voll ständige Darstellung des Sprachbaues zu geben, sondern will nur das Verständnis der Texte und den Gebrauch des Wörterbuches erleichtern." The texts, indeed, are the most valuable part of the work, and will appeal, not only to the student of language but also to the anthropologist. They comprise descriptions of native industries, institutions and customs, tales and legends, etc.

The notation employed is Meinhof's (adapted from Lepsius),

[1] N. W. Thomas (*Specimens of Languages from Sierra Leone*) calls it "Pwese"; other writers "Pessy" and "Pessa".

which, in the absence of a universal agreement on the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association, is, perhaps, the most satisfactory that could be adopted.

A. WERNER.

NOTES ON THE SPEECH AND HISTORY OF THE TUMBUKA-HENGA PEOPLES. By the Rev. T. CULLEN YOUNG, C.A. 7×5, pp. 223. Livingstonia: Mission Press, 1923.

The Tumbuka-Henga (the reason for this composite designation is given in Mr. Cullen Young's preface) inhabit the region west of the north end of Lake Nyasa. The language strongly resembles Nyanja, but preserves various features which tend to be lost in the latter—e.g. the *li-* prefix of Class 5, and the distinct forms for "father" and "mother" according to relationship with the speaker, as in Zulu. The three locative classes evidently exist (see p. 98) though not recognized as such. The author's modest apology for "entire lack of training for scientific grammar-making as now understood" must disarm criticism, and the amount of first-hand material here collected —with an amount of care and patience only to be estimated by any one who has personally attempted the same work—outweighs in value the most thoroughly "scientific" grammar compiled on theoretical lines only. But we may be permitted to dissent from the view that "Dative" is the best term to use for the verbal form in *-ira* (*-era*). Mr. Cullen Young says that it "has not yet received any accepted title". This is so far true that no one term has yet gained universal acceptance; but "Applied" and "Prepositional" have so far distanced all competitors; and of these (both of which seem preferable to "Dative") I should unhesitatingly vote for the former. The section headed "The Alphabet" (which, as its very title implies, is written without reference to recent developments in phonetics) is disappointing in that it contains no reference to the combinations so unusual in Bantu, *sk*, *zg* (*ŵiske*, *baulizga*). It is not easy to see whether this is a case of a vowel being dropped between the two consonants: analogy seems to suggest that they might represent a sound occurring in other languages as *sh*, *zh* (ʃ. ʒ.), (*ŵiske* "his father" =*ishe* in Shambala, Old Swahili, and elsewhere).

A curious point is the existence of a word *lichila* "hammock", evidently a back-formation from *machila*, borrowed from the Portuguese (probably through the Anyanja), and regarded as a plural. The origin of this word, however, seems by no means certain.

The "Notes on the Origins and History of the Tumbuka-Henga Peoples" are most valuable, and should be commended to the attention of all ethnologists. The Portuguese records show, in the light of present-day knowledge, that some tribes at least occupied approximately their present positions as much as 300 years ago, which entails some modification of the current view. The Tumbuka tribe, by the by, are mentioned by Lacerda as "inhabiting the upper reaches of the Loangwa" in 1796.

A. W.

AFRIKANISCHE RELIKTE UND INDIANISCHE ENTLEHNUNGEN IN DER KULTUR DER BUSCHNEGER SURINAMS. EINE VERGLEICHENDE ETHNOGRAPHISCHE STUDIE. Von GERHARD LINDBLOM. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7$. pp. 120. 1 plate, 29 illustrations in text. Göteborg (Sweden): Wettergren and Kerber, 1924.

This interesting study, which, however, professes to be merely preliminary and tentative, is based on an examination of the objects brought from Surinam by Baron Klinkowström in 1890, and now deposited in the Stockholm Museum. Though Dr. Lindblom has not in this case carried out his inquiries in situ, he is by no means inexperienced in field-work, as proved by his study of the Akamba, published some years ago. On the whole, the results arrived at go to show that the negroes of Guiana mostly came from the Gold Coast and adjacent regions, though there are some traces of derivation from the Congo—e.g. in the *kifunga* charm, a sort of tripod erected at the entrance of a village, to keep away evil influences. Dr. Laman is quoted by the author as deriving this word from the Kikongo verb *funga*, which he renders "vertreiben (Geister, etc.)." But it might be pointed out that the Swahili *funga* "fasten" is used of securing a place with similar charms ("binding" the spirits, as it were), and rough arches, like those described by Plehn for Kamerun (quoted on pp. 90, 91), are sometimes, in East Africa, set up as a protection against epidemics. This *funga* appears to be derived from a primitive Bantu root (for which Meinhof suggests the form *tûnga*), which might easily acquire the special meaning it now has in Kikongo, as in Zulu it has become restricted to that of "swearing". The wooden lock figured on p. 21 also occurs in some parts of East Africa—where it is clearly derived from Arabia. But in spite of such stray links with the east, it seems quite clear that the negro population of Surinam is mainly of West African origin.

A. W.

U TULASIZWE. U HLANGAKULA. Collected and edited by J. STUART, Assistant Secretary for Native Affairs, Natal. pp. 123, pp. 160, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$. LONGMANS' KAFIR READERS (Sub-Standard A and B, Standards I and II). Longmans, Green & Co.

We have received from Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co. two of the excellent Zulu Readers prepared for the use of Native schools in Natal by Mr. James Stuart, formerly Magistrate at Durban, whose knowledge of Zulu is equalled by few, if any, Europeans. The texts here given have all been dictated by natives, and comprise traditional narratives, folk-tales, some of the praise-chants (*izibongo*) of the Zulu kings, descriptions of customs (such as the *Umkosi*, or feast of first-fruits), and crafts (the cutting-out of hide shields, and carving of knob-kerries and throwing-sticks) and proverbs (*iziga*). If we might venture a criticism it would be to regret that so many of the texts deal with incidents calculated to give an exaggerated idea of Zulu ferocity and bloodthirstiness. One wishes, for instance, that the editor could have included an account of Cetshwayo's "City of Refuge" for unfortunates accused of witchcraft and the noble eulogy of the same chief pronounced by Ndabuko and others, in 1880. These two Readers (a better description would be "collections of Zulu literature") will be found very useful for Europeans learning the language (especially as the old and unusual words occurring in the songs are explained in notes), and the same may be said of the admirable Xosa (Kafir) Readers for which the Rev. Candlish Koti is responsible. These last are not so exclusively derived from Native sources, containing a certain amount of translated or adapted matter, but, the author being himself a Xosa, the language may be accepted as unimpeachable. Both these important South African dialects (they practically form one language) are taught in this School, and the Readers will be very welcome as class-books.

A. W.

THE EAST INDIA HOUSE. By WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E. (The Bodley Head, 12s. 6d. net.)

This most interesting volume throws light from many unexpected quarters on the history of the East India Company. It contains, for instance, the first precisely accurate description of the early organization of the Company, about which so many historians have gone astray. It traces the growth of the Company's great house which lay in the angle between Leadenhall Street and Lime Street, it narrates the

doings, many of them quaint, and some of them significant, of the Court of Directors. It describes the organization of the home servants, who included not only men of letters like Lamb and Peacock, but Orientalists like Wilkins and Wilson. Mr. Foster does not forget to provide his readers with an account of the origin of the India Office Library, in 1798, when the Company decided to create an "Oriental Repository", in 1801 appointing Wilkins Librarian, and assembling the books and curiosities till then scattered through the departments and warehouses. The Company was a generous and discerning patron, and set a noble example to its successor, the Secretary of State in Council, in the way of acquiring MSS. and encouraging the study of the East.

H. H. D.

A SHORT HISTORY OF INDIA. By E. B. HAVELL. (Macmillan, 3s. 6d.)

This little book is intended for use in schools. It is written in an interesting manner—particularly that part of it which relates to the Hindu period, although Mr. Havell appears to believe that the whole of Indian civilization was imported by the Aryan-speaking tribes. The later part is disfigured in several places by curious errors of detail. For instance, on p. 199, Clive is said to have only just reached Madras when the news of the Black Hole arrived: on p. 204 a salt-monopoly is alleged to have been granted to the Company by Mīr Ja'far: on p. 206 we are told that the Company acquired Benares ten years before its cession: and on p. 220, the functions of the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors are completely misunderstood.

H. H. D.

DU GENRE GRAMMATICAL EN SEMITIQUE. By M. FÉGHALI and A. CUNY. pp. 101. Paris (Geuthner), 1924.

MM. Féghali and Cuny, armed with M. Meillet's theory on the origin of grammatical gender in the Indo-European languages, have set out to blaze a pioneer trail through the forest of Semitic gender. Although the Semitic languages have no neuter, they assume, on the very slender ground of the existence of a neuter pronoun in ancient Egyptian and in Berber, that proto-Semitic did originally possess an "inanimate" category, and aim at proving that the nouns which are characterized by a "feminine" termination are its representatives in the later Semitic languages. Their actual arguments, however, go to show no more than that in a number of cases the "feminine" termination is a later addition to an originally undifferentiated form. It seems essential

to the success of any investigation of gender in Semitic to determine the origin and function of the "feminine" terminations, but the authors content themselves with a few vague allusions to this. One is surprised also to find them deprecating reference to semantic categories, for not only is M. Meillet's own argument almost entirely semantic, but it is difficult to conceive that the theory can be demonstrated on any other basis. It is not enough to show that many words which are neuter in Indo-European are feminine in Semitic: it must be shown, if the author's thesis is to be proved, that the feminine attribution conceals a conception of the objects as inanimate. Moreover, MM. Féghali and Cuny have not taken into account the fact that the triliteral structure of Semitic necessitates some modification of the methods applied to Indo-European roots: derivatives, for example, and plurals (at least in Arabic) can rarely, if ever, be cited in evidence. Finally, any thorough investigation of Semitic genders must surely utilize to some extent the researches of Littmann, Schwabe, Albrecht, Fischer, Rosenberg, Brockelmann, and Barth, to mention but a few of those who have already made a substantial clearing in the forest.

H. A. R. G.

INDIAN PAINTING UNDER THE MUGHALS, A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1750. By PERCY BROWN. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924.

The student of Indian painting of the Muhammadan period has no longer ground for complaint of lack of material for the purposes of study. The attractive series of coloured cards issued by the British Museum has made a certain number of these paintings widely known, and in two publications of the India Museum some of the finest examples of the schools of Humayun and Jahangir have been reproduced. The contributions made by German scholars are perhaps less well known in this country, e.g. Dr. Ernst Kühnel in his *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient*, 1922, gives nearly 50 examples of Indian paintings, and the same author has, in collaboration with Dr. Hermann Goetz, recently brought out a magnificent volume—*Indische Buchmalereien aus dem Jahângîr-Album der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*—which very successfully reproduces in colour a collection of pictures, once in the possession of the Emperor Jahangir. This work, with its scholarly text and its detailed study of the individual pictures, indicates the direction in which future publications may best aid the study of Indian painting of the Muhammadan period, namely, the preparation of monographs upon separate collections or volumes, the pictures of

which clearly belong to one and the same period. For Mr. Percy Brown's comprehensive work will render unnecessary for some time any attempt to take a complete survey of the whole field. No writer upon this subject has hitherto made so ample a use of the historical material available for tracing the development of Indian painting during the two centuries of its richest manifestation under the patronage of the Mughal Emperors, nor has any collected together illustrations from so many diverse sources. The list of painters which Mr. Percy Brown has compiled is the fullest that has yet been published; but it may be doubted whether the number of painters was so large as the list of names would seem to imply, for one and the same artist was often indicated in more than one way. Mr. Percy Brown himself suggests that the same painter is at one time called Ghulām Ikhlās and at another Ikhlās only (pp. 196–7), but he assigns a separate individuality to Ghulām, the painter of the elephant picture in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (reproduced in Plate LVI), though the Persian inscription clearly gives the word Ikhlās. Similarly, it may be doubted whether Bābū and Bābū Ustād; Kesu and Kesu Gujarātī and Kesu Kahār; Mādho and Mādho Katan, or Mādho Khurd; and others in this list, were really separate persons. Much work still remains to be done before the individuality of each of the artists who worked for the Mughal Emperors can be exactly determined—if indeed such an attempt can ever be successful at all, and Mr. Percy Brown has clearly stated the difficulties in the way (p. 109 sq.); but in any case the work of future investigators will be much facilitated by the list, with its ample references, that he has so laboriously compiled. It is somewhat strange that Mr. Percy Brown, with his long experience of life in India, should describe Muhammadan dervishes as "priests" (Plates XLI, LI, LXVI, LXVII); Plate LI represents some of the most famous saints in the history of Muhammadan India; Plate LXVII is described as "Priests discussing the Qur'an", but such devout personages as are here depicted would never have placed the Word of God where this book lies, and the writing on it clearly shows that it is not a Qur'an. But these are trifling blemishes in a work of such outstanding merit, which will serve to stimulate interest in this somewhat neglected period of the history of painting; and Mr. Percy Brown's book is sure of a welcome for its own sake, having been produced with all the stateliness of type and splendour of illustration that make the publications of the Clarendon Press so supremely attractive.

T. W. ARNOLD.

Silberschmiedearbeiten aus Kurdistan. Von Rudolf Berliner und Paul Borchardt. Mit 15 Text Abbildungen und 20 Tafeln. Dietrich Reimer, Ernst Vohsen Verlag in Berlin, 1922.

This monograph is based on a collection of silver ornaments and other small objects brought together by Mr. Borchardt in 1916–18 while he was a member of the Turco-German Military Mission in Kurdistan. A short description of the town of Suleimaniye, the headquarters of the Mission, is given, together with a few notes on the population of the district. We are further told that the silversmiths in Kurdistan are generally Jews, as is often the case throughout the Mohammedan East. Their tools, workshop, materials, and methods of work are described in detail.

The collection, consisting of forty odd pieces, includes specimens of mirror cases, clasps, belts, buttons, daggers, different small ornaments, and charms. According to the *motifs* of decoration and quality of workmanship, they are divided by Mr. Berliner into three groups :—

Group 1 : Specimens of superior workmanship displaying a style of decoration which Mr. Berliner regards as being due to Western influences.

Group 2 : Imitations of the former, of inferior workmanship.

Group 3 : The largest as to the number of pieces. Objects belonging to the types already well known from other countries of the Near and Middle East.

Objects of groups 2 and 3 only are still being produced locally. The state of our knowledge concerning Kurdistan does not allow us to determine with certainty the origin and age of group 1, and of the older specimens of group 2. Even the origin of the style peculiar to groups 1, and 2, is explained differently by the two authors, Mr. Borchardt thinking, contrary to Mr. Berliner's belief, that we need not seek a Western source of inspiration for their designs which can be easily deduced from old Sassanian *motifs* of neighbouring Persia.

A descriptive catalogue of all the objects collected, which are also reproduced on twenty excellent plates, completes the work.

P. Borowsky.

Assyrian Medical Texts. By R. Campbell Thompson, M.A., F.S.A., Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. 34 pp., 10 × 7. London : John Bale, Sons, and Danielson, 1924.

This work consists of translations of several Assyrian medical texts in the British Museum, with copious notes, and deals with

"Diseases of the Head", "To turn grey hair black", etc., and "Diseases of the Eyes". These inscriptions, which not improbably have a Babylonian origin, have attracted the attention of many eminent Assyriologists. Assyriological learning of past years, however, was not equal to the task of translating these difficult inscriptions, and even now many more texts, and many more explanatory lists will be needed, before satisfactory renderings can be made.

In all probability it will be asked what constitutes the special difficulty of these inscriptions. The answer is simple: they are difficult for the same reason that the omen-tablets are difficult: because of the large number of ideographs employed. This peculiarity leads naturally to the probability that the specialist-scribes who wrote them aimed at keeping their contents as secret as possible—like the medical men of to-day. Nevertheless, the remedies are set forth in such a way that the methods of cure employed have all the fullness of detail which the student of Assyro-Babylonian medicine (it was evidently based on a long series of experiments extending, perhaps, over hundreds of years) could possibly desire. As an example of the remedies used, I quote here one of the prescriptions as translated by Professor Campbell Thompson:—

⌜If] scab has infected ⌜a man]'s ⌜head], it tickles him, and should he remove (it), the ⌜scab ?] increases. ⌜Take] seed of *arnoglosson* . . . dust of *diki* of caper, dust of sesame, dust of *millet, dung of the doves of a mountain-palm . . . thou shalt knead (these) in hot rose-water, press, cool, (and) bind.

This rendering of the prescription differs from that of the author, but I have simply condensed it to its shorter literalness. In all the main points the translation is his.

It is to be noted, that these medical inscriptions are exceedingly fragmentary, and when we take this into consideration, it is surprising that Professor Campbell Thompson has been able to get good sense out of them. The following is an extract of which about two-thirds of the two lines of which it consists is preserved:—

⌜If a man]'s ⌜head] . . . is sick, thou shalt bray *saṣumtu*, *murdudū* . . . MU.UN.SIR (?) together, knead in rose-water, press on his head, ⌜bind, and for three days not take off].

Of course it is possible that, when the completing words are found, the prescription will not read quite like this, but in the meantime we have the probable sense of the inscription. Naturally we should like

to know what the herbs *saṣumtu murdudū*.[1] and others in the gap, really were. Also, what was this "sickness" of the head? With regard to the possibility that the restoration "head" may be wrong, it is to be noted that the possessive pronoun *-su* suggests that the preceding word was *qaqqad* "head".

The Babylonian women, like those of modern times, viewed with apprehension the possibility of losing their hair, as the following extract shows :—

Enimenimma : Šârat qaqqad sinništi išaḫḫaḫ.
Incantation : Should a woman's hair get thin.

Ritual : Thou shalt take her *mušadi* (perhaps "hair-ribbon", "fillet"), plait a cord, *urṭē* (fibres ?) of the bark (?) of a palm of the north thou shalt spin ; hair of a white horse, 7 and 7 knots thou shalt tie, in her hair thou shalt bind ; thou shalt recite the charm 7 times . . . for 3 days the back of her neck will hurt her ; until her hair remains firm, thou shalt not release (it).

But Assyro-Babylonian medicine occupied itself with many other things than scabies, or itching, or falling hair. The following is one of those dealing with maladies of the eyes :—

If a man's [eyes] are sick, and matter (?) is secreted on his temples, [thou shalt spread] tanners' verdigris on vellum (?), on [his eyes] bind ; bray copper-dust (? copper filings), arsenic, yellow sulphide of arsenic, mix in curd, apply to his eyes . . .

There are also incantations for the cure of diseases of the eyes, and the Babylonians were probably not far from the truth when they attributed toothache to a "worm"—indeed, the progress in medicine made from 2000 B.C. onwards was quite creditable. Nevertheless, the remedies may, at times, have done more harm than good.

Professor Thompson has opened up very satisfactorily a really difficult branch of Assyriological study in this little monograph, and we may hope to see still more successful renderings by him in future publications.

T. G. PINCHES.

[1] From its form, *saṣumtu* is clearly Semitic, but *murdudū*, from the characters used to express the reduplicate ending, is just as certainly Sumerian. A possible rendering of the latter, *šam murdudū*, would be "herb making strength", or the like, suggesting some drug with especially tonic properties.

THE H. WELD-BLUNDELL COLLECTION IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM. VOL. I, SUMERIAN AND SEMITIC RELIGIOUS AND HISTORICAL TEXTS. By S. LANGDON, M.A. (Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Inscriptions.) 60 pp. and 45 plates, $12 \times 9\frac{1}{2}$. Oxford University Press, 1923.

Notwithstanding the small number of pages, their size makes this book a work of considerable extent, in spite of the comparatively short introductory paragraphs. According to the descriptive list, the texts are twenty-two in number, and include cones, cylinders, tablets, prisms, bricks, and slabs. Most of the texts are Babylonian, but some (bricks mainly) come from Assyria. In the list of contents the order is that of the running numbers of the Weld-Blundell collection.

The material now published was obtained by Mr. H. Weld-Blundell, of Queen's College, Oxford, on the occasion of his visit to Mesopotamia in 1921, and later with the valuable aid of Captain Cook of the Ministry of Awḳaf in Bagdad. In conjunction with the Field Museum at Chicago, excavations were afterwards made at Kish (Aḥaimer), which, with the neighbouring mounds of Umm Gharra, will entail much work. During the first season, the temple-tower Unir-kidurmaḫ was laid bare on two sides, and the platform of the temple É-mete-ursag was located. Both these buildings had been restored by Samsu-iluna, son of Ḫammurabi, Ramman-abla-iddina, and Nebuchadrezzar. The explorer of these ruins was Mr. Mackay. The finds have been of considerable archæological importance.

Many inscriptions in the present publication are of considerable length, though short ones are also to be found. Among the most noteworthy is the first (W.-B. 162), which seems to be a legend concerning Enmer-kar, king of Erech, possibly of about 2300 B.C. The introductory lines are imperfect, and doubt therefore exists as to the real nature of the inscription. In Professor Langdon's introductory notes, he points out that the legend, archaic though it is in its present form, goes back to the prehistoric period, and deals with the time when the deity Umun-banda (non-dialectic En-banda) or Lugal-banda, "the king of youthful strength," was king, and the dominion of the Babylonian states was transferred from Aśnunnak to Unug (Erech). According to col. ii, 1, 13, the Amorite was, even at that early date, in the land. It is to be noted that this geographical name has no determining suffix, but the words *lu še-nu-zu* "man not knowing obedience" which follow may be regarded as rendering this unnecessary. The foundation of Erech seems to have been regarded as going back 50 sossi (*ninnû šuš*) of years—3,000 in all—before this legend was written.

The interest taken by women in the religion of the Babylonians is well exemplified by the record of the building of a temple to Nin-êgal "an underworld-deity", by Simak (?)-Inninni, one of the wives of Rîm-Sin, king of Elassar. The cone upon which the text is inscribed was dug up at Senkara. Inninni is described as the eldest daughter of *Zuenna*, the moon-god Sin, and Professor Langdon is undoubtedly right in identifying her with Ištar, who, in going down to the Underworld to seek Tammuz, her spouse, was regarded as one of the deities of that region. The description of the goddess, as given in her various titles, is excellently expressed. She was the great lady knowing the whole of the dark-headed multitude which Anu, Enlil, (and) Enki had delivered into her hand, and whose judgment and decisions she constantly directed. It was also she who, "solicitous" and wise, made (their) decisions. As a leader of the great gods, she was the supreme word (*enim-maḫ*), whose utterance was unrivalled. These and other honorific phrases show this divinity—not as the unwedded mother-goddess, but as occupying a glorious place in the wide heavens, and as the wife who hears intercession (*dam arazue giš-tuġ*). Of the two readings of the goddess's name, Ereš-ê-gal is probably better than Nin-ê-gal—she descended to the underworld as a bride seeking "the husband of her youth".

The "Hymn to Nidaba, the Grain-Goddess", seems to have contained originally about 120 lines. This is undoubtedly owing to its subject, a very interesting text, for the goddess of grain was naturally the deity to whom all men owed the preservation of their lives. Nidaba was the Sumerian pronunciation of her name, but this appears in Akkadian as *Nisaba*, implying that the *d* was pronounced as *dh* (*th*), and softened in Akkad to *s*—the usual fate of *th* in the Arabic of Syria. As pointed out by the author, Nidaba is associated in the "theological" lists with a deity named Ḫani, who is also mentioned in this inscription. Ḫani, however, seems to be closely connected with Ašnan, the goddess of bread in general, of whose name it is noteworthy that the Sumerian form or rendering, *Ezinū*, has a more Semitic look. There is much to be said about this goddess and her masculine counterpart or aspect, as revealed by the name *En-zi-kalama* "lord of the land's life". One of her two attendants, who were apparently in the form of winged bulls, was named *Kalagga-šagga*, a personification of the "happy" or "contented people" which her good work produced. This text translated by Professor Langdon makes her to be, like Ašnan, one of the special favourites of Enlil (and Ninlil), the primeval deities of Nippur. Most of the lines take the form of a direct address:—

Ni-dagal-dagalla ni-peśpešamen
Ambarra ambar-ana-kum si-saemen
Giš-sag si-sa-men suḫ(?)-tuḫ(?) gidgida(?)-men
Aar šag ḫulḫulene nin zizi-bi-men.

She who extendeth, she who increaseth, art thou;
Directress of the wells like the wells of heaven art thou:
Shelter (?) arranger art thou; defence (?) extender art thou;
Food rejoicing the heart art thou: lady giving comfort art thou.

There is much doubt as to the rendering of these lines, but I quote them simply to show the constant introduction of the termination *-men* "thou art". It is noteworthy that the first element of Nidaba's name lacks the distinctive character *še*, the word for "grain", which occurs, however, in the Hymn to Dungi.

This last is published by Professor Langdon under the title "Liturgical Hymn to Dungi". As is well known, he was the first king of the Dynasty of Ur, which reigned about 2300 B.C. It is inscribed on a prism in four columns, and originally contained 102 lines of writing. Here again we have the direct address with *men* "thou art". Professor Langdon's translation of the first four lines is as follows:—

He that as a half (god) has been born, an heroic one art thou.
Divine Dungi thou art; he that as a half (god) has been born, a mighty man art thou.
Thou wast born a panther with flaming eyes, even as a great dragon.
King of the four regions thou art.

An interesting footnote explains how the verbal form *batuddenna-ta* in the first two lines means "hast been born as a half (god)". Verbal forms beginning with *ba-*, however, are numerous, and sometimes *-ta* is found as a suffix. An alternative rendering would therefore be:—

On thy being born, a hero thou art;
God Dungi thou art: on thy being born, a mighty man thou art.

But Assyriologists will thank Professor Langdon for the translation of this interesting text referring to the deified Dungi, all of whose successors were honoured in the same way and worshipped in the temples of the land.

The "Scholars Tablet containing Syllabary A and a list of Gods" is an example of the way in which young scribes were taught their profession. It would be, however, of much greater value if the list of characters (it cannot be called a syllabary) were accompanied by their values and meanings. Value is given to it, however, by the editor's comparisons and notes. The order differs somewhat in column 5, and

there is an omission. As the syllabary-portion is on the reverse, the numbering of the columns is from right to left. It therefore follows the list of gods, notwithstanding that we should regard a list of characters as a more elementary exercise.

Among the other inscriptions may be mentioned that recording the restoration of the wall of Sippar by Ḫammurabi—its name was "By the command of Šamaš may Ḫammurabi not have a rival"—one of those phrase-names which are a feature of Babylonian nomenclature. Of special interest is the inscription giving "Regulations for Disposition of regular Offerings to Ishtar and Nana of Erech". These consisted of the parts of various animals and were for the use of various priests, ministrants, and workmen employed at the temple. Some of the gifts or offerings are described as having been instituted by Nabû-abla-iddina, who ruled about 900 years B.C.

But enough has probably been said to show the importance of this publication, and the value of Professor Langdon's work in editing the texts it contains. It is the production of an accomplished Assyriologist who has made a speciality of Sumerian and of religious texts such as these, and the issue of the remainder of the Weld-Blundell Collection will be looked forward to with interest. It is a real augmentation of the corpus of Babylonian literature, which promises to be the most considerable of all the scribal productions of the ancient East.

T. G. Pinches.

Türkische Bibliothek XXI: Die Osmanische Chronik des Rustem Pascha. Deutsch von Ludwig Forrer. 8vo. viii + 207 t. Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1923.

Rustam, who was born in Bosnia at the beginning of the sixteenth century and rose from the position of a simple Janissary to that of Grand Vizier, relates in this chronicle the most memorable events of the reigns of the Osmánli Sultans, Bayezid II (p. 14 et seq.), Selim I (p. 33 et seq.), and Suleyman (p. 58 et seq.). Despite the extreme concision of its form, which is devoid of any attempt at beauty of style, the narrative contains much that is interesting from the point of view of the history of civilization. Among the matters touched upon are the following: the Turkish fights against the Persians and the Shiites (Qizil-básh), p. 26 f., 36 ff., 56 ff., 72 ff., 77 ff., 153 ff., which also touch upon the questions of the Jihad and the Mahdi: further, the sea expeditions of the Osmánlis, which are linked with the famous name of Khayra'ddin Barbarossa (p. 93 ff., 100 ff., 139). The advances

of Suleyman against Hungary (p. 69 ff., 73 ff., 109 ff.), upon Moldavia (p. 97 ff.), and Austria (p. 118), rather concern the history of Europe.

Although in the transliteration of doubtful geographical names (sometimes rather incomplete) there is room for improvement, the translation as a whole is a praiseworthy contribution to the materials for Ottoman history which will also have documentary value for historians of Turkey.

TÜRKISCHE BIBLIOTHEK XXII: DAS ANATOLISCHE WEGENETZ NACH OSMANISCHEN QUELLEN. Von FRANZ TÄSCHNER. 8vo. xii + 246 t. Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1923.

Making use of the abundant material available in Arabic, Turkish, and Modern Greek literature, the author attempts to reconstruct mediæval Asia Minor, whose transformation after the gradual break-up of the Byzantine rule dates roughly from the ninth century. His main sources are Ibn Baṭuṭa, Hamdu'llah Mustawfi, and (among the Turks) the Safar-Nameh of 'Ali Yezdi, and the political writings of Feridun, as well as the Jehannuma of Hajji Halfa and the travels of Evliya, a work which presents many difficulties to him who consults it. To complete this material Täschner turns to account the observations of European travellers to which the references will be found on p. 48 et seq. The eastern boundary of the field covered in these studies is roughly the line Trebizond, Euphrates, Anti-Taurus, Cape Amanur; while Constantinople (the coast-line on the Black Sea, Constantinople, Brussa, etc.) may be taken as the starting-point. The fifty lithographic tables serve to elucidate the material which the author has brought together in the text with great industry.

SITTE UND RECHT IN NORDAFRIKA: QUELLEN ZUR ETHNOLOGISCHEN RECHTSFORSCHUNG. Gesammelt von DR. ERNST UBACH und ERNST RACKOW. 8vo., 441. S. Stuttgart: Enke, 1923.

Although these sketches, undertaken in prisoners' camps during the Great War, relate chiefly to the study of legal conditions in the Maghreb, and particularly to the comparative study of the law of the person, succession, property, aliens, and criminal law in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis, they are not without some bearing upon the general history of civilization, and particularly in its relation to Islam. References will be found to the well-known predilections of Orientals, often noticed by others, for certain numbers, such as seven (pp. 35, 374, 293,

335, etc.), and the number forty [1] (pp. 294, 347). Belief is also very general in Eastern races, in the malocchio or Evil Eye [2] (p. 46), and in the significance of Salt (pp. 33, 114), which on p. 33 is regarded as a protective means against evil spirits (cf. Islam, ix. 50 ob.). Even to this day, indeed, the belief in magic and counter-charms which, as can be shown, was shared by Muhammad (Bokhārī "tibb", cap. 47: Houdas trans. iv. 85) plays a great part in the spiritual life of the North African Muslims (cf. Index, s.v. Zauber).

An important part of the prisoners' work deals with the social position of woman in the Moghrab which, indeed, in many instances, is not in accordance with the provisions of the official *Sharī'a*, e.g. the disuse of the veil in Ulad Nā'il in Algeria, forced marriage of girls as reported from Morocco (p. 79), cf. against this, Bokhārī, trans. Houdas, iv, 435: isolated cases of prostitution, though these occur, it is true, in the East (*vide* Islam, ix. 92). Without referring more particularly to other interesting features, I might mention, as here dealt with, the right of asylum, blood-vengeance, games, death customs, etc., which may be easily found in the index. The whole work is enriched by photographs, drawings, musical extracts in very welcome fashion, and shows a decided advance in the province of the sociology of North African Islam.

O. RESCHER.

INDO-IRANISCHE QUELLEN UND FORSCHUNGEN. Von J. HERTEL. Heft I: DIE ZEIT ZOROASTERS. Heft II: DIE HIMMELSTORE IM VEDA UND IM AVESTA. Heft III: MUṆḌAKA-UPANIṢAD. Kritische Ausgabe mit Rodarneudruck der Erstausgabe (Text und Kommentare) und Einleitung. 8vo, pp. 64, 68, 69, lxviii. Leipzig: 1924.

The keynote of Professor Hertel's present researches was struck in his paper "Das Brahman" in *Indogerm. Forschungen*, xli. p. 185 ff., where he put forward with much vigour the view that *bráhma* denotes the heavenly fire worshipped by the Indo-Iranians (*brahman-* corresponding to *flāmen*, φλεγ-). Following up the lines of thought presented there, he has now begun the publication of a series of dissertations, the aim of which primarily "is to win a reliable basis for the correct explanation of the Veda and the Avesta". The three little books that now lie before us are the firstfruits of this undertaking.

They deserve a hearty welcome. With wide and profound learning,

[1] Cf. Joh. Hehn, *Siebenzahl b. d. Babyloniern*, Leipzig, 1907. Wilh. H. Roscher, *Die Siebenzahl und die Tessarakontaden*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1904 and 1909.

[2] Bokhārī, Subject Index, s.voc., Islam, ix, 28.

Dr. Hertel combines a masculine vigour of thought which is singularly refreshing and stimulating. He is a bold radical: under him tradition goes by the board, and cherished prejudices are remorselessly jettisoned. The reaction from the Pischel-Geldner movement back towards the position of Roth and Whitney is complete. All Indological studies, he declares, have gone utterly astray in their explanation of the central idea of Indian thought, because they have followed the *ignis fatuus* of tradition. They have ignored the fact that the Achæmenid inscriptions, the Avesta, and the Rgveda are composed in closely related dialects, which are morphologically in the same stage of development, and in their accidence and syntax show features of decay that can be chronologically estimated from the ancient inscriptions of Persia. They have neglected to see that "the rapid development of the Indo-Iranian languages which we observe from the time of their appearance in history makes it quite impossible to ascribe a development of thousands of years to the poetry of the Rgveda, so far as it is presented in our Saṃhitā". Instead of objective examination, students "simply transferred the ideas of the Christian Catechism to the Rgveda, and in it, in this collection of songs of Aryan warrior and robber tribes, whose highest object was to murder men of another faith and to carry off their cattle, and whose relation to the *devás* is determined by the principle *do ut des*, they found ideas like 'devotion', 'piety', and even 'holiness', and 'holy life', in the sense of 'chastity'. The πρῶτον ψεῦδος, however, was the translation of *devá* as 'God', of *ásura* as 'God', or 'demon', according to the apparent connexion". Our Rgveda, as Bloomfield has proved, contains only epigonic poetry. Between the composition of the older parts of our Rgveda and its later portions took place the migration of the tribes from Iran into India (into the Gangetic Doab, not the Indus valley, *bien entendu*): even in the age of Herodotus the Vedic tribes were still more or less nomad, and the Gāthās prove that Zoroaster was much concerned to induce the nomads of his country to settle down into agricultural life. In India the Aryans, living under geographical and social conditions utterly different from those of their previous home, underwent rapid changes. Language, social habits, and religion swiftly altered. The eating of meat and drinking of spirits ceased to be general. The old language broke up into dialects: both the words and the ideas of its ancient hymns became largely unintelligible, and there is a wide breach in tradition between them and Vedic exegetes such as Yāska. Old *devás* changed their rôles, or entirely faded away; and with them dis-

appeared the ancient conception of *bráhma* as the Heavenly Fire and the Supreme Wisdom pervading all life, leaving only a few unheeded traces in later literature.

As Dr. Hertel proposes to publish an essay on the home and age of the Rgveda as the fourth part of his *Forschungen*, it will be fairer to him and to his opponents to suspend final criticism upon these general doctrines until the appearance of that work. Provisionally, however, we may say that much in these studies appears to us admirable, and much debatable. The demand for a fresh unprejudiced examination of the sources and a final demolition of all vain *idola* of prejudice and sentiment is one with which we must all sympathise. Several of Dr. Hertel's theses are very probable, in spite of their boldness and indifference to tradition. But must we therefore regard *all* Vedic and Avestic tradition as equally untrustworthy, and say with him that it "can only be considered in so far as it confirms the results of the study of these sources; it can contribute nothing to the elucidation of what is obscure in them"? Obviously there are various degrees of tradition. That of the Parsis probably is for the most part worthless, and deserves the short shrift that it gets from him. But in India the case is different. Here, no doubt, a large amount of foolish concoctions also passed current: but there is likewise some gold in the dross. Dr. Hertel himself corroborates his theory of the Yama-legend in "Die Himmelstore" by quoting divers more or less corrupt versions of it from Brahmanic and Epic literature: what are these but tradition? If then some traditions which support his theories are good, it is rather a *petitio principii* to damn all others that do not. Furthermore, the exegetic tradition from Yāska downwards rests largely upon the school-teachings of the Brahmans, an intensely conservative race, who may be described as spiritual mummies that can talk; they have preserved much from the days of Yāska onwards, and we may reasonably infer that they have also preserved a little from the period of the Brāhmaṇas. Tradition, we may admit, is not in itself a guide; but when rightly analysed it is a wholesome corrective to arbitrary speculation.

"Die Zeit Zoroasters" is an incisive study of the sources—mainly the Avesta, the Achaemenid inscriptions, and Herodotus—which as regards essentials seems to us almost to compel conviction. It shows that the doctrine of the Gāthās, the only teaching which may be with certainty attributed to Zoroaster, is a strict moral dualism, with a pantheon composed wholly of abstractions and with Ahura-mazdā as the sole Creator. The cult of nature-powers, animal-sacrifice, *haōma-*

drinking, the sacrosanctity of fire and water, the worship of fire, the creative power of the Evil Principle, exposure of the dead to birds of prey and dogs, and exaggerated respect for the dog and its kind, which are characteristic of the later Avesta, are wholly unknown in the Gāthās. On the other hand, there is no feature of Zoroastrianism visible in what Herodotus describes as the national religion of the Persians. The latter is plainly the religion which Zoroaster's life was spent in combating—a worship of *daēvas* or nature-powers, notably the heaven, sun, moon, earth, water, and wind, which had the Magians as its priests, which demanded sacrifices of all creatures, except human beings and dogs, and which permitted strong drink and drunkenness. The Magians alone, says Herodotus, exposed corpses to birds and dogs. Zoroastrianism first appears as the state-religion in the Bīsutūn inscription of Darius I, who speaks in language appropriate to the Constantine of a new faith: but Magian influence begins to show itself in the record of Artaxerxes II, who admits the river-goddess Anāhitā and the sun-god Mitra, and thenceforth it grows apace. From these facts it may be inferred that Darius I on suppressing the Magian priesthood established genuine Zoroastrianism, the faith preached in the Gāthās, as the state-religion, and that the Magians, unable to conquer it by force, overcame it by peaceful penetration, insinuating themselves into it and finally bringing it under their control and stuffing into its framework most of their characteristic doctrines and practices. Thus the later Avesta is largely under Magian influence—how largely may be judged from the fact that the word *mubad* or *mobed*, denoting a rank in the "Zoroastrian" hierarchy, is from *magūpat*, "master of Magians"—and it represents a restoration of the religion which Zoroaster had temporarily suppressed. He had borrowed from the ancient faith only its antithesis of *aša*; *druj* and its supreme divinity, the Spirit of Heaven, whom he spiritualised as Ahura-mazdā, rejecting all other nature-powers or *daēvas*: and the Magians brought them back into his system as revised by them, together with their doctrines of sacrifice, *haōma*-drinking, fire-worship, etc.

A further inference, which is possible, but rather less probable, and is not new, is that Vištāspa the father of Darius is identical with Vištāspa the patron of Zoroaster: and thus the author arrives at the conclusion that Zoroaster flourished c. 550 B.C.—possibly as late as 522 if we may refer Yasna 53 to the events between the usurpation and death of the usurper Gaumāta, which does not seem to us very likely. Dr. Hertel is still less convincing when he finds references

to the Zoroastrians in the Rgvedic terms *devaníd* and *brahmadvíṣ*, and traces of a parallel *mutatis mutandis* between the Vedic theory of *bráhma* (as understood by him, in the sense of the Divine Fire) and the *daēnā* of the Gāthās and *fravaši* of the later Avesta.

In "Die Himmelstore" Dr. Hertel operates with his theory of *bráhma* to elucidate a number of interesting myths. The "Gates of Heaven", he maintains, are the sun and moon, the heaven being conceived by the Indo-Aryans as a stone vault illuminated within and revolving, on the walls of which the stars are openings serving as windows. This leads to a study of the various phases of the Yama-Yima legend, which, in its primitive form, seems to have explained the genesis of the next world by a story that the earth thrice became overloaded by an excess of population and had to be extended, and that when this happened for the third time, the surplus population was led away by Yama, the typical nomad, to heaven. The examination of this and kindred myths is skilfully carried out, and well illustrates the author's contention that the Avesta is the best commentary upon the Veda and *vice versa*. Incidentally, too, Dr. Hertel proves the baselessness of the theory which finds in Vendīdād II an analogon to the Semitic legend of the Flood.

His study of the Muṇḍaka gives Dr. Hertel an opportunity to state his views on the quality of the standard texts of the Sanskrit classics. Speaking with the experience of many years of critical study, he affirms that the printed texts of Vālmīki, Kālidāsa, and other classics are lamentably corrupt; indeed, every word in them is doubtful. The native grammarians, lexicographers, and commentators, he says truly, were wholly devoid of the historical sense; to "correct" the text of an author so as to bring it into harmony with the rules of the grammars is as uncritical as it would be to alter the text of a French writer in accordance with the rules of the Académie Française and school-grammars. This is notably the case with the treatment of Prakrit. The luckily recovered fragments of Aśvaghoṣa have revealed the imperfections of the Prakrit grammars, which teach Prakrit in a later stage of development. No one can say what sort of Prakrit Kālidāsa wrote. As for the plays of "Bhāsa" (it is gratifying to see that Dr. Hertel shares our scepticism as to their authorship and writes his name in quotation-marks), the Prakrit in them is in many parts older than that of the printed texts of Kālidāsa, but the Trivandrum Series editions, he maintains, are uncritical and incorrect.

What then of the Muṇḍaka? Strange to say, Dr. Hertel's searching

critical study leaves the traditional text almost unscathed as regards verbal correctness. It is true that practically we have only the text as Śaṅkara found it; but Dr. Hertel's acumen, which has enabled him to see far behind the text of Śaṅkara's time, has detected comparatively few errors in the wording. He has, however, established with much probability that this text is conflated from two sources. The essential part of the Upaniṣad—in his view this is I. i. 3–9; ii. 3–12; II. i. entirely; III. i. 1–3; ii. 1–2, 1–8, 10–11—is dominated by the conception of Puruṣa as the highest principle, entrance into which constitutes final salvation, while Brahma is a realm of bliss subordinate to Puruṣa, and emanating from it; and into this framework have been inserted other passages, in which the ordinary Upaniṣadic doctrine of the supremacy of Brahma is asserted. That such a discrepancy of ideas exists in the Muṇḍaka is clear, and we must be grateful to Dr. Hertel for his keen analysis of it, which marks a real advance in knowledge. But here the same problem arises as with the Bhagavad-gītā: is the discrepancy due to interpolators or to the original author, who after all was a Hindu?

Besides introductory matter, the book comprises studies of the metres, language, and text of the Muṇḍaka, a critically restored text, analysis of the content of the latter, remarks on the origin and age of the Muṇḍaka and its relation to Jainism, and a facsimile of Röer's *editio princeps*. With regard to the metre Dr. Hertel rightly says (p. 31) that "the poet trusts to his ear, and does not follow a conventional rule like the later courtly poets". But it follows thence that the somewhat violent measures adopted by Dr. Hertel to ensure regularity of metre—viz. a slurring of syllables and clipping of vowels—are mostly needless: for if the poet "trusted to his ear", he would not be scrupulous about such a trifling irregularity as a superfluous syllable. In the popular poetry of his age, I imagine, there must have been metres in which quantity and number of syllables were more or less free, and the chief determinant was the number of ictus-falls in the verse, as is the case with Lallā's quatrains and the older poetry of Bengal. The oldest type of Indo-Iranian poetry, I suspect, was of the latter type, consisting of groups of syllables only approximately equal in number, with an ictus on each group; this type was refined by certain schools of poets, who fixed the number of syllables more strictly (as in the Gāthās), and then proceeded to emphasise the endings of groups by more or less regular quantitatively similar cadences (as in the Ṛgveda[1]);

[1] Even here irregularities in cadence still survive: e.g. I. ii. 9, *dakṣaṃ dadhāte apasam.*

then finally the schools of *kāvya* fixed the quantity of every syllable in most metres, thus creating the standard *varṇa-vṛttas*.[1] Now the author of the *triṣṭubhs* of the Muṇḍaka modelled himself mainly upon the refined metres and idiom of the Vedic poets and their early successors, but he was only half-educated in them. Hence he seems to have allowed himself much metrical licence in archaic fashion, using the ictus in each section of the *triṣṭubh* to mask his irregularity in the number of syllables. Hence beside regular lines such as

yathā́ sudīptāt | pā́vakād | vísphuliṅgāḥ (II, i, 1).

he permitted himself licences such as :

niráñjanaḥ | páramaṃ | sā́myam upaiti [2] (III, i, 3),
etéṣu yaś | cárate | bhrā́jamāneṣu (I, ii, 5),
imé lokā́ | nihitā́ | lókinaś ca (II. ii, 2),
svásti vaḥ pārā́ya | táma- | sā́ḥ parastā́t (II, ii, 6).

The language of the Muṇḍaka is as much influenced by popular usage as its metre. In many places it is not Sanskrit (I use this word in its widest sense), but sheer Prakrit : witness such monstrosities as *adreśyam, atharvāya, ādadeyam*. Dr. Hertel justly protests against the "method" of European scholars like Boehtlingk, who have "heranskonjiziert" genuine popular forms like *jānatha* from the Upaniṣadic texts. But he himself here falls into the same error as when he makes some of his suggestions for regularising the popular metre: e.g. he accepts the alteration of the barbarous but genuine *kāmabhiḥ* (III, ii. 2), which is attested by Śaṅkara, into *karmabhiḥ*, and he changes the false reading *saṃdhīyate* in II. ii. 3 to *saṃnidhāya*, neglecting the well attested variant *saṃdhayīta*, which gives a good Prakrit form,[3] and is almost certainly the true reading, being moreover supported by the Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition (*saṃdadhīta* in Raṅga-rāmānuja's commentary).

These criticisms on details, however, are not meant to derogate from the high value of Dr. Hertel's work as a whole. He opens up new vistas for future studies in Indian and Iranian thought, and we await the appearance of his further researches with keenest interest.

[1] The *mātrāchandas* and *gaṇachandas* may be omitted from consideration here, as they seem to be of Dravidian origin.

[2] A dodecasyllabic hypermeter : cf. Hopkins, *Great Epic*, p. 275.

[3] Cf. Pischel, *GPS.* § 466. A parallel is *śraddhayantaḥ*, Muṇḍ. III, ii, 10, corresponding to OMg. *saddahai* ; the stem *saṃdhaya-* appears in M. and OMg. as *saṃdhei, saṃdhai* (Pischel, § 500), cf. Pali *dheti*. On the middle pot.-*yīta* for -*yeta* see Wackernagel, *AG.* I, p. xxx.

THE RELIGION OF THE RIGVEDA. By H. D. GRISWOLD, M.A., Ph.D. (The Religious Quest of India.) 8vo, pp. xxiv, 392. London: Mangalore printed, 1923.

Truly the interest of the Veda would seem to be inexhaustible. For a century the learned of the West have been studying it and writing upon it with such profusion of erudition that apparently *quidquid dicendum est dictum est*, and library shelves groan under the weight of it. And now Dr. Griswold has come with a new book upon Vedic religion that is really a *new* book, not merely presenting an array of facts and speculations in methodical order, but illuminating them with a keenly sympathetic knowledge of the land of the Five Rivers and of Brahmāvarta which no Vedic scholar has hitherto possessed, and which lends notable force to many theories advocated by him. "Theory" means a mode of *viewing* things: and a view of Vedic mythogony that seems forced and improbable to us in Europe may appear very different when considered in the open hills and valleys of North-Western India.

From these remarks the judicious reader will have guessed that our author is orthodox in his opinions on Vedic religion. The Vedic gods, says Dr. Griswold, "are in general personifications of natural phenomena" (p. 88), and his intimate acquaintance with the Punjab and its neighbourhood adds some effective weapons for the defence of this hypothesis. And to a certain extent it is true. But by itself it is quite inadequate to explain the character of a Great God. There is more in such a personality than man's awe at Nature's power, his delight in her bounty, and his pain at her cruelty: there is also man's experience of man. In Indra we find some marked "atmospheric" features: but the theory of his atmospheric origin is quite inadequate to explain the mass of saga clustering around him, which looks far more original. The attempt to bring Rudra into the same scheme is, I venture to think, a failure, as a study of Dr. Arbman's careful monograph will show. The subject of Vedic mythogony is one upon which I have dwelt elsewhere: here I can only record my respectful dissent from Dr. Griswold on some important points.

As regards method of exposition and fullness of information, the book is very good indeed. We miss, however, reference to Johansson's valuable monograph on Dhiṣaṇā and Arbman's "Rudra", and note a few statements of somewhat doubtful accuracy, such as the one on p. 56 that the older Brāhmaṇas were completed about 600 B.C., which slightly conflicts with the date of 800–600 B.C. assigned to the

"existing" Brāhmaṇas on p. 74. Possibly also the moral character of Varuna is slightly over-estimated—Johansson's view, as given in his "Dhiṣaṇā", is a useful corrective—and some consideration should be given to the historical theories of Mr. Pargiter's *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*.

Die Streiche des Berauschten. Satirische Posse von König Mahêndra-Wikramawarman. Vollständig verdeutscht von Johannes Hertel. (Indische Dichter I.) 12mo, pp. 92. Leipzig: H. Haessel Verlag. 1924.

Awimaraka. Schauspiel von Bhasa. Übersetzt von Hermann Weller. (Indische Dichter II.) 12mo, pp. 188. Leipzig: H. Haessel Verlag, 1924.

This promising series has an excellent coryphæus in Professor Hertel, and the play that he has selected for translation is well chosen. The Matta-vilāsa, which we have already noticed elsewhere in the pages of this *Bulletin* (I, iii, p. 35), is a genuinely humorous farce, which is the more interesting on account of the personality of its author, the brilliant Pallava king, to whom the culture of Southern India is under an immense debt; and it loses little of its brightness in Dr. Hertel's lively translation, though naturally some of its topical interest is lost on a modern reader. In an appendix, "Einige Worte über das indische Drama," Dr. Hertel defends his well-known views on the origin of the drama and epic in India. A number of hymns in the Ṛgveda, according to him, are essentially dramatic dialogues; from compositions of this type arose by the addition of narrative matter the epic and by the insertion of prose dialogues the court drama; the Mahābhārata is still half dramatic, as it was sung by rhapsodes with separate rôles, and the popular modern plays such as the Bengali *yātrās* are in their form midway between these earlier types and the court drama. In the Suparṇādhyāya he sees a genuine drama. He now adduces a further proof for his view from the popular *swāng*, which is fully dramatic in character and corresponds in form exactly to the Suparṇādhyāya, and vigorously replies to the criticisms of Oldenberg, Konow, and Charpentier. Then follows a short survey of the character of the classical drama, in which he refuses to see any popular elements; even the *vidūṣaka* is derived from court life. Dr. Hertel has made out a strong case; it will be interesting to see what Dr. Charpentier will reply to it. Meanwhile it is comforting to see that he is not disposed to accept Bhāsa as the author of the plays published under his name,

and refers, apparently with approval, to Messrs. Pisharoti's article in the *BSOS.*, vol. iii, p. 107 ff.

Herr Weller, on the other hand, is still a staunch believer in Bhāsa, and we may leave him in the enjoyment of his faith. He gives us in his introduction an ingenious theory that the hero Avimāraka was originally the spirit of the monsoon who destroys the demon of drought, which seems to us highly speculative and supported by no evidence whatever. As in his previous translation of the *Bāla-carita*, he renders the whole text throughout into verse, justifying this course by the example of Ludwig Fritze; he is convinced, he says, that metrical language is more suitable than prose for a drama that is derived from the world of legend and presents figures from the realm of spirits and gods. He is welcome to his convictions; but the Hindu dramatists (not to speak of Shakespeare and a good many other respectable writers) thought and acted differently, reserving their verse for exceptional passages where poetical emotion rose high, and elsewhere using prose of a type exactly fitted to the situation. But Herr Weller, who in his introduction discourses on the right way to appreciate the Indian drama, has chosen to turn everything, even the plainest dialect-passages, into metrical lines, which tend often to bald and dull pathos, quite unlike the lively natural style of the original prose. For the rest, his rendering is generally accurate, except in the case of Act I, verse 5, where it is quite impossible.

PRIYADARŚIKĀ, A SANSKRIT DRAMA BY HARSHA, KING OF NORTHERN INDIA IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY A.D. Translated into English by G. K. NARIMAN, A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Ph.D., and CHARLES J. OGDEN, Ph.D., with an introduction and notes by the two latter, together with the text in transliteration. (Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series, vol. x.) 8vo. pp. cxi, 137. New York, 1923.

The author of the Priyadarśikā—whether he be really Harsa or not, is immaterial—was but *Μουσάων ὀλιγη τις ἀηδονίς*; but his little play is pleasant reading, and has been singularly fortunate in its editors. For the present volume presents a rare and happy combination of accurate scholarship, wide literary interest, and typographic excellence. The introduction comprises studies of the life and times of Harsa and his literary activities, an examination of this play and of its sources and its relation to other dramas ascribed to Harsa, a comparison of it with Kālidāsa's dramas and an estimate of the author's position in Sanskrit literature, and an account of the style of the

play, the constitution of the text, and the metres employed, with a contribution by Dr. G. P. Quackenbos on the names of the flowers, trees, and shrubs mentioned, and an appendix on the author's device of a play within a play. Then comes the text—which, though it would not satisfy a radical critic like Dr. Hertel, is nevertheless a good working one—and on parallel pages an accurate translation. Altogether it is an attractive and excellent work.

Since, according to the Sage of Twickenham, the proper study of mankind is man, it may well be that from a certain point of view not wholly frivolous a second-rate play like the Priyadarśikā should seem of greater interest than a solemn treatise upon the Summa Sapientia. For the Indian metaphysician, of all the brood of Time, is the thing nearest to *perpetuum immobile*: he lives in a realm of rigid abstractions, where his predecessors have dwelt generation after generation before him, heedless of the ages passing by. For him history exists not. But the dramatist is frankly a creature of his times. Without anachronism his work cannot be good. For man is a creature wearing clothes—both material garments and spiritual conventions—which the *Zeitgeist* compels him ever to change; the great dramatist seizes his contemporary man and holds him up to the gaze of all future generations, garbed in the integuments of his age, a phenomenon of deepest historical interest. Aeschylus and Sophocles display to us Hellenic men of the fifth century before Christ. Shakespeare English (and Welsh) men of Elizabethan days; we realise our difference from them at the same time as we recognize our essential kinship with them, and herein lies the greatest charm of the drama. And this power lies not only in the hand of the great dramatist; even a humbler talent may wield it, if it records sincerely, with understanding and sympathy, the things of its day.

But could the Hindu dramatist do this? He lived and worked, as one may say, in a museum; over his art reigned stiff old conventions, regulating his language, his thoughts, his handling of situations. Was it not impossible for him to present the living ideals of his day in free motion in the forms of his art? Are not the things that he displays dead things preserved in spirits? Not so—when he had a soul within him. In the East days are long; and although the ideal which the true poet presented in his plays might have arisen generations before him, it was none the less alive to him and to his age. To them it signified something vitally good and beautiful, and the conventions under which it was presented were felt to be essential laws

for its existence. And though days in the East are long, they are not eternal. Times and tastes change there also; the art of Kālidāsa is not the same as the art of Bhavabhūti, and we may say that a good Hindu play is a mirror of its age, remembering always that its age is a long one.

Thus a play like the Priyadarśikā has a definite value and interest as an historical document of Indian culture. Its intrinsic merit never rises above second-class level; its plot, centring round the hackneyed theme of a princess disguised as a waiting-maid who loves and is loved by her royal master, and finally is added sans tragedy to his series of wives, is developed with but faint flashes of dramatic genius; its style is throughout uninspired. Yet it is withal a reality, the sincere expression of a finely cultured age's artistic feelings on a certain theme. True, the theme is not a high one; but life is lived more in the plains than on the heights. *Ἐν μαλάχῃ τε καὶ ἀσφοδελῷ μέγ' ὄνειαρ.*

L. D. BARNETT.

THE SANSKRIT DRAMA IN ITS ORIGIN, DEVELOPMENT, THEORY, AND PRACTICE. By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH. pp. 405. Clarendon Press, 1924. £1 1*s*.

In his preface Professor Keith states that "the time is ripe for a fresh investigation of the origin and development of the drama in the light of new materials available". This is true, and scholars will be grateful that Professor Keith has undertaken the investigation. Throughout, the work is personal rather than a compilation, but a wealth of references enables the reader to go direct to the opinions of many scholars, whether sharply contrasted or agreeable with those of the author. In this notice there is not room to discuss in detail the many questions raised. One of considerable importance—the authenticity and date of the plays ascribed by some to Bhāsa—has already been discussed in these pages by two of the protagonists, but a perusal of Professor Keith's book hardly leaves the unbiassed reader with a just idea of the strength of the arguments against Bhāsa's being the author of these plays. But so many of the problems of dates and authorship of Sanskrit literature are still so uncertainly answered that in many ways the reader cannot but be grateful for Professor Keith's decided judgments. They at least provide him with something definite to believe or disbelieve.

To those interested in the development of the Indo-Aryan languages Professor Keith's discussion of the languages used in the Indian

drama is particularly interesting. Occasionally, it is true, his statements may be challenged in detail. Thus it seems impossible to support his etymology (p. 30) of Modern Indian *bhāṭ* "bard, reciter", from *Bhārata*: Hindī *bhāṭ*, Sindhī *bhaṭu* come from an earlier *bhaṭṭa-*, but whatever the derivation of *bhaṭṭa-* may be, it is not from *Bhārata-*. Again, it is true that *Yavana* probably meant Greek originally, and was derived from the older form of Ἴωνες, namely Ἰάονες *Ἰᾱϝόνες, but it is more than doubtful whether, as Professor Keith implies, on p. 61, it was received by the Indians direct from the Greeks, and not rather from some such intermediary as the Persians (cf. O. Pers. *yauna-*). Professor Keith's statement implies extremely early connexion between the Greeks and India. For ϝ had disappeared in the Ionian dialects before the earliest texts. On the other hand, the Ionian form of the word for the Medes—Μῆδοι from *Māda*—with the characteristic Ionic change of *ā* to *η* shows that communication between the Ionians and the East was probably early enough to account for the appearance of ϝ in a Persian form of *Ἰᾱϝόνες, since in Attic at least ϝ disappeared after the change of *ā* to *η*.

The reader may be grateful that Professor Keith did not follow the example of Professor Lévi in leaving out all investigation of the style of the dramatists. The book has interest not only for the Sanskrit specialist, but for a far wider circle: to the student of literature in general both the discussion of origins and the descriptive portion, particularly perhaps that chapter in which Professor Keith sums up so admirably the characteristics and achievement of the Sanskrit Drama, will greatly appeal.

The printing is what may be expected from the Clarendon Press, and misprints are very few. The following have been noticed: p. 84, Komudha for Komuda; p. 101, Kuraṅg for Kuraṅga; p. 262, l. 3, before "are" insert "both" or "they".

A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary. By Arthur Anthony Macdonell. pp. ix. 382. Oxford University Press, 1924. £1 10*s*.

This is a photographic reproduction of the original edition published by Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co., in 1893. About one and a half pages of addenda and corrigenda have been inserted. Perhaps amidst such a mass of forms and diacritical marks it is not surprising that some mistakes and omissions should still remain unnoticed. For example, no accent is shown on *rajanī*, *lakṣaṇa*, *lākṣā*. Although not comparative, the dictionary is historical and etymological in its character,

as Professor Macdonell points out in his preface dated 1924. Hence it would seem regrettable that an etymology as doubtful as that of *maryādā* = giving a clear sign from √ **mar-* to shine, should still appear without further comment, when a far more probable explanation has been suggested by Professor Uhlenbeck: or that no connexion should be indicated between e.g. *luḍ-* and *lul-*, *naḍá-* and *nala-*, *nṛt-* and *naṭ-*, *guccha-* and *grabh-*. But any slight defects of this sort are lost in the great benefit conferred by Professor Macdonell's dictionary being again made available for beginners, at what must in these times be considered a reasonable price. To those who have struggled with the often difficult word-order of Monier Williams' Dictionary, the strictly alphabetical order of Professor Macdonell's is a relief, while its conciseness is better suited to the beginner. The disadvantage of reproducing the extremely awkward system of transliteration employed in the S.B.E. is to some extent discounted by the fact that each article is headed by a form in devanāgarī.

R. L. TURNER.

THE SATSAI OF BIHARI. Edited by PAṆḌIT PADMA SIṀHA ŚARMA. Published by Kaśināth Śarma, Navakangalā, Chandpur, Bijnor District, United Provinces. Volume I (Introduction), Rs. 2; Volume II (Commentary), Rs. 2 8.

I am indebted to Sir George Grierson for drawing my attention to this new edition of the Satsai of Bihari, and a study of the book has caused me to endorse his emphatic commendation without any reservation. The book throughout is of lively interest, even when one disagrees with the writer, who is a somewhat fierce controversialist, and it will be a matter of satisfaction when the commentary, which at present only covers 126 of the couplets, less than one-fifth of the whole Satsai, is completed. At the same time it must be acknowledged that, so far as European scholars and à fortiori European students are concerned, the work is likely to prove very little easier than the very difficult poetry, to which it forms an introduction and commentary. It is written entirely in Hindi, with a very profuse use of Sanskrit words and some admixture of Urdu words and phrases and it abounds with quotations from Sanskrit, Hindi and Urdu poets, many of extreme interest. The scholars whose range of reading is wide enough to enable them to appreciate all these quotations and their relevancy are rare even in India among Indians, and they are naturally likely to be fewer still in England.

Almost nothing is known about Bihari Lal, the writer of the famous *Seven Centuries*, and the present editor does not attempt to give any account of his life. One of the dohās states that the poet finished the Satsai on a date corresponding to the 24th January, 1662, so he may be presumed to have flourished about the middle of the seventeenth century. The Satsai is a collection of nominally seven hundred (actually 726) couplets, each of which, like the Quatrains of 'Umar Khayyam, is detached and complete in itself. The flexibility of the language employed and the conciseness and compression of style (a dohā cannot contain more than forty-six, and may contain as few as twenty-six, syllables) render the work, as Sir George Grierson remarked in his admirable edition published in Calcutta nearly thirty years ago, one of the most difficult books in any Indian language. The result has been that few, if any, books in any Oriental language, except the Qurān, have been the genesis of so many commentaries. Sir George Grierson gives in his edition a list of seventeen commentaries, including the Lāla Chandrikā, which he edited along with the Satsai text, and the present work discloses the existence of others. Many of these exhibit the characteristic faults of commentators in an exaggerated form, suggesting difficulties where none exist, and failing to grapple with real difficulties. As an illustration of the terseness of Bihari's style, the dohā (No. 597) used by Pandit Padma Sinha as a motto on the cover of each volume may be cited. It runs :—

तंत्री-नाद् कवित्त रस सरसराग रतिरंग।
अनबूड़े बूड़े तरे जे बूड़े सब अंग॥

This may be rendered freely : "The sound of music, the passion of poetry, emotional singing, and sensual enjoyment—those who do not understand these are lost through them, but those who yield themselves wholly to them are saved." The literal sense of the second line is : "Those who have not sunk have sunk, those who have sunk with their whole body have crossed over."

The first volume comprises two parts, which are paged separately, the first (248 pages) containing a critical comparison between Bihari Lal and other poets. The most interesting portion is the first three sections, which compare dohās of the poet with similar passages in three much earlier works of a similar type, the Prakrit poem of Hāla called the Gāthā-saptaśati, and the Sanskrit Āryā-saptaśati of Govardhana and Śataka of Amaruka. Subsequent sections compare passages in the Satsai with extracts from Sanskrit poets, from Urdu poets such as Ghālib, Saudā, Zauq, and Mir Taqi, from Hindi poets

such as Keśava, Senāpati, and Padmākar, and with selections from later Satais such as the Śṛngāra Satsai and the Vikrama Satsai. All this, which occupies 152 pages, is followed by a section dealing with eighteen selected dohās dealing with the separation of lovers (a fruitful topic of eastern poets), which are compared with verses composed by other Hindi poets, such as Gwāl, Sundar, Mati Rām, and Gang, bearing on the same subject. After this ten sections follow, designed to illustrate the poet's knowledge of various subjects (mathematics, astronomy, etc.), and an eleventh containing a very forcible and somewhat acrimonious reply to some adverse criticisms on isolated verses of Bihari, which occur in the Hindi Navaratna, a very admirable book on Hindi poetry which appeared a few years ago. Paṇḍit Padma Siṁha is reluctant to admit the existence of any defects in the Satsai, and it must be granted that in nearly all cases his defence of Bihari carries conviction, though it might have been expressed with less asperity. This criticism applies with even greater force to the second part (120 pages) of this volume, which consists of nothing but a detailed criticism of a commentary on Bihari by one Paṇḍit Jwāla Prasāda, which was published in Bombay in 1903. The comments of Paṇḍit Jwāla Prasāda on thirty-two selected dohās are quoted and pulled to pieces with great severity. Thirteen pages are devoted to a reply to the commentary on the 515th dohā, in the course of which a very interesting letter, written in 1910 by the Urdu poet Altāf Husain Hali to the author, is quoted in full as substantiating on a minor point the author's defence of Bihari against an attack made by an anonymous critic.

It would be premature at this stage, besides making this notice unduly long, to make more than an incidental allusion to the second volume of this book. Its 248 pages are taken up with commenting on 126 dohās, some of which have already been cited for various purposes in the first volume. Both volumes contain full indices. The printing is clear and legible, and mistakes are not numerous, **वद्य** for **पद्य**, p. 62; **कन्द्रदान** for **कद्रदान**, p. 119; and **बराब** for **बरावर**, p. 245, in the first volume being among the few observed.

R. P. DEWHURST, I.C.S. (retd.).

THE RĀS MĀLĀ OF A. K. FORBES. Edited by H. G. RAWLINSON. 2 vols., pp. 444 and 459, with a map of Gujarat and the original illustrations.

The Editor has reproduced the text of the original with its unscientific transliteration of proper names. To have made alterations

would certainly have been " a laborious task ", but it is not understood why this need have involved " many mistakes ".

He has added many valuable historical and general notes, several succinct and informative historical appendices and genealogical tables, and prefixed an interesting memoir of the author. Historical and archæological research to fill up the *lacunæ* in the early annals of India has made considerable progress in the past fifty years and has thrown much light on the origin of the Rajput clans. Risley undertook the ethnological survey of India ; a re-survey has since been effected in the Bombay Presidency and some of Risley's conclusions combated and refuted. The term Śaka, or Scythian, is a very vague one. The early invasions of India by the Śakas and the Yue-chi cluster round the opening centuries of the Christian era. The inrush, passing through the Panjab, Malva, and Gujarat, reached high-water mark on the confines of Nasik and the Deccan. But the flood waters soon receded and left little lasting impression on the ethnological characteristics of the submerged populations of Western India. On the contrary, the swarms of White Huns, Gurjaras, and Maitrikas which descended into the Panjab, Rajputana, Malva, and Gujarat in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., on the decline and break-up of the Gupta Empire, clearly came to stay, and staying left their mark on the indigenous populations conquered or absorbed by them. Thus the Vallabhi Dynasty founded by Bhaṭārka, the Maitrika, gave rise to the premier clan of Rajputs, the Gohils of Udepur. And other clans, euphemistically said to have been born of the Agni-Kund, or fire-pit, on Mount Abu—that is to say, foreigners admitted to Hindu rites and Ksatriya status—can be shown to be descended from or connected with the invading barbarian hordes. The Editor opines that the Nāgar Brahmans came with the Maitrikas from the Panjab. Risley is probably wrong in regarding the Nāgars as Scytho-Dravidians. The Śakas and the Yue-chi were Mongolians, originally expelled from North-West China. But the Nāgars betray no Mongolian physical characteristics. They are fair in complexion and have medium, well-shaped heads and features. They were, if not Maitrikas, possibly Persians, or Pahlavas (Parthians) of the borderland. Very significant is the Sun-worship of these foreign clans at Bhinmal, thus pointing to associations with Persia and the Mithra cult. It is dangerous, however, to push the Hun-Pahlava-Gurjara theory to extreme limits in accounting for the origin of the *ujali varna* of Western India. Be it remembered that Saurāstra (Kathiavad) and Aparānta (North Konkan) were among the earliest

Aryan settlements in India. It is unlikely that an exclusive caste, like the Brahmans, should not have retained a measure of Aryan or semi-Aryan purity of stock and should not be represented by their descendants to-day. The large Audich Brahman clan immigrated from Oudh at Mulrāj's invitation in the tenth century A.D. Bhṛgu-Kachcha (Broach) and Panchvatī (Nasik) were ancient Aryan settlements. With the Ksatriyas the case was different. Internecine warfare, intermarriages with indigenous Kolis (Dravidians) and Bhils (? Mundas) who still form the bulk of the aboriginal population of Northern and Central Gujarat, and subsequent intermarriage with and conversion by Mahomedans to the faith of Islam, played havoc with the purity of the original Aryan or semi-Aryan stock which overran Western India in Vedic times.

So that, at the present day, the purest Rajputs are those members and scions of the Royal Houses founded by the invading Huns, Gurjaras, Maitrikas, and (?) Pahlavas, who were not Ksatriyas when they entered India.

Forbes' account of the contest between the Solanki Bhuvad and the Chāvada Chief Jai Śikhari is taken from the Ratna Mālā. Panchāsar, where the latter ruled, was an insignificant state in a desolate country on the edge of the little Rann. It is quite possible that the bards, as was their wont, have magnified the episode of one of those border forays, so common in the annals of Gujarat, and that Bhuvad was a mere cadet of the powerful Western Chālukya (Solanki) stock of the Deccan and Northern Konkan whose dominions included Southern Gujarat and stretched to the Narbada River. His descendants at a later date established themselves at Anhilpur-Pattan, thus finally ousting the Chāvadas from Northern Gujarat.

Vol. i, pp. 355, 362. Māhmūdābād is the correct name of the ruined village on the Vātrak River. The walls of Māhmūd Be-gaḍha's ruined park existed in 1893, when the reviewer was stationed at Kaira.[1] Māhmūd was called Be-gaḍha ("two forts"), as he conquered Girnār and Pāvāgaḍh.

Vol. ii, p. 55 n. The word is *bāhyadhara*, from *bāhya*, corrupted from (S) *bāhu* "arm", and meaning (1) "arm", (2) "help", "assistance", and *dhara* (S) "holder": or it may be a corruption of *abhaya-dhara* (S) "guarantor of safety". The derivation can scarcely be *bān-dhara* "bowman". (*Vide* Gujarat-nī junī vārtta,

[1] The new village, which has sprung up round the railway station is called Mehmadabad.

p. 214, where, however, the word is incorrectly spelt without the fleeting "h" sound.)

Vol. ii. p. 75 n. The festival is commonly called Bakri-Id.

Vol. ii. p. 97, note. Gogo has now fallen back to second place and the trade of Bhavnagar is flourishing.

Vol. ii. p. 95. What is a "pre-Hindu" deity? Bhavānī was the Śaktī, or creative energy of Bhava (Śiva) deified as a goddess. Śiva was a non-Aryan and pre-Aryan deity, whose chief emblem of worship was the phallus. In the Rg-Veda, the wrath of the Vedic Nature gods is invoked against the Śisna-deva. Bahu-charā is an epithet of Ambā-Bhavānī, or Durgā, meaning "swift-moving". The Chāraṇi, Becharī, or Becharā, has thus been deified and her name Sanskritized.

Vol. ii. p. 235. The Yādavas could hardly have been Śakas. There is no historical record that the Śakas ever penetrated to Devgiri, the Yādava capital, and, if their chief was Kṛṣṇa, they were probably Aryans or semi-Aryans who colonized from Dvārika in Kathiavād. Kṛṣṇa's date is *circa* 950 B.C. The Yādavas may have been Maitrikas, as the bards now say that they were descended from the Abu fire-pit along with the Parmār, Rāthor, Chohān, and Solanki clans.

Vol. ii. p. 395 n. The correct word is *bhuvo* "exorcist", not *bhura*.

W. DODERET.

THE HAFT PAIKAR. By NIZÁMÍ OF GANJA. Translated from the Persian, with a commentary by C. E. WILSON. Two volumes. London, 1924.

European scholars have done little for Nizámí since 1871, when Bacher's monograph appeared. Practically no progress has been made towards establishing a critical text of the *Khamsa*, though the need for it is obvious to anyone who looks into the Oriental editions;[1] and as regards translation, Wilberforce Clarke's version of the *Sikandar-náma-i barrí* is the only work of importance. While the neglect of a poet so famous and original as Nizámí may be partly explained by considerations which apply to Persian studies in general, there would seem to be in his genius something alien and repellent to Western taste—something that is not found, or, at least, is not strongly developed, in Firdausí, Jalálu'ddín Rúmí, Sa'dí, and Ḥáfiz. In reviewing his merits and defects, Professor Wilson remarks that the latter "are those common to all Persian poets, who have little skill

[1] Professor Wilson has also consulted several MSS. in the Library of the India Office.

in delineating character, or in inspiring a sense of the spirit of nature", and invites us to contrast Nizámí's description of a garden with Shelley's *Sensitive Plant*. I cannot see what is gained by doing so. It would be quite as strange to find the modern feeling for nature in a Persian poet of the twelfth century as it would be to find meads of ambergris in Shelley or rivulets of rose-water in Wordsworth. Persian poetical art has its own standards, to which the poets are inevitably true; but within these limits there is free play for individual characteristics, and these are the differences that matter. Professor Wilson reveals what is most characteristic of Nizámí when he says that this poet is unconventionally obscure. "He employs images and metaphors to which there is no key save in the possession of the poetic sense and of sound judgment." Hence, to European readers at any rate, his finest passages often present a series of fascinating and exasperating riddles. Comparing him with Firdausí, Professor Wilson writes: "His thoughts are deeper, his expression is more trenchant, crisp, and epigrammatic, though perhaps often more studied and artificial, and generally more obscure and subtle. In plain narrative, he is equally flowing and perspicuous, whilst in situations requiring exalted imagination and dramatic force he is superior." All this may be true as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. In Firdausí there is none of that elaborate and over-subtle inventiveness of style which is the essence of Nizámí's art. The former's "conceits" are simple, direct, and subordinate to his theme; the younger poet spends the best part of his imaginative power upon these ornaments, which are so engrained in the fabric of his thought that they cannot with justice be described as superfluous. But though some of the romantic episodes in the *Sháhnáma* have a freshness and charm beyond anything in the *Khamsa*, it was left for Nizámí to give the fullest and richest expression to the spirit of Persian romance. The *Sikandar-náma* is a historical and philosophical romance: the *Laílá ú Majnún*, the *Khusrau ú Shírín*, and the *Haft Paikar* are love-romances.

The *Haft Paikar*, sometimes called the *Bahrám-náma* after its hero, Bahrám Gúr, the imperial hunter of the wild ass, was the last work composed by Nizámí, and derives its title from the pictures of seven princesses whom the King afterwards marries, passing one day of the week with each of them in turn and amusing himself with the stories which they relate to him. Nizámí finished the poem in A.D. 1197, and dedicated it to a certain 'Alá'uddín (named in the rubric 'Alá'uddín Qizil Arslán), whose two sons, named respectively Nuṣratu'ddín

Malik Muḥammad Sháh and Aḥmad, are also mentioned honourably, the one as a renowned warrior and the other as eminent for his learning. Ethé in his *Neupersische Litteratur* identified the dedicatee with the Atábek 'Alá'uddín of Marágha (*Ráḥatu's-Ṣudúr*, 347), while, according to Professor Browne, the person addressed by Nizámí is the Atábek of Ádharbáiján, Nuṣratu'ddín Abú Bakr, the nephew and successor of Qizil Arslán. Professor Wilson, in his commentary (Note 204), argues rightly, I think, that the poem is dedicated to 'Alá'uddín Tekish Khwárazmsháh, whose recent conquests in Persia are touched upon in the course of the panegyric and would naturally inspire Nizámí to seek his patronage. As Qizil Arslán died in 1191, six years before the *Haft Paikar* was completed, the verses in which he is mentioned or referred to must either be spurious or belong to an early draft of the poem. The fact that Nizámí gives the title of Nuṣratu'ddín to Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh, the son of 'Alá'uddin, raises a further difficulty; but on the whole Professor Wilson's view has more evidence in its favour than any that has been put forward hitherto.

The translation, which keeps very close to the original, is accurate and trustworthy, and, together with the same translator's version of Book II of the *Mathnawí*, may be recommended not only as a guide to advanced students of Persian poetry, but also as a corrective to those who have not learned that even more than a little Persian is a dangerous thing. An almost word for word translation like this cannot reproduce or adequately suggest the literary qualities of the original; and for that reason the blank verse in which it is written strikes a false note, since a translator who uses verse is expected to give a good deal besides meaning and metre. Here the metrical form adds nothing of value, and in some instances it becomes positively detrimental. Nizámí, describing the ascension of the Prophet, says :—

> "The journey had brought him (Mohammed) to a point where, on account of its distance (from the earth), Gabriel received from him permission to depart,"

i.e. the Prophet left Gabriel behind and went on his way alone. Professor Wilson's rendering is :—

> "The stage had brought him to a place to which
> from its (fit) distance Gabriel could go."

Although an esoteric sense runs through the *Haft Paikar*, and may at times be discerned floating in the background, it is not an element with which either the reader or the commentator has seriously to reckon. Apart from this, however, the explanation of a work so

enigmatic and full of recondite learning demands knowledge and acumen in no common degree. Professor Wilson's annotations, so far as I have been able to test them, are satisfying, and as a rule his remarks on questions of language are particularly good. Larger use might have been made of Arabic and Persian literature for the purpose of illustration; if we had a more readable text of the *Khamsa*, Nizámí himself would probably furnish parallels which would clear up some difficulties in this poem.

I conclude with a few criticisms.

Note 160. Commenting on the words در سواد بخاری و طبری, Professor Wilson says: "The rendering, 'in the works of Bukhārī and Ṭabarī,' must, I think, be rejected, first, because Bukhārī was a Traditionist, and the Author does not quote Traditions, and secondly, because both Bukhārī and Ṭabarī wrote in Arabic, whereas the Author says he consulted both Arabic and also Persian works."

Surely it is possible to derive information from Bukhárí without quoting Traditions; and as for Ṭabarí, may not Nizámí have read him in the Persian translation by Bal'amí?

Note 177. Professor Wilson can, of course, make nothing of the half-verse اسدی‌را که بود الف بنواخت as it stands, and he does not try to emend it. But emendation is easy and certain. Read:

اسدی‌را که بو دُلَف بنواخت

Asadí, whom Bú Dulaf patronized.

Since Firdausí is mentioned in the preceding verse, Professor Wilson has assumed that Nizámí is here referring to the elder Asadí, in which case Abú Dulaf might have been supposed to be the man who is described as Firdausí's ráwí (*Chahár Maqála*, p. 55 of the translation). But there is no evidence that he was Asadí's patron, and such an hypothesis is in fact unnecessary, though it is not inconsistent with the verses cited in the same place, in which Firdausí speaks of Abú Dulaf as "one of the notables of the city (Ṭús)", and complains that he got nothing but fine words from him—a reproach that would be pointless if Abú Dulaf had not been in a position to bestow solid favours. We may regard it as beyond doubt that the Asadí mentioned in the verse which I have emended is the younger poet of that name, who dedicated his *Karshásp-náma* to Abú Dulaf, prince of Arrán (see Rieu, Suppl. to the Cat. of Persian MSS. in the

British Museum, p. 134, col. 2). As the *Karshásp-náma* was written in imitation of the *Sháhnáma*, the two authors are naturally associated by Nizámí.

In connexion with the elder Asadí the only reference given is to the extremely meagre article in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, supplemented by a worthless anecdote from Daulatsháh. Professor Wilson's choice of authorities, if not extensive, is at least peculiar. He never once refers to Professor Browne's *Literary History of Persia*. Students are told where to find a verse translation of Asadí's celebrated *munáẓara* between Day and Night by Miss Costello. They are not told, and perhaps I ought not to inform them, that the same poem was translated into verse seven years earlier by a very distinguished Orientalist whose name has just been mentioned inadvertently, واستغفر اللّٰه.

Note 183. It is rather misleading to equate *parí* with fairy, as the two words, though often confused, are not related etymologically.

Note 392. Professor Wilson says that he has not seen any explicit assertion in Persian writers of the belief that the sun makes gold grow and develop in the stone of the mine; but cf. Book I of the *Mathnawí* (verses 3779–80 in my forthcoming edition):—

از ره پنهان که دور از حسّ ماست

آفتاب چرخ را بس راههاست

آن رهی که زر بیابد قوت ازو

وآن رهی که سنگ شد یاقوت ازو

Note 735. The special meaning here attributed to *'aqd* is the ordinary meaning of *'iqd*, which should also take the place of *'aqd* in the verse quoted from Ḥáfiz.

Note 872. For the astrological use of *kadkhudá* see the translation of *Chahár Maqála*, note xxiv, p. 132.

Note 1247. The half-verse نشدم گر هزار کارم بود seems to require emendation, for I do not believe that نشدم and بود can be taken as equivalent to conditional tenses. One might suggest دلم نشد = نشدم دل, meaning "I did not lose consciousness:

I was active in a thousand ways ". In this case it would be easy to account for the substitution of گ by a copyist who regarded نشدم as a verbal form.

The name بشر, which occurs many times in the story translated in vol. i, p. 157 and foll., should, of course, be represented in English by Bishr, not Bashr.

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

ZULU REFERENCES FOR ZULU INTERPRETERS AND STUDENTS. CARL FAYE. With five portraits and a map. 4to. Pietermaritzburg, Natal: City Printing Works, Ltd., 1923.

This is a book whose contents are likely to appeal to a wider circle of readers than those referred to on the title-page. Mr. Faye has evidently taken much trouble in the collection and presentation of his material; and both printing and binding are all that can be desired. The system of orthography followed is that known as " conjunctive ".

From an interpreter's and student's point of view it seems to us that the list of Natal magistrates (pp. 22–5) might well have included officers of former times, on whom, as pioneers and initiators, devolved duties often far more important than any present-day magistrate is ever likely to be required to perform. The older generation, therefore, are still frequently referred to by Natives in Courts of Law as well as outside them.

The want of comprehensiveness makes itself felt somewhat in the list of royal regiments. For instance, those recruited by Tshaka (the world-famous creator of the Zulu military system) have been entirely omitted, also most of those recruited by his notorious successor Dingana. A few inaccuracies have crept in on p. 45; for instance, Dhlambedhlu, recruited by Dingana, occurs *after* Ndabakawombe and Ntsewane, whereas, apart from the iNgcobinga cadets inherited from Tshaka (called iZinyosi by Dingana), it was unquestionably Dingana's *first* regiment. Then, again, neither Ndabakawombe nor Ntsewane were recruited by Dingana as supposed by Mr. Faye. The explanations given of the meanings of some of the names are very interesting.

The glossaries of selected official terms and physical features are likely to prove useful and suggestive. So far as we are aware, the

genealogical tables (pp. 106–22) have never been attempted for Zulu in so full a way, and they are at once original, lucid, and instructive.

The specimen speeches, well chosen and, as a rule, correctly translated, are also an interesting feature.

We are surprised to see that a bizarre mode of spelling the great name Tshaka has been resorted to. As all old and better-informed people in the Zulu world know, it was derived from the complaint from which, prior to his birth, the despot's mother had falsely declared herself to be suffering, viz. *itshati* or *itshaka*. These words are now obsolete, but anyone who has heard either of them authoritatively pronounced cannot have failed to detect therein the sharp " t " sound, as heard in the " ch " of our word " chant ". It was because of this that scores of the earlier settlers (some of them contemporaneous with Tshaka himself, and, writing before the alphabet had assumed the now prevailing form) wrote, not Shaka but *Chaka*—a spelling which later generations finally converted to Tshaka, i.e. they amended not the pronunciation, but the bare form of the name as reduced to writing.

Even though Zulu months naturally do not and cannot correspond exactly with those of the English calendar, it is always possible to indicate approximately enough for all practical purposes what particular portion of the calendar is connoted by any Zulu month, especially as the phases of the moon are clearly indicated in every good almanac. As it is, the twenty-six names (pp. 52–4), in the absence of references to the English calendar, lose much of their significance for Europeans, and tend to give rise to doubt and uncertainty. For instance, anyone studying the list might easily overlook that Masingana and Ngcela are one and the same month. Mr. Faye is quite at sea as to the meaning of Ngulazibuya (p. 53), which has nothing to do with cattle " being sick " or " going homeward ". Ngula is the word gulula in an abbreviated form (the *n* being prefixed for reasons it is not necessary now to deal with), whilst zibuya is the plural of isibuya ; the meaning of the whole being—the month *when the threshing-floors* (or enclosures) *are cleaned* (in connexion with the yearly harvest).

The book is a very welcome addition to Zulu-English literature, and a distinctly creditable performance. If there are faults here and there they are more often those of omission than commission. As a whole the work bears on it the promise of even better and more substantial achievement in the future.

J. STUART.

CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF THE INDIA OFFICE. Vol. II, Part IV. Supplement, 1906–20. Bengali Books. By the late Professor J. F. BLUMHARDT, M.A. pp. 523. London, 1923.

In 1905 a catalogue of the Bengali, Oriya, and Assamese books in the library of the India Office was published. The present publication is a supplement to this catalogue, and includes only the Bengali books added to the library during the fourteen years ending with 1920. Both catalogues were compiled by the late Professor J. F. Blumhardt, who did not live to finish the revision of the proofs. A comparison of the two lists provides startling evidence of the increase of literary activity in Bengali during recent years. More Bengali printed books were added to the India Office Library during the years 1906–20 than the total number of such books contained in the library in 1905. It is true that the supplementary catalogue contains some books published earlier than 1905, but the proportion of these to later publications is very small.

It is interesting to notice the large increase in the output of books dealing with history and biography. Under the head of history one notices a great number of publications dealing with the history of special towns or districts. Considerable attention is evidently also being given to the study of local dialects of Bengali. In biography Paṇḍit Śivanāth Śāstrī's invaluable book on Rāmatanu Lāhirī and the Bengali society of his day, published in 1904, has served as a model for many other lives and memoirs. It is strange that the same writer's later work, his *Ātmacarita*, is not included in the catalogue.

The arrangement of the matter of the Supplement is a distinct improvement on that of the original catalogue. The titles of all the books are arranged in one list in alphabetical order, and in each case some indication of the contents or the nature of the work is inserted. Appended to the catalogue proper are an "Index of Persons" and a classified "Subject Index". The system of transliteration is based on the principles adopted for Indian names in the Library of the British Museum. The result is sometimes from the Bengali point of view rather disconcerting, but for cataloguing purposes uniformity is, of course, essential.

The two catalogues—the original one of 1905 and this supplement—combined form by far the most complete guide to Bengali literature that has so far appeared, whether in this country or in India.

W. SUTTON PAGE.

NOTES AND QUERIES

ISLAMICA

I. Firdawsi and "the Marzuban of Herat"

On page 16 of Nöldeke's famous essay on *Das Persische Nationalepos* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1920), the question of the authors of the prose "Shāhnāma" on which Firdawsi's epic was partly at any rate based is discussed. The tradition is as follows :—

In A.H. 346 (A.D. 957–8) a certain high official named Abū Manṣūr al-Ma'marī (or al Mu'ammarī) [1] caused to be collected for Abū Manṣūr b. 'Abd ur-Razzāq, lord of Ṭūs, a Shāh Nāma (in prose), and for this purpose employed the following men :—

(1) ساح the Khurasānī from Herat.
(2) Yazdandākh, son of Shāpūr from Sīstān.
(3) Māhōī Khurshīdh, son of Bahrām from Nishāpūr.
(4) Shādhān, son of Burzūr from Ṭūs.

Nöldeke points out that all these names are not Muslim but Zoroastrian. Al-Birūnī in his "Athār al-Bāqiyya" (xxxviii, 116) informs us that Abū Manṣūr, the son of 'Abd ur-Razzāq of Tūs, of whom we are told a good deal in histories between A.H. 945–60, had dedicated to him a "Shāhnāma".

Now there is a paragraph in Firdawsi's Introduction to the reign of Hormuz, son of Anūshīrwān, which tells us that a certain great man caused Parsee priests (mōbadhs) to be brought from various quarters, in order to collect the materials relating to the ancient kings of Persia for a book, which formed the basis of Firdawsi's Epic. One of these mōbedhs is thus described by Firdawsi (see Macan 1791, four lines from bottom) :—

[1] Nöldeke reads Al-Ma'marī, but wherever I have come across the name in contemporary verse we must read Mu'ammarī, e.g. a hemistich in one of Qatrān's odes reads:

ستوده بوالمعمّر کو معمّر کردگیتی را

یکی پیر بد مرزبان هری
پسندیده و دیده از هر دری
جهما ندیدهٔ نام او بود ماخ
سخندان وبابرگ و بابرز وشاخ

As Nöldeke points out, the reading of the name ماخ (Mākh) is quite uncertain, and it has suggested itself to me that we may have here a corruption of the name ماج, and that this Māj was the same man who served as *rāvī* to Rūdakī (see my article "Rūdakī and Pseudo-Rūdakī" in *JRAS.* Oct., 1924). Of course, if we are to read ماج, a variant would have to be found for the second Misraʿ of the line for the sake of the rhyme. However this may be, it seems quite conceivable that the man who was *rāvī* to Rūdakī, who composed a poetic version of "Kalila and Dimna", should be the type of man to be employed in collecting the ancient legends of Persia.

In one of the oldest Shah Nāma MSS., namely the British Museum Or. 21103, which is dated A.H. 675, the line in question reads :—

جهاندیدهٔ نام ایو (*sic*) بوذ ماخ
سخندان و بافرّ وبا یال وشاخ

Although *shākh* fits well with the rest of the second hemistich as given by Macan (*bā barg u shākh* being a common expression), it may be suggested that the word *tāj* would be a more suitable pendant to *yāl*, meaning a crest, and this would give us the required rhyme.

II. Some Rare MSS. seen in Tunis

During a recent visit to Tunis I had the opportunity of examining a number of Arabic manuscripts then in private hands which have now become the property of my friend Baron Rodolph d'Erlanger of Sidi Bou Saïd, Tunisia. Among the more interesting were the following :—

(1) A unique astronomical work entitled

زیج الریقانی المعروف بالکرمانی والمنسوب الی ارصاد البتانی

That is to say, the Zīj or astronomical tables of ar-Rīqānī, known as al-Kirmānī and based on the observations of al-Battānī. The transcript was made in A.H. 489. It is in two *maqālas*, of 30 chapters (bābs) each. Unfortunately a few folios are missing at the beginning. It begins abruptly as follows :—

ووجدتُ من الخلل فى الاوسط وتركيب للتعاديل و غيرها و ليو . . . بين هذا الزيج وبين الزيج البتانى تفاوت فى الاعمال وتقاويم الكواكب به و قد يثبت اصول زيجه بتاريخ الفرس فى السنين المجموعة المبسوطة الخ.

The author further explains that whereas al-Battānī took his bearings from ar-Raqqa, he himself measures from Rayy.

The *bābs* of Maqāla I bear the following titles :—

1 باب آ فى ذكى تواريخ الثلثة المستعملة فى زماننا

2 باب ب فى نقل سنى هذه التواريخ الى الايام و الايام الى سنيها بالحساب والجدول

3 باب ج فى استخراج هذه التواريخ بعضها من بعض

4 باب د فى مدخل هذه التواريخ فى ايام الاسبوع بالحساب و الجدول

5 باب ه فى استخراج الاوساط من جداولها

6 باب ف فى نقل الاوسط من طول الى طول

7 باب ز فى معرفة تعديل الايام بلياليها

8 باب ح فى اصول الاوجات و جوهرات الكواكب

9 باب ط فى تعديل مابين سطرَىْ الجداول

10 باب ى فى تقويم الشمس

11 باب يا فى تقويم القمر و جواهره

12 باب يب فى تقويم الكواكب الخمسة

13 باب يج فى عمل تسيرات التقاويم

14 باب يد فى عرض القمر

15 باب يه فى عروض الكواكب الخمسة

16 باب يو فى رجوع الكواكب واستقاماتها ورؤيتها و خفاتها

17 باب يز فى صعود الكواكب و هبوطها فى افلاكها

18 باب يح فى معرفة جنب القوس و قوس الجنب بالحساب و الجدول

19 باب يط فى سهم القوس و قوس السهم من جدوله و من جدول الجنب

20 باب ك فى معرفة الطل الاول

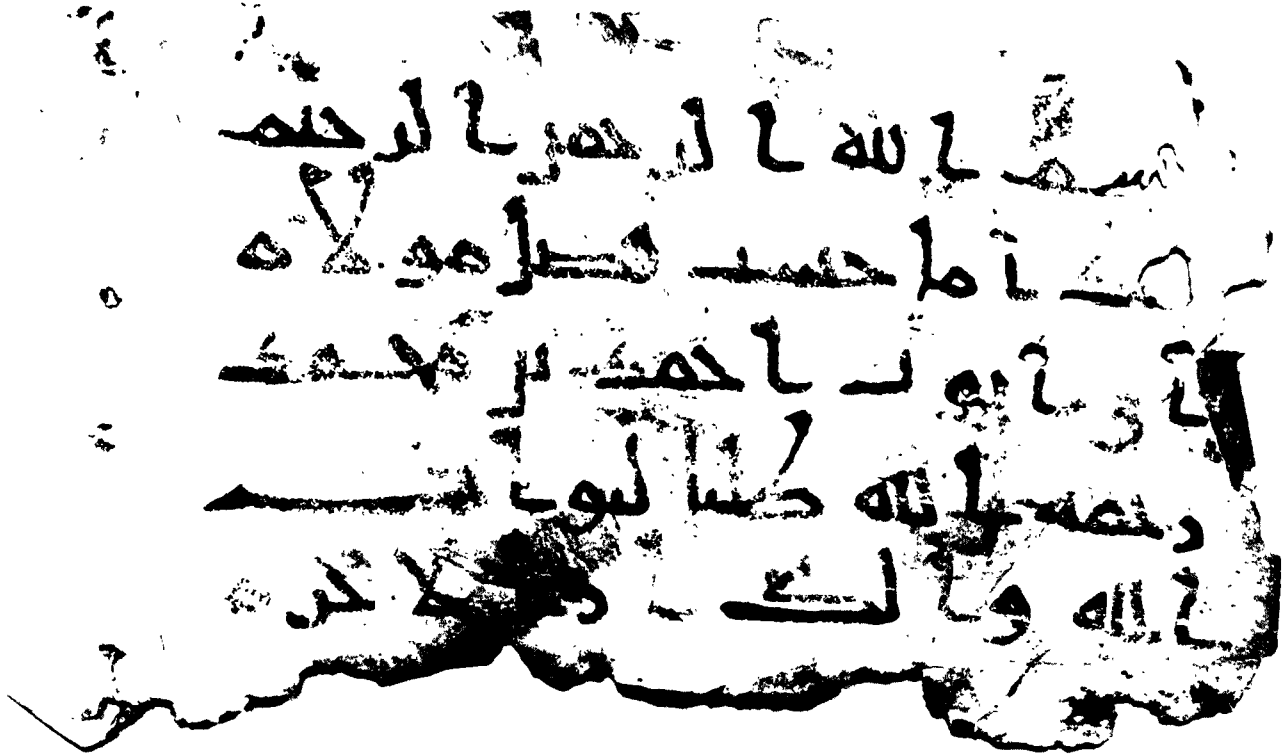
باب كا فى معرفة الطل الثانى

باب كب فى نقل الاطلال الى مقاييس مختلفة

باب كج فى الميل الاول

باب كد فى مطالع البروج بخط الاستوا

باب كه فى الميل الثانى



FACSIMILE, IN ORIGINAL SIZE, OF PARCHMENT LEAF OF BOOK DATED A.H. 265

26 باب كو في بعد الكواكب عن معدل النهار

27 باب كز في معرفة سعة مشرق الشمس والكواكب

28 باب كح في معرفة عرض البلد

29 باب كط في تعديل النهار الشمس والكواكب

30 باب ل في مطالع البروج بالبلد لاىّ جزء تريد

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(2) ترسل القرطبي مع القشيرى

An apparently unique MS. copied in A.H. 630 containing the correspondence in prose and in verse between the great Sūfī teacher al-Qushayirī and al-Qurṭubī. I was unable to examine this MS. sufficiently carefully to identify "al-Qurtubī", but it may possibly be Othmān b. Sa'īd ad-Dānī al-Qurṭubī who died A.H. 444. Al-Qushayirī died A.H. 465.

(3) A copy of al-Mutarrizī's Commentary on the Maqāmāt of Harīrī, made by the author in A.H. 563. Al-Muṭarrizī was born in A.H. 538, and died in A.H. 610.

(4) الذرية الطاهرة

A history of the relatives of the Prophet by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad ad-Dūlābī, who died A.H. 320. Not dated, but the copy is in the hand of as-Sakhāwī, who died A.H. 902.

(5) التميز والفصل بين المتفق فى الخط والنقط والسكن

A biographical dictionary of famous men whose *nisbas* were identical arranged alphabetically. The solitary volume I found contained the letters *dāl* to *'ayn*. The copy was made by M. b. Maḥmūd al-Mahdawī (of Mahdiyya, Tunisia) in A.H. 766 in a Mashriqī hand.

Begins :—

باب الدار ابجردى بتخفيف الدال والرآء بين الالفين ثم بآء ساكنة و جم مكسورة ورآء ساكنة ودال مهملة مكسورة .

الاول ينسب الى دارا بجرد بلاد من بلاد فارس وهو ابو على
الحسن بن محمد بن يوسف

(6) *An early Qur'ān.*

I found many leaves of early Qur'āns in private hands, and among the fragments shown me were two leaves representing the first and last folios of a Qur'ān written on stout parchment and measuring $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4''$. On one folio, which is reproduced in the accompanying plate, was written the following words :—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
هذا ما حبست فضل مولاة
ابى ايوب احمد بن محمد
رحمه الله طلبا لثواب
الله و الدار الاخرة

On the other was written in the same hand :—

كتبت فضل بخطها فى الصوم
سنه خمس و سبعين و مائتين

That is to say, this Qur'ān was written during Ramaẓān in A.H. 275 by a woman named Faẓl, the *mawlāt* of Abū Ayyūb Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, and presented as *waqf* [to some mosque]. This is certainly one of the earliest dated documents in Cufic that have been found, though, of course, Cufic inscriptions in stone and in faience of an earlier date exist, while Arabic documents written in *Naskh* on papyrus take us back to the beginning of the first century of the Hijra.

In the library of the Great Mosque at Qayrawān I examined a large number of Qur'āns on parchment dating from the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries of the Hijra, and I found that many of them, like this MS. of the third century, were written by women. I was informed by local Moslems that according to their traditions it was in the early centuries of Islam considered desirable for a Tunisian girl who wished to make a good match, that she should have made at least one copy of

the Qur'ān with her own hand. This interesting tradition is fully borne out by the Qur'āns preserved in the Great Mosque at Qayrawān. When I say "preserved" I fear I do not mean in our sense of the word, as the parchment sheets are kept unbound and tightly crammed into card boxes, where they are slowly crumbling to pieces.

E. DENISON ROSS.

Sir Arthur Shipley's delightful volume of *Cambridge Cameos* contains an essay entitled "The Hunting of the Yale", in which he shows that this semi-mythical creature, the *eale* of Pliny, which figures in the arms of Christ's College, probably originated in misunderstood reports of African cattle whose horns have been artificially deformed. Pliny's *eale* would appear to be derived (through a catena of no doubt imperfectly rendered authorities) from Herodotus' ὀπισθονομοι βόες of the Garamantes—oxen which had to walk backwards when grazing "because their horns curve outwards in front of their heads" and would not allow them to reach the ground. Herodotus probably misunderstood some account of cattle like those of the present-day Dinka. These people, according to Dr. Seligman, treat the horns of the leading bull in every herd (by slicing away part when the horn is growing) so as to make one project forward and the other backward. Sir A. Shipley gives reproductions of some Egyptian paintings, some of which so closely resemble Dr. Seligman's photograph of the Dinka bull as to show that the practice must have come down from very ancient times. With regard to a similar practice among the Zulus, at the other end of Africa, Sir A. Shipley refers (p. 69) to a passage in Wood's *Natural History* which, as it stands, is somewhat confusing, and gives the impression that the information has been chiefly, if not wholly, obtained from that very doubtful authority, Le Vaillant. The passage immediately preceding this direct quotation, however, is clearly, though not quoted verbatim, derived from Shooter's *Kaffirs of Natal and the Zulu Country* (1857). This writer says: "Means are occasionally employed to cause one horn to bend downwards while the other remains upright" (p. 29). The fantastic variations then described and also referred to by Le Vaillant, are said to be found among the herds of the Zulu king, and I am informed by Mr. J. Stuart that the practice "was largely, if not entirely, confined to the royal herds, indulged in merely as a form of amusement. Cattle so treated were trained to take part in the dances at the royal kraal, i.e. were driven to and fro whilst the dancing was going on.

The fantastic shapes referred to by Shooter seem to me correctly given as far as they go."

Mr. Stuart's mother saw these "strangely-horned cattle" figuring in dances at Mpande's kraal in 1851. Shooter does not profess to have seen them himself, but says (note on p. 393): "This description of Pande's cattle is on the authority of Europeans who have seen them. Horns are bent by being scraped on one side and (it is said) softened with water."

Mr. Stuart thinks that cattle were not commonly treated in this way before Mpande's time, as the unsettled reigns of his predecessors would not allow of so much attention being paid to the royal herds, but Le Vaillant's reference seems conclusive as to its existence, his description coinciding so closely with that of later authorities, while the date at which he wrote makes it impossible he could have borrowed from them.

There is a reference to this custom in Andersson's *Lake Ngami* (1856), but unfortunately he does not specify which African tribes "take much pains in forming [the horns] of a certain shape. This is effected either by sawing off the tips, splitting them, bending them forcibly while yet tender, and so forth". If the Herero (called by him "Damara") are meant, this would suggest that the custom was brought from the north-east by the Hamitic immigration which has perceptibly affected these people, and in a less degree, the Zulus. But in that case one would have expected it to prevail also among the Hottentots. Is any information available on this point?

A. W.

Residents in Nyasaland, and East Africa generally, are familiar with the word *machila* or *machira* (meaning a hammock or carrying-chair—various types are in use), which is generally accepted as Portuguese. An interesting point is raised by the Rev. T. Cullen-Young, in his recently published *Notes on the Speech and History of the Tumbuka-Henga Peoples*. He treats *machila* (usually regarded as a singular) as a plural, having the singular (*li*) *chila* (p. 61). As the Tumbuka must have borrowed the word from the Anyanja, who seem to have adopted it either directly or indirectly from the Portuguese, this singular looks like an afterthought, suggested by the mistaken notion that *machila* is a plural of Class 6. Yule and Burnell (s.v. *muncheel*, *manjeel*) suggest an Indian origin: Malayalam *manjil*, *manchal*, from

the Sanskrit *mañcha*. This derivation is disputed by Monsenhor Dalgado (*Glossario Luso-Asiatico*, ii, 5, 6), who gives it an African origin. It appears that, in the dialects of Tete and the Lower Zambezi, *machira* means "cloth"—especially native-woven cotton fabrics, and the word was so used by Father Monclaio in 1569: "Andaõ todos commumente vestidos com huns panos de algodao . . . os quaes eu vi tecer perto da Sena, e chamaõ-se *machiras*." This suggests that the earliest *machilas* were simply pieces of cloth slung from poles, or in other words canvas hammocks, and this seems to be confirmed by a quotation dated 1611, where the "cochos . . . que em Cuama se chaman *machiras*", are said to be "concertados ao modo de redes do Brazil"—the net hammocks of the Indians. Dos Santos, writing in 1609, distinguishes between *machiras* and *andores* or palanquins; but Bocarro (1635) identifies them ". . . andor, a que chaman *machiras*". The conveyance most in favour among the modern Portuguese is certainly more like a carrying-chair than a hammock, and is well described by Mrs. Pringle (see quotation in Yule and Burnell, p. 596).

I have so far failed to trace any word for "cloth" at all resembling *chira*, except in the Chiswina dialect of the "Mashona" (*Karanga*) language, spoken in the Penhalonga district. The Rev. H. Buck, in the dictionary published by the S.P.C.K. (1911), gives "*jira* a cloth, *limbo*, linen, a sheet, a towel, etc." In most cognate dialects, variants of *nguo* or *nsalu* are used. Any light on this point would be welcome, as also on the question whether *chira* or *chila* is ever used in the sense of "hammock". I have never heard any form of the word but *machila*, but Father Torrend (*Gramatica do Chisena*, p. 57) makes it a plural, with *chira* for the singular.

It is not so far clear whether the native (Sena or Karanga) word for cloth was applied to the cloth hammock except under Portuguese influence. Even if it was so used, it seems more likely that the word, bearing as it does a fairly close resemblance to *manjil*, should have been applied to the thing when first introduced under its Indian name, than that the African name should, as Monsenhor Dalgado thinks, have been carried to India.

A. WERNER.

OBITUARY

Rev. W. Hopkyn Rees, D.D.

William Hopkyn Rees began his qualifications for language study and teaching by being born at Cwmavon in the Welsh speaking part of Wales. As quite a young man he decided on the ministry. Theological training in Bala and a short pastorate in Wales prepared him to go out to China under the London Missionary Society. He sailed with his wife, in the autumn of 1883, for China, travelling out on the same boat as James Gilmour of Mongolia. After learning the language in Peking, he went out into the middle of the great plain of Chihli, some 200 miles south of Peking, there to found the station near Chichou which ultimately came to be called Siaochang. The station was in the midst of the territory swept by the Boxer rising, but fortunately Hopkyn Rees had left for furlough in England a short time before.

Returning in 1901, he rendered such help to the Chinese authorities in the settlement of indemnity claims that he received the order of the "Blue Button". By this time he had established his reputation, not only as a man who knew the windings of Chinese life in their every turn, but as a Chinese scholar. He had an unusual memory for the character. It was natural, therefore, that when he was appointed to the Union Theological College in Peking, he should at the same time join in founding the Language School in Peking for missionaries and other Europeans. The magnitude to which that school has grown is some measure of the competence of its founders. He was chosen one of the board of revisers for the Mandarin Old Testament. The last stage of his work in China began in 1913, when he was appointed to the staff of the Christian Literature Society in Shanghai. In 1916 he became General Secretary, and he only resigned in 1921 because ill-health compelled it. He was responsible for the editing and translation of many books, but his greatest work was the translation of the Old Testament articles of Hastings' One Volume Bible Dictionary, while Dr. McGillivray took the New Testament. It was not possible to translate directly, many of the ideas of criticism had to be re-expressed if they were to have any relation to the stage of Biblical scholarship which the Chinese Christians in the mass had then reached, and only those who have attempted such a piece of work can realize the enormous labour which it cost. It was so successful that before publication the

first edition of 5,000 was sold out. On his resignation in 1921 he was appointed to the School of Oriental Languages in London, and of his work there someone at the school can speak. But two final and most fitting honours came to him just before he died. First the Chairmanship of the Union of Welsh Independents, and second that of the Board of the London Missionary Society. In neither case was he able to take his place as Chairman, but the honours themselves were conferred with such spontaneous appreciation that the occupancy of either chair was needless.

In all the work that he did Mrs. Rees played her part. She had a special power of understanding the Chinese mind, and in district work, above all, the two co-operated almost as one. Four of the seven children have been missionaries or the wives of missionaries.

Dr. Rees enjoyed a remarkable popularity wherever he was known, but above all in Wales. His knowledge of China and his human interest in handling what he knew in the most sympathetic way made him an unusually good speaker, and he did a great work in making large audiences understand a little more of the conditions in the Far East. As is suggested by the bare record of his appointments, he lived a life full of activity, and if the reward of longer years had been offered to him at the price of going slow, he would certainly have refused it. He was one of the most comradely and eager of friends. He gave his best in friendship without stint or reserve. He was first and foremost a Christian, and, because his religion was a complete and all round thing, he gave the impression that it was second nature. As compared with the lives many men live to-day, his period of 65 years was not long, but few men, even in a long life, have had so much of joy in realizing the best of their ambitions. In his illness over and again he gave thanks for the mercy and gladness which had marked all his career. That was characteristic of his buoyancy and courage. "Whom the gods love, die young" was pre-eminently true of Hopkyn Rees.

To this appreciation by an old friend, I wish to add a few words from one who only had the privilege of Dr. Hopkyn Rees's acquaintance during the short period he was able to serve as Reader in Chinese in our School. Dr. Rees was no longer a young man when he came to us, in 1920, but he at once entered into his duties with a keenness and vigour of which a far younger man might well be proud. For Dr. Rees all students alike were the object of his solicitous care, and the same

trouble was bestowed on the beginner as on the advanced student. His direct and practical method of instruction, coupled with his rare knowledge of spoken Mandarin, resulted in consistent and rapid progress, and his name will be gratefully remembered by numbers of students who passed through his hands in these four years. But the loss we feel here is not merely the loss of a great teacher, but in equal measure the loss of a personality which had gained the affection and respect of all his colleagues.

EDITOR.

BULLETIN

OF THE

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
LONDON INSTITUTION

PAPERS CONTRIBUTED

THE NYAYAÇASTRA OF MEDHATITHI

By A. Berriedale Keith

ONE point only in Dr. Barnett's vivacious article in the last number of this *Bulletin* (pp. 519–22) seems to merit further examination, because it deals with an issue which is capable of definitely objective treatment, namely the reference in the *Pratimānāṭaka* to the *Nyāyaçāstra* of Medhātithi. Dr. Barnett, despite the brief refutation of his view given by me above (Vol. III. Pt. II. p. 295), still insists that the *Nyāyaçāstra* can only mean the *Manubhāṣya*, a work of the tenth century A.D.

The passage in question is one in which Rāvaṇa, confronted with Rāma, says ātmagatam: yāvad aham api brāhmaṇasamudācāram anuṣṭhāsyāmi. Aloud he declares: "I am of the Kāçyapagotra: I study the Veda with its Aṅgas and Upāṅgas, the *Mānavīya Dharmaçāstra*, the *Māheçvara Yogaçāstra*, the *Bārhaspatya Arthaçāstra*, Medhātithi's *Nyāyaçāstra*, and the *Prācetasa Çrāddhakalpa*." There is not the slightest possibility of doubt that the only manner in which this list can naturally be understood is to hold that each of these texts is an independent Çāstra, and any contention to the contrary requires strict proof.

Dr. Barnett asserts that the term Nyāyaçāstra signifies either a book of law or a book of logic: that in this connexion logic is quite out of place: and that, even if it were admissible, the fact remains that the only Çāstras by Medhātithi on record are the *Manubhāṣya*, the *Smṛtiviveka*, and a work on astrology: of these the only one extant is the *Manubhāṣya*, and he therefore concludes that this is the Çāstra

referred to in the *Pratimānāṭaka*. The last conclusion is obviously a *non-sequitur*; if we have to choose between the *Smṛtiviveka* and the *Manubhāṣya*, the choice would obviously fall on the former as presumably a general treatise, while the latter is merely a commentary; but the point is of no importance, in view of the fact that the reference is not to this Medhātithi at all, as the following arguments conclusively demonstrate.

(1) There is no evidence for the assertion that *Nyāyaçāstra* means a book of law. The term is a perfectly familiar one in reference to logic, and *Nyāya* forms part of the names of a very large number of works on that topic. On the other hand, authority for *Nyāyaçāstra* as a book of law is entirely lacking, and it is obviously incumbent on him who asserts such a meaning to adduce passages in its support. Even, however, were this possible, the fact would remain that the overwhelming weight of usage establishes the meaning of *Nyāyaçāstra* as connected with logic.

(2) The assertion that logic in this connexion is quite out of place is hardly intelligible; study of logic is a most legitimate occupation for a Brāhmaṇa; the epic, the Purāṇas, and the law books alike extol its merits,[1] and the parallel of Nārada, adduced below, is conclusive against Dr. Barnett.

(3) The view that the *Manubhāṣya* is meant involves the separation of the commentary from the text by the interposition of the *Bārhaspatya Arthaçāstra*, and this is now defended by the fact that in the *Mahābhārata*, xii, 201, 8, the three Vedas are enumerated, followed by the Vedāṇgas, "among which the *Nirukta* or commentary on the text comes *third*." The parallel is clearly imperfect, even as presented, since the two intervening works are Vedāṇgas as much as the *Nirukta*, and not totally independent texts like the *Bārhaspatya Arthaçāstra*. But Dr. Barnett ignores the notorious fact that *Nirukta* does not mean commentary on the text, but etymology, which is a vitally different thing. Possibly the error may be due to the fact that in his *Nirukta* Yāska in the course of explaining the *Nighaṇṭavas* does comment on a number of Vedic stanzas; but the fact at least is beyond dispute,[2] and with it the parallel disappears.

(4) It is obvious that the whole difficulty has arisen from Dr. Barnett's *petitio principii* that Medhātithi must be the writer who

[1] See *Sacred Books of the Hindus*, viii, pp. xiv, xv.

[2] See, e.g., Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 264; Hopkins, *Great Epic*, p. 7 (the term *Nyāyaçikṣā*, wrongly rendered at p. 14, n. 4, is correctly given at p. 96).

is known as the author of the *Manubhāṣya* and the *Smṛtiviveka*. Yet, surely, when we have a term like *Nyāyaçāstra*, which *prima facie* means logical science, the obvious course is to look for some author on logic of that name. The *Catalogus Catalogorum*, unfortunately, is silent on this head; yet, as far back as 1920 that able scholar, the late Satis Chandra Vidyabhuṣana, pointed out the solution, when he wrote,[1] in view of the reference in the *Pratimānāṭaka*, "In the Māhābhārata we find that Medhātithi and Gautama were the names of the same person, one being his proper name and the other his family name," citing the Bangavāsi edition of the Çāntiparvan, 265, 45:—

> Medhātithir mahāprājño Gautamas tapasi sthitaḥ
> vimṛçya tena kālena patnyāḥ saṁsthāvyatikramam.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that, when the *Pratimānāṭaka* uses the phrase Medhātithi's *Nyāyaçāstra*, it refers to the *Nyāyaçāstra* ascribed by tradition to Gautama, a sage famous in Rāma's legendary history, and is not guilty of the absurdity of treating as existing in Rāvaṇa's time a commentary of the tenth century A.D. Further, the recognition of this fact gives a special point to the mention of the Kāçyapagotra as that of Rāvaṇa, for the great epic[2]—which was admittedly one of the chief sources of inspiration for the dramatists—expressly records that the hermitage of Kāçyapa was full of sages "who were versed in the Nyāyatattva (logical categories), and knew the true meaning of a proposition, objection, and conclusion". Moreover, the epic tells us of Nārada, a model of Brahmanical conduct, that he was versed in logic (*nyāyavid*), in law, and the six Vedāṅgas, which affords us an excellent parallel for Rāvaṇa here, and establishes the propriety of logical knowledge.[3]

Finally, it may be noted that this interpretation alone accords with the terminology employed in the other cases mentioned. The *Yogaçāstra* is not ascribed to Patañjali, for that would have been too obvious an anachronism, and the *Çrāddhakalpa* is qualified as *Prācetasa*,[4] while Manu and Bṛhaspati are of venerable age.

This disposes of the argument for the late date of the *Pratimā* derived from the mention of Medhātithi; *ab uno disce omnes*.

[1] *History of Indian Logic*, p. 18.
[2] i, 70, 42 ff. [3] ii, 5, 3.

[4] The name may have been suggested to the author by the *Pracetahsmṛti*, a work well known from legal citations. It may be noted that a *Çrāddhakalpa* ascribed to Prajāpati exists (*Calcutta Sanskrit College Catalogue*, ii, 325), and that Pracetas is a Prajāpati (Manu, i, 35). The epic (xii, 350, 65) makes Hiraṇyagarbha the author of Yoga.

THE WORKS OF BHASA

By T. Ganapati Sastri

IN the *Bulletin* of the School of Oriental Studies, London, at pp. 107 to 117 of III, 1, are to be found some criticisms by Messrs. Krishna Pishāroḍi and Rama Pishāroḍi on my views of Bhāsa and his authorship of Svapna-Vāsavadatta and the connected dramas published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. Their arguments are summarized hereunder with replies thereto :—

I. "Every open-minded critic must perforce admit that Pratimā-nāṭaka must come after Kālidāsa, Chārudatta after Śūdraka, and Avimāraka after Daṇḍin."

(1) As regards Pratimā, the genealogy of Raghu's dynasty as described therein agrees with that in the Raghuvaṃśa. Therefore, Pratimā-nāṭaka is based on Raghuvaṃśa : and it must be taken that that genealogy was the creation of Kālidāsa, because Vālmīki makes no mention of it. In Pratimā the genealogy is referred to only in passing. It is legitimate to infer from this that it had been well established, having been already described in detail elsewhere ; and it is so described in Kālidāsa. So say the Pishāroḍis.

But it was not open to Kālidāsa any more than to Bhāsa to manufacture a new genealogy. It must necessarily be inferred that some Itihāsa other than Rāmāyaṇa served as the basis for them both. Accordingly, both Dakshiṇāvartanātha and Aruṇāchalanātha, after stating that the genealogy in Raghuvaṃśa follows that in Vishṇu-purāṇa, quote the following passage from the Vishṇu-purāṇa in commenting on 3rd Sarga, 21st stanza :

"मूलकाद् दशरथः, तस्माद् दिलीपः, ततश्च विश्वसहः,
तस्माच्च खट्वाङ्गो दिलीपः, खट्वाङ्गाद् रघुरभवद्,
रघोरजः, अजाद् दशरथः।"

(Vishnu-purâṇa. Amśa 4. Adhyâya 4.)[1]

It was only after establishing by other reasons that Bhāsa must have been the author of Pratimā that we stated in our introduction to it that Kālidāsa followed Bhāsa even in the genealogy. It was not sought by us to establish the priority of Pratimā to Kālidāsa by reason of the identity of the genealogy in the writers. And, as the authority

[1] "First Mūlaka, then Daśaratha, then Dilīpa, then Viśvasaha, then Khaṭvāṅga Dilīpa. From Khaṭvāṅga Raghu, from Raghu Aja, from Aja Daśaratha."

for the genealogy is to be found in another Itihāsa, its identity in Pratimā and Raghuvaṃśa is incapable of establishing the priority of either in relation to the other. Therefore all discussions based upon the fullness or otherwise of the genealogy are all futile.

(2) With reference to Chārudatta the argument of the Pishārodis is that it is an abridgment of Mṛichchhakaṭika, that the story forming the subject matter of the six Acts, Acts V to X, was omitted for the convenience of the actors in Kerala and to save time, that an easy diction was adopted so that it might be easily understood, and that Chārudatta is a complete drama in itself.

But it is not so; because before establishing the priority of Mṛichchhakaṭika to Chārudatta and the connected dramas, the Svapna-Vāsavadatta and the rest, it is impossible to say that Mṛichchhakaṭika is the original of Chārudatta and that the latter is an adaptation of the former. For no reason has been adduced by the other side to establish the priority of Mṛichchhakaṭika. We have, on the other hand, established the priority of Chārudatta by showing that it must have been composed by the author of Svapna-Vāsavadatta and by other reasons; and they ought to have been met by the other side, but they have not been. Further, the story related in Acts V–X of the Mṛichchhakaṭika has not been omitted but retained in Chārudatta. For Śakāra is described in the latter as vindictive and capable of doing harm to anyone who might do him harm; and his anger is shown to have been roused by Vasantasenā, whom he loves, having taken refuge in Chārudatta's house. And Chārudatta is described as of noble qualities. And in the fourth act Vasantasenā sets out to meet her lover Chārudatta in his house—which must have greatly put out Śakāra. The story thus related does certainly contemplate the fifth and the later acts. For the reader will like to know what the several trials and troubles were to which Chārudatta must inevitably have been put by reason of the anger of Śakāra, and how in keeping with his character he was saved therefrom; and the incidents described in the later acts have to be tacked on in order to satisfy the reader's mind; and the drama must therefore be incomplete without them. The easy diction admitted on the other side is a point in favour of the priority of Chārudatta to Mṛichchhakaṭika. As for the omission of the Maṅgala śloka, to attribute it to "the hurry of the adaptation" is highly inconsistent with the statement that the compiler of Chārudatta is a "clever playwright".

(3) Then, coming to Avimāraka, its story is modelled on the stories

of Daśakumāra-charita; and, when the Madras Government publishes the poem called Avanti-sundarī, it is probable that we may find many verses common to it and Avimāraka. Therefore Avimāraka is merely a compilation. So say the Pishāroḍis.

This reasoning is surprising. Because the stories resemble each other it does not follow that one work is compiled from the other. Otherwise one might say that Mahāvīra-charita and other dramas dealing with the story of Rāma must have been compilations based on one another, because the story is the same. Even if there be some verses in Avanti-sundarī in common with Avimāraka, it might be that the former adopted them from the latter, because Avimāraka is proved to be prior. Moreover, not even one such stanza has been quoted by the other side, even for illustration, from which it has to be gathered that the statement about the existence of many common verses rests not on the direct observation of the writers, but on hearsay information implicitly adopted by them.

We have thus negatived the main contentions of the other side, on which it was sought to make out that Pratimā, Chārudatta, and Avimāraka were later than Kālidāsa, Śūdraka, and Daṇḍin.

II. Then it is stated by the Pishāroḍis that the reference to the worship of statues in the third act of Pratimā indicates that Bhāsa, the predecessor of Kālidāsa, could not be the author of this group of dramas, because in the Śiva temple at Tiruvanchikulam, the ancient capital of the Chera kings, there is a statue dedicated to Bhāskara Ravivarman, the last of the Chera kings, and it is worshipped. In view of the connexion of this prince and of the Svapna group of dramas with the Kerala stage, it is proper to infer that the incident in the Pratimā is based on this deification.

This is erroneous. The sort of Pratimā-gṛiha which is described in the drama is one which is mainly intended for the installation and worship of the statues of departed kings and not a temple dedicated to Vishṇu or Śiva or other deity, with a statue therein of a devotee king, the statue being put there, as in the case of other devotees, in honour of the king by his admirers. Bhāskara Ravivarman was a pious man and the last of the Chera kings, and therefore, to perpetuate his memory, his admirers had his statue installed in the temple at Tiruvanchikulam. Similar statues of kings are also found in the temples in the Pāṇḍya and Chola countries. But the sort of Pratimā-gṛiha described in the Pratimā is to be found nowhere. Therefore the Pratimā incident in the drama has no connexion with

the installation of the statue of Bhāskara Ravivarman ; for the installation of royal statues obtains in other countries as well as Kerala, and the sort of Pratimā-gṛiha described has not the slightest trace of existence in Kerala. As for the special connexion between the Kerala actors and the Svapna group of dramas, that connexion existed with reference to other dramas as well. The Chākyar actors acted Nāgānanda, Mattavilāsa, and other dramas, as well as the Svapna group of dramas. This has been mentioned by us in our introduction to Pratimā under the heading "The popularity of the plays in the Kerala country". And it is not logical to attribute a Kerala origin to the Svapna group of dramas because they were acted by Kerala actors. Otherwise we shall have to attribute a Kerala origin to Nāgānanda, Mattavilāsa, and the rest, as they also were acted by Kerala actors.

III. In Pratimā, Act I, Sītā is described as not participating in the coronation ceremonies of Rāma. The practice in Kerala is that in the coronation the king sits alone without his consort. It has, therefore, to be inferred that Pratimā was composed in Kerala. So argue the Pishārodis.

This argument is faulty. The coronation of Rāma was only as a Yuvarāja and is of secondary importance. Moreover, Vasishṭha, Vāmadeva, and others knew beforehand that the coronation was not going to take place,[1] but nevertheless started it in compliance with the wishes of king Daśaratha, and the ceremony was a mere farce. Thus there was nothing to be gained by making Sītā participate in the ceremonies. On the other hand, the great poet has vastly gained by not making her participate. For it was by adopting this plan of separating Sītā from Rāma that it was possible to describe how at the very time of the coronation Sītā became accidentally interested in wearing the *valkalam*, and how she actually wore it, thereby foreshadowing the forest life which there was going to be. Thus, suitably to her character as a chaste woman, Sītā was able to go along with Rāma without any delay, with the very *valkalam*, when, after relinquishing the kingdom in observance of his father's words, he was about to leave for the forest. By this plan it was also possible to arrange to present the *valkalam* to Rāma for wearing in the forest. It would have been quite impossible to weave all these striking incidents into the drama, had Sītā been by the side of Rāma at the time of the coronation. That is why the intelligent poet, with a view to enhancing

[1] See Pratimā, p. 120, revised edition with commentary.

the effect, separated Sītā from Rāma at the time of the coronation. On the occasion of the main coronation of Rāma as king Sītā is mentioned as having been with him. In the 7th Act the words are, "Then enters Rāma with Sītā after coronation."[1] Even if we adopt the reading, "Then enters Rāma with his Parivāra after coronation," Sītā must also be taken to be included in the word "Parivāra". Likewise in the drama Abhisheka, on the occasion of the main coronation, the words used are, "Then enters Rāma with Sītā after coronation." So Sītā is described as having been with Rāma. Thus the surmise of the Pishāroḍis that some Kerala poet must have introduced the practice of his country in describing the hero's story is without any foundation whatever. It certainly does appear to me to be surprising that the surmise aforesaid leads to this—that the poet who so erroneously adopts his local practice in describing a different hero must be deemed to be very careless or worse.

IV. Then the Pishāroḍis say, "The antiquity of the Sanskrit and Prakrit adduced to justify and support the Bhāsa theory is in reality only an ingenious myth."

This also is wrong. It is not shown that it is only an ingenious myth. Every person who is well acquainted with the ancient and the later Sanskrit works will unhesitatingly accept the antiquity of the Sanskrit in Bhāsa. In fact, in our introduction to Pratimā we have shown that it is more ancient than not merely Kālidāsa but also Aśvaghosha; and all that has not been challenged. The Pishāroḍis are silent on this, and merely state it as their *ipse dixit* that there is not that natural beauty which would prove the antiquity of this group of dramas, and they do not advance anything to establish this statement. But a mere statement is not proof of the matters stated. As for the statement that "the general tone of simplicity is easily explained when it is remembered that these dramas were produced not with a literary purpose nor to glorify a king or national event, but mainly, as we shall show later, with a view to meet the demands of a flourishing popular stage", we ask whether the adoption of a simple diction does or does not militate against the merits of the dramas as literary compositions? If it does militate, then it must be admitted that the easy diction in dramas like Śākuntala is out of place. If it does not, then the same considerations apply both to dramas like Śākuntala and the present ones. As a matter of fact, the view

[1] "ततः प्रविशति कृताभिषेको रामः सह सीतया।"

of the critics is that the literary merits of a composition rise in proportion to the simplicity of the diction. That the diction in these dramas is even simpler than in Śākuntala only shows that their author excels even Kālidāsa. We will deal later on with this meeting " the demands of a flourishing popular stage ". Though the Prakrit in these dramas is similar to that of Kālidāsa, that is not a point against their antiquity, as shown by us in our introduction to Pratimā under the heading " The similarity of Prakrit in Bhāsa and Kālidāsa ". After establishing by independent reasons that Bhāsa must have been the author of these dramas, we stated that their Prakrit was in keeping with their antiquity. If our conclusion is to be challenged, our reasons therefor ought first to be met : and they are not met merely by stating that there is similarity between the Prakrit of these dramas and the Prakrit in Śākuntala, Subhadrā-Dhananjaya, and other later dramas. When the Prakrit of the ancient dramas came conventionally to be adopted, as has been shown by us, in the later dramas, the similarity of the Prakrit ceases to be of any significance. If in a drama written to-day Prakrit such as is found in Śākuntala is adopted, that would not take away from Śākuntala its antiquity. And further we do not argue that the Prakrit is ancient and therefore Bhāsa must be its author, but that Bhāsa is the author and the Prakrit accordingly ancient. Therefore all arguments of the other side based on the Prakrit are in vain.

V. Then the Pishāroḍis say that the varying merits of the dramas is another point against Bhāsa's authorship, and cite Svapna-Vāsavadatta and Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa by way of illustration.

We can only regard all this as unrestrained expressions of opinions formed by them most gratuitously. For with the object of establishing that many authors jointly compiled the dramas they boldly state it as their *ipse dixit* that in one drama the style is artificial and in another natural, that in the same drama the style in one act is of one kind while it is different in another act, that in the same drama the merits vary with the several acts and so on. But all these statements are left undemonstrated.

These Pishāroḍis freely dogmatize without logically supporting their statements. Why do they not argue in the same strain that the merits of the dramas like Vikramorvaśīya vary from act to act and that they must have been compiled by several authors ?

In fact, every one of these dramas displays the same charming evolution of the plot in a setting of apt and varied incidents,

appropriate situations, and measured expression of the human sentiments as interacting with them, richness of sound and sense in consonance with the sentiments and feelings portrayed, working out of the Sandhis and Sandhyangas as required, and universal flow, as it were, of the Rasas; from which it can be inferred, as in the case of Śākuntala and its connected works, that they must all have emanated from the genius of one author. The critics who read these dramas can themselves well appreciate all these qualities; they have also been set forth by us in brief and *in extenso* in our introductions to Pratimā and others; and they can also be grasped by reading our commentaries on Svapna-Vāsavadatta and the rest. In short, these dramas should be reckoned the very best ornaments of the Sanskrit Literature, and among them Svapna-Vāsavadatta and Pratimā the very crown jewels. So it stands.

The argument of the Pishāroḍis that, because the merits of the dramas vary, therefore they must have been compiled by several authors is answered by this consideration, that the difference in the Rasa and Bhāva must necessarily produce a corresponding difference in style and substance.

(2) Then the Pishāroḍis say that we emphasize two of the characteristics in these dramas—the statement "**नान्द्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः**" and the use of the word Sthāpanā at the end of the Prastāvanā—as distinguishing features of Bhāsa's dramas.

From this it appears that they have not carefully read my introduction to the Svapna-Vāsavadatta. After establishing by other and unexceptionable reasons, which independently support the conclusion, that Bhāsa must have been the author of these dramas, we added that the opening of the drama with the Sūtradhāra might also be taken as a distinguishing feature. Nor does the fact that this feature, which was favoured by Bhāsa, the foremost among poets, was adopted by his later successors in any way detract from his position as the first among poets.

(3) Then it is said that in the drama called Āścharya-chūḍāmaṇi, written by Śaktibhadra of Kerala, the play begins with "**नान्द्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः**"; in the Prastāvanā, we find the sentences "**मयि विज्ञापनव्यग्रे शब्द इव श्रूयते, अङ्ग पश्यामि**", and it concludes with the word Sthāpanā—features found in the Svapna group of dramas. It is also based on Kālidāsa's works.

What is the sequitur? The only conclusion that follows from this is that Śaktibhadra of Kerala relished the Svapna group of dramas

so much that he deemed it a good fortune that his drama Āścharya-chūḍāmaṇi should be modelled on them. That is a point against those who are anxious to detract from the merits of the Svapna group of dramas. The fact that that drama is based on Kālidāsa's works only leads to this, that it must be taken to be based on these dramas as well; for Kālidāsa's works themselves are based on these dramas. The beginning of the drama with "**नान्द्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः**" and the mention of Sthāpanā are conventions of ancient dramas, as witness the Bhāṇa called Ubhayābhisārikā, written by the sage Vararuchi. Therefore the praise of Āścharya-chūḍāmaṇi and of its author is to no purpose, and the attempt of the Pishāroḍis to found their argument on the Prastāvanā of that work is all of no avail.

VI. The conclusions to which the Pishāroḍis came, as a result of their investigation, is that these dramas are compilations made out of ancient works with a view to meet the large demands of the flourishing stage of Kerala. And they say that they are fortified in their conclusions by a hoary tradition to the effect that in ancient times there was a large amount of compilation work.

Our answer is this: We have repeatedly shown that the conclusions, so far as they are based on their own personal investigation, are incorrect. We have made it out that these dramas, possessing the requisite and full number of acts, must like Śākuntala and others have been original compositions not based on the works of others. Where then is room for now suspecting that they are only compilations? As for the tradition, that has evidently been set up by the other side so as to support its theory of compilation. For we have not come across any tradition in Kerala that Sanskrit dramas, complete with the requisite acts, were compilations. What all the Chākyar actors in Kerala did was that they selected from among the famous Sanskrit dramas such acts as they regarded as most beautiful and acted them with dress and technique after their own liking. Even now in some temples they depend on this for their livelihood. This matter has been already mentioned by us in our introduction to Pratimā under the heading "The Popularity of Bhāsa's plays in Kerala". Even assuming that there is such a tradition as the Pishāroḍis would have us believe, there is no evidence that these particular dramas were so compiled from other dramas. But from this Svapna group of dramas some acts of surpassing beauty were selected by these Chākyars, appropriately named and acted by them. They appear even in the list furnished by the Pishāroḍis (at page 112) of dramas

stated to have been acted hereditarily in some Chākyar family, in the Āṭṭaprakāra. That list ought to be thus transcribed :—

1. Tapatī-Saṃvaraṇa.
2. Dhanañjaya.
   Both works of Kulaśekhara Varma.
3. Nāgānanda of Śrī-Harsha.
4. Āścharya-chūḍāmaṇi of Śaktibhadra.
5. Kalyāṇa-Saugandhika of Nīlakaṇṭha.[1]
6. Śrīkṛishṇa-charita (not available).
7. Vichchhinnābhisheka (being the first act of Pratimā).
8. Śephālikāṅka and Svapnāṅka (they are the fourth and fifth acts of Svapna-Vāsavadatta).
9. Toraṇa-yuddha and Vāli-vadha (both of the Abhisheka-nāṭaka).
10. Mallāṅka (being the fourth act of Bāla-charita).
11. Mantrāṅka (being the third act of Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa).
12. Dūta-vākya.
13. Karṇabhāra.
14. Dūta-Ghaṭotkacha.

In the above list the Pishāroḍis have written, instead of 8 to 11 as given herein, Svapna-Vāsavadatta, Abhisheka, Bāla-charita, and Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa, and the reason for this misdescription is not clear. Vichchhinnābhisheka is the first act of Pratimā, in the same manner as Śephālikāṅka, Svapnāṅka, and the like. Now the Pishāroḍis proceed as if it were an original and independent drama and ascribe its authorship to Bhāskara Ravivarman, and for this tradition is quoted as authority. But this tradition is known only to them and is of the same species as the other tradition mentioned before ; and it is a convenient device to support the other side in its conclusions, which lack every foundation. It is unnecessary to further expatiate on this, as it is impossible to attribute the authorship of Vichchhinnābhisheka, which really means Pratimā, to any writer who is not older than Kālidāsa.

VII. (*a*) The Pishāroḍis further say that the omission of the poet's name in the Prastāvanā is not due to the convention of those days,

[1] The Pishāroḍis say that the name of the author of Kalyāṇa-Saugandhika is unknown. Evidently they have had no access to a complete copy of this single-act drama, which is well known and can be obtained everywhere in Kerala. In the Sthāpanā the author's name is mentioned. It is, therefore, surprising that persons who take so much interest in Kerala dramas should be ignorant of even the author's name.

but to the fact that it was impossible to ascribe to any one poet's authorship the dramas which were compiled piecemeal by several authors.

This has been answered in repelling the theory that the several acts of these dramas were severally composed. And, while the Pishāroḍis have made mighty efforts to establish that, in the dramas extending over a plurality of acts, there has been a plurality of authorship, none such has been shown as regards the single-act dramas like Madhyama-vyāyoga, such as that the various stanzas and sentences were composed by distinct authors. And thus, it being established that they were the works of one hand, why was the author's name, which ought surely to have been there mentioned, omitted ? What is the answer of the Pishāroḍis to this ? They have, however reluctantly, to admit that the dramas like Madhyama-vyāyoga must have been composed before the practice arose of mentioning the author's name in the prologue. And, when we come so far, it is but proper to admit that the connected Svapna group of dramas exhibiting the like qualities are also of the same authorship. This convention of not mentioning the author's name is also seen elsewhere in a drama anterior to Kālidāsa. That is the Bhāṇa called Ubhayābhisārika, written by the sage Vararuchi. There neither the name of the poet nor of the drama is mentioned in the Sthāpanā, but at the end of the work is to be found written, " Thus ends the Bhāṇa called Ubhayābhisārikā, composed by the sage Vararuchi." [1] In our plays the name of the dramas is written at the end, but not the author's name. That is the only difference. From this it is easy to see how the name of the poet who wrote these dramas came to be forgotten and how he must be older than even the sage Vararuchi.

(*b*) The next argument of the Pishāroḍis is this : In the Lochana of Abhinavaguptāchārya the verse "**स्खलितपक्ष्मकवाटं नयन**" is quoted as from Svapna-Vāsavadatta, and it is not found in the Svapna-Vāsavadatta comprised in this group of dramas. This argues the existence of another Svapna-Vāsavadatta, which may be the original of the present drama.

We ask—is this so-called original Svapna-Vāsavadatta of the same story and plot as the present Svapna-Vāsavadatta or of a different story and plot, describing mainly the marriage of Vāsavadattā ? On the first view this stanza, describing as it does the first stages of love freshly

[1] "**इति वररुचिमुनिकृतिरुभयाभिसारिका नाम भाणः समाप्तः ।**"

formed towards the king, could not find place even in the so-called original Svapna-Vāsavadatta, as has been pointed out by us in our introduction to Svapna-Vāsavadatta.[1] On the second view, even though such a stanza could find a place in a Svapna-Vāsavadatta of a different kind, that drama cannot, for that very reason, be the basis of the present one. In either view, therefore, this theory of a suppositious original Svapna-Vāsavadatta must be given up by the Pishārodis.

Thus the very Svapna-Vāsavadatta found in this group of dramas must be the composition of sage Bhāsa. It is not correct to postulate the existence of another Svapna-Vāsavadatta. If a stanza or two be quoted as from Svapna-Vāsavadatta and be not found here, then, if they cannot fit in with the context, it must be supposed that the person who so quoted made a mistake in the name of the work, because the stanza cannot possibly be there ; but, if it can fit in with the context, then we must suppose that there must be clerical[2] omission in the manuscripts by reason of their not having been current for a long time—and this because it is a certainty that they must have been there. When we find some portions missing in the manuscripts even of widely read works,[3] is it surprising that this should occur in works which have long ceased to be in vogue ? This, then, is the most satisfactory position and one unattended by any difficulties and which will commend itself to all right-minded and learned men. The foregoing also disproves the contention of Dr. Barnett, who accepts the theory of the two Pishārodis.

As a result of all these discussions, the conclusion becomes firmly established that Bhāsa must have been the author of Svapna-Vāsavadatta found in this group of dramas and that likewise he must have been the author of the other connected dramas as well.

[1] See p. 6, Edition with Commentary.

[2] *Vide* pp. 76 and 113 of the Svapna-Vāsavadatta with commentary (3rd ed.).

[3] For instance, the stanzas "न खलु न खलु बाणः सन्निपात्योऽयमस्मिन्" "कुल्याम्भोभिः पवनचपलैः" in Sākuntala (1st act) are not found in the Nirṇayasagar Edition.

SVAPNA-VASAVADATTA AND BHAVA-PRAKASA

By K. Rama Pisharodi

IN support of his view that the drama published by him under the title *Svapna-vāsavadatta* in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (to which I shall henceforth refer as "the TSS. play") is the work of Bhāsa, Mahāmahōpâdhyāya Gaṇapati Śāstri cites in *JRAS.*, Oct. 1921, p. 668, a passage from the unpublished *Bhāva-prakāśa* of Śāradātanaya. I have examined three MSS. of the latter work. It nowhere ascribes the play to Bhāsa; but the context of the quotation and the observations on *nāndī* throw some light on the Bhāsa-problem.

After commenting on the fact that the *nāṭaka* and *trōṭaka* are not different, the author says: Subandhur nāṭakasyâsya lakṣaṇaṃ prâha pañcadhā || pūrṇaṃ câiva praśāntaṃ ca bhāsvaraṃ lalitaṃ tathā | samagram iti vijñēyā nāṭakē pañca jātayaḥ || pūrṇasya nāṭakasyâsya mukhâdyāḥ pañca sandhayaḥ | udāharaṇam ētasya Kṛtyārāvaṇam ucyatē || praśāntarasabhūyiṣṭham praśāntaṃ nāma nāṭakaṃ | nyāsō nyāsasamudbhēdō bījôktir bījadarśanāt || tatō 'nuddiṣṭasaṃhāraḥ praśāntē pañca sandhayaḥ | sātvatī vṛttir atra syād iti Drāuhiṇir abravīt || Svapnavāsavadattâkhyam udāharaṇam atra tu | ācchidya bhūpāt samyak sā dēvī Māgadhikâkarē || nyastā yatas tatō nyāsō mukhasandhir ayaṃ bhavēt | nyāsasya ca pratimukhaṃ samudbhēda udāhṛtaḥ || Padmāvatyā mukhaṃ vīkṣya viśēṣakavibhūṣitaṃ | jīvaty Avantikēti [-êty ētaj ?] jñānam bhūmibhujō yathā || utkaṇṭhitēna sôdvēgaṃ bījôktir nāma kīrtanaṃ | êhi Vāsavadattêti kva yāsîtyādi dṛśyatē | sabhâvasthitayōr [? sahâva-] ēkaprâptyânyasya gavēṣaṇaṃ | darśanasparśanâdibhir [-âlāpair ?] ētat syād bījadarśanam || ciraprasuptaḥ kāmō mē vīṇayā pratibōdhitaḥ | tāṃ tu dēvīṃ na paśyāmi yasyā Ghōṣavatī priyā || kiṃ tē bhūyaḥ priyaṃ kāryam iti vāg atra nôcyatē | tad anuddiṣṭasaṃhāram ity āhur Bharatâdayaḥ ||

This quotation shows that in Śāradātanaya's time a drama named *Svapna-vāsavadatta* was current, which had much in common with the TSS. play. But it is evident that they are not identical. Thus the king's exclamation "Vāsavadattā lives!" on seeing Padmāvatī adorned with a beautiful *tilaka*, Padmāvatī's thus adorning herself, and the king's ravings, "Come, Vāsavadattā! whither goest thou?" are not found in the TSS. play.

Śāradātanaya, in his comments on *prasthāpanā*, says that the *kathā-sūtradhāra* enters only after the *nāndī-sūtradhāra* has left the stage, but never mentions a drama opened by the former. He details the various items which ought to be mentioned in the prologue, but points out no exceptions to the general rule, or deviations from it. He remarks that *prasthāpanā* and *āmukha* are the same, but does not suggest *sthāpanā* as an alternative. The absence of reference by him to the peculiar prologue found in the TSS. play confirms the view that the latter is not identical with *Svapna-vāsavadatta*. Hence it is that the verses quoted as from *Svapna-vāsavadatta* in *Locana* and *Nāṭya-darpaṇa* are not found in the TSS. play.

The TSS. play, then, appears to me to be a stage-adaptation of the original—a conclusion at which I arrived in the article "Bhāsa's Works—Are they genuine?" The local manuscripts containing the text of the TSS. play uniformly read in their colophons either *Svapnaṃ Nāṭakam* or *Vāsavadattā-nāṭakam*, but never, so far as I have seen, *Svapna-vāsavadatta(m)*. In the light of the conclusion here arrived at, this reading is quite explicable and rational. The playwright never wished that the original should be confused with the adaptation.

The statement of Śarvânanda in his *Amara-ṭīkā-sarvasva* (Trivandrum ed., i, p. 147) also confirms the same view, provided we interpret it naturally. It runs thus: Ādyō yathā Nandayantyām brāhmaṇabhōjanam; dvitīyaḥ svadiśam ātmasātkartum Udayanasya Padmāvatīpariṇayō 'rthaśṛṅgāraḥ; tṛtīyaḥ Svapnavāsavadattē tasyâiva Vāsavadattāpariṇayaḥ kāmaśṛṅgāraḥ. This is quite clear, and needs no editorial pruning. Yet the learned editor suggests in his footnote the transposition of the word *tṛtīyaḥ* from its real position, and reads the sentence thus: Padmāvatīpariṇayō 'rthaśṛṅgāraḥ Svapnavāsavadattē; tṛtīyaḥ tasyâiva, etc. One cannot endorse this suggestion, unless he is blinded by a theory. A natural interpretation of the sentence suggests that this *Svapna-vāsavadatta* contained the incident of Udayana's wooing and marriage of Vāsavadattā. This incident is not found described in the TSS. play.

Hence the legitimate conclusion is that the genuine *Svapna-vāsavadatta* mentioned by ancient Ālaṃkārikas has yet to be discovered, and that the TSS. play is only a stage-adaptation of it. The necessity for the adaptation lay in the growing demands of the once very popular stage in Kērala.

This view is confirmed by the following facts. Firstly, the two

manuscripts Nos. 98 and 298 of the local Manuscripts Library, containing this drama, contain only such dramas as are commonly staged here. Secondly, a manuscript now in the possession of my friend Mr. A. K. Pisharodi, of Trivandrum, which contains numerous scenes selected from many dramas, to be staged successively for twenty-eight days in a temple in Travancore, mentions *Śēphālikâṃkam*, and quotes a portion of the act. As this is Act IV of the TSS. play, we have here proof that this drama is popular on the stage. The other acts of the drama also have each a vernacular name given by the professional actors. Thus the first act is called *Brahmacāriyâṃkam*, "the Brahmacāri Act"; the second, *Pantāṭṭâṃkam*, "the Ball-play Act"; the third, *Pāttuḍâṃkam*, "the Flower-cleaning Act"; the fourth, *Śēphālikâṃkam*; the fifth, *Svapnâṃkam*, "the Dream Act"; the sixth, *Citraphalakâṃkam*, "the Picture-board Act." This verbal testimony of the Cākyārs, three of whom I consulted, is also borne out by colophon readings in the MS. No. 98 mentioned above. This is evidence enough to show that the TSS. play is a stage-adaptation.

Before concluding, I wish to advert to one peculiar practice of Cākyārs, which will throw some light to explain the peculiar nature of the prologues of the dramas included in the *Bhāsa-nāṭaka-cakra*. The Cākyārs never act a drama in full, but only selected scenes now from one drama, now from another, especially when the performance runs on for a number of days. But when they change from one drama to another, convention has greatly simplified their work by demanding of them not a repetition of the full and regular *nāndī*, but only a general announcement of the scene to be staged, as much as is required to enable the audience to follow the acting. For every act that they stage they have, they say, their set introduction or "Interlogue", if I may so term it. The opening verse of the "Interlogue" to announce the change to *Śēphālikâṃkam* runs as follows: Śrīvatsarājadyutiśālivakṣā namasyayā Vāsavadattayâḍhyā | vasanta-kālêndusamānavaktrā Padmāvatī pātu Harēs tanur vaḥ ||

Such "Interlogues", my Cākyār friend tells me, are numerous. For the acts they are trained to act are many, as many as there are in all the dramas given below put together: the thirteen dramas published as Bhāsa's, *Saṃvaraṇa*, *Dhanaṃjaya*, *Cūḍāmaṇi*, *Nāgânanda*, *Matta-vilāsa*, *Bhagavadajjukīya*, *Kalyāṇa-sāugandhika*, etc. He has promised to give me at least some of these as early as possible. In view of the existence of such "Interlogues", the prologues of the

dramas assigned to Bhāsa may after all be not regular prologues but only actors' "Interlogues".

The author of the *Bhāva-prakāśa* is Śāradātanaya, son of Bhaṭṭa Gōpāla, whose grandfather wrote a Vēda-bhāṣya named *Vēda-bhūṣaṇa*. A resident of Benares, he was like his father a staunch devotee of the goddess Śāradâmbā. During one Cāitra festival he happened to witness thirty different kinds of plays staged. Being then moved by a desire to study *Nāṭya-vēda*, he became a disciple of one Divākara, the then master of the concert-hall, and studied under him all the ancient works on dramaturgy, by Śiva, by Gāurī, by Brahmā, by Nārada, by Hanumān, and by Bharata and his disciples. Then he wrote for the guidance of actors *Bhāva-prakāśa*, which purports to contain the essence of all the works on the subject. The book is divided into ten chapters, and a cursory glance through it has enabled me to come across the names of certain unknown dramaturgists, such as Kōhala, Drāuhiṇi, Mātṛgupta, Śākuka, and Hāsyakṛt (?), and of some hitherto unrecorded dramas such as *Mārīća-vañcita*, in five acts; *Naṭa-vikrama*, in eight acts; *Dēvī-pariṇaya*, in nine acts; *Mēnakā-nahuṣa*, in nine acts; *Madalēkhā*, in eight acts; *Stambhita-rambhaka*, in seven acts; *Rāmânanda*; *Sītâpaharaṇa*; *Kṛtyā-rāvaṇa*; *Gāurī-gṛha*—all regular *nāṭakas*. Amongst *prahasanas* are mentioned *Śāubhadrika*, *Śāgara-kāumudī*, and *Kali-kēli*; amongst *ḍimas*, *Tripura-dāha*, *Vṛtróddharaṇa*, and *Tārakóddharaṇa*. Other names of works and persons also there are in the work which shall be set forth on a future occasion. It is written throughout in verse, simple and elegant, and touches upon every department of dramaturgy. Since the author quotes from Mammaṭa (?), he cannot be earlier than the twelfth century. Probably he may have to be brought down to a still later age.

ORIENTAL STUDIES IN PETROGRAD BETWEEN 1918 AND 1922

Translated by M. KASANIN

THE following is a brief digest of a pamphlet published by the Committee of Orientalists in Petrograd early in 1924. The publication was by order of the Academy of Sciences and is compiled and edited by M. V. Kotvich.

LEARNED INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIETIES

1. *Russian Academy of Sciences.*

Established 1724. President: A. P. Karpinsky. Vice-President: V. A. Steklov. Permanent Secretary: S. F. Oldenburg.

Members chiefly concerned with the study of the Orient: S. F. Oldenburg (elected 5th February, 1900), P. K. Kokovtsov (19th April, 1903), N. Y. Marr (7th March, 1909), V. V. Bartold (12th October, 1913), F. I. Shcherbatskoy (2nd November, 1918), and I. Y. Krachkovsky (9th November, 1921). The following Orientalists are corresponding members of the Academy: V. Tomsen (Copenhagen, 1894), G. Hofmann (Kiel, 1893), T. Nöldeke (Karlsruhe, 1885), E. Sachau (Berlin, 1888), I. Guidi (Rome, 1909), R. G. Bandarkar (Puna, 1888), E. Senart (Paris, 1898), G. Jacobi (Bonn, 1902), L. de la Vallée-Poussin (Ghent, 1916), S. Lévi (Paris, 1918), F. Hirth (New York, 1898), P. Pelliot (Paris, 1922), Ch. Clermont-Ganneau (Paris, 1899), A. Grünwedel (Berlin, 1908), H. Bartolomé (Heidelberg, 1904), Ch. Lenman (Cambridge, 1907), A. Meillet (Paris, 1906), D. K. Petrov (Petrograd, 1922).

Periodical Publications: *Isvestia of the RAS.* devoted most space to the Orient. Until 1894 all articles on the East were united under the heading "Mélanges Asiatiques". This practice was resumed in 1918. *Sapiski of the Division of History and Philology of the RAS.* has published a number of articles, also the Commission for the Study of the Peoples of Russia and the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (6 vols.).

Special Oriental Periodical Publications: *The Christian Orient*, established 1912, 6 vols. appeared. *Byzantine Vremennik* (1894, 23 vols.), *The Moslem World* (1917, 1 vol.), *Articles on Japhetic Languages* (1922, 1 vol.).

Serial publications: *Bibliotheca Buddhica* (1897, 21 vols.), *The*

Monuments of Indian Philosophy (1922, 1 vol.), *Materials for the Study of Japhetic Languages* (1910, 11 vols.), *Bibliotheca Armeno-Georgica* (1911, 5 vols.). *A Companion to Armeno-Georgian Studies* (1914, 3 vols.), *Monumenta Hagiographica Georgica* (1918, 1 vol.), *Texts on the History of Central Asia* (1915, 2 vols.). *Specimens of the Folk-lore of the Turkish Tribes* (1866, 10 vols.), *Specimens of the Yakut Folk-lore* (1907, 8 vols.), *Dictionary of the Yakut Language*, by E. K. Pekarsky (1907, 5 vols.), *Specimens of the Folk-lore of Mongolian Tribes* (1913, 3 vols.), *Catalogues of the Asiatic Museum of the RAS.* (1914, 1 vol.), *Bibliotheca Friedlandiana* (1893, 7 vols.).

Single publications: V. A. Zhukovsky, *Materials for the Study of Persian Dialects* (vol. ii, i, and vol. iii, i); I. A. Orbeli, "*The question and solutions of the Vardapet Anania Thiraktsa, the Armenian Mathematician of the Seventh Century*, 1918; N. D. Mironov, *Catalogue of the Indian Manuscripts of the Public Library of Russia*, 1918.

2. *The Russian Academy of the History of Material Civilization.* (Marble Palace.)

President: A. A. Vasilyev. Vice-President: S. N. Troinitsky. Learned Secretary: B. V. Farmakovsky. The former Archæological Commission took this name and was reorganized by order of the Government of 18th April, 1918.

The archæological division includes departments: (1) of archæology and art of the ancient East; (2) of archæology and art of the early Christian, Oriental-Christian, and Byzantine world; (3) archæology of the Caucasus and of the Japhetic world; (4) Archæology and Art of India and of the Far East; (5) Archæology and arts of Central Asia; (6) Archæology and Arts of the Moslem World, and (7) archæology and arts of the Armenians and Georgians. A permanent commission on numismatics and glyptics exists, as well as an Institute of Archæological Technology. In summer, 1921, an expedition was sent to Turkestan for the study of archæological monuments (Samarkand Mosque), and many public lectures were delivered.

3. *The Russian Institute of the History of Art.* (5 Isaack Place.)

Established 1912. President: V. P. Subov. Since autumn of 1922 the Institute reinstalled regular courses of three to four years for the training of experts. Publications: *Annual*, fasc. i appeared in April, 1921, ii and iii are in print and contain articles on Oriental studies, including " The Paintings and Statuary of the Tun-Huang Caves," by S. F. Oldenburg.

4. *Vesselovsky Institute for the Comparative Study of the Oriental and Occidental Languages and Literatures.* (11 University Embankment.)

Established in autumn, 1921. Director: D. K. Petrov. Among its six sections there is one—Oriental.

5. *Japhetic Institute of the RAS.* (Vassilyevsky Island, 2 Seventh Liniya.)

Established 1921. Director: N. Y. Marr.

Publications: *Recueil Japhetique*, i, 1922. *Japhetitische Studien zur Sprache u. Kultur Eurasiens, Leipzig*; edited by F. A. Braun and N. Y. Marr. *La Seine, la Saône, Lutece et les premiers habitants de la Gaule etrusques et pélasques*, Paris.

6. *The Russian Committee for the Study of Central and Eastern Asia.* (3 University Embankment.)

Established 1903. President (until his death in 1918): V. V. Radlov; now, S. F. Oldenburg. Was organized as a local Committee for Russia under the decisions of the Twelfth and Thirteenth World Congresses of Orientalists in Rome (1899) and Hamburg (1902), and formed a branch of the "Association Internationale pour l'exploration historique, archéologique, linguistique et ethnographique de l'Asie Centrale at de l'Extrême Orient". Organized a number of expeditions to Russian and Chinese Turkestan, Mongolia, and to the Siberian tribes.

7. *The Oriental Department of the "World Literature" Series.* (36 Mokhovaya.)

Established 1918. President: S. F. Oldenburg. Published a number of standard translations from Oriental languages, also articles on the literature of the Orient and catalogues. The *Vostok* magazine, the first number of which appeared in August, 1922, is also published by this institution.

8. *The Committee of Orientalists, Asiatic Museum of the RAS.* (5 University Embankment.)

Established 15th May, 1921. President: N. Y. Marr. Vice-President: S. F. Oldenburg. Number of members: 44. Mainly a consulting body for reference and information for the various needs of persons and institutions concerned with the study of the Orient. Publishers of the present pamphlet.

9. *Russian Archæological Society.* (34 Fontanka.)

Established 1846. President: S. F. Platonov. Vice-President: A. A. Ilyin. Secretary: N. P. Sichov. The Society possesses a rich library and a museum.

Publications: *Sapiski* and *Trudi of the Oriental Division.* Two divisions are chiefly concerned with the study of the Orient: the Oriental Division and the Numismatic Division. On the occasion of the Centenary of the "Société Asiatique" the RAS. published *The Archæological Expedition of* 1916 *to Van. The excavations of two niches in the Van rock and the inscriptions of Sardur II from the excavation of the Western niche.* By N. Marr and I. Orbeli.

10. *The Oriental Division (of the Russian Archæological Society).*

Although only a division of the above-mentioned Society it is, in fact, one of the central institutions which serves for the Russian studies of Asia.

Director: V. V. Bartold. Secretary: B. Y. Vladimirtsov.

In 1921 the xxvth volume of its *Sapiski* appeared (for 1917–20). Since 1st January, 1921, many papers have been read during the sittings which have taken place in the study of the Permanent Secretary of the Academy of Sciences.

11. *The Russian Geographical Society.* (8*a* Demidov per.)

Established 1845. President: Y. M. Shokalsky. Vice-President: G. E. Grum-Gzzhimailo. Secretary: V. L. Komarov. The Society has no special division for the Orient, but the Departments both of physical geography and ethnography have been very active in the study of different countries of Asia. The Society has sent out many expeditions to the Orient, especially to Central Asia, and has published their results. Very important are the local branches: in Tiflis, Tashkent, Orenburg, Omsk, Barnaul, Semipalatinsk, Irkutsk, Krasnoyarsk, Chita, Yakutsk, Habarovsk, Troitskosavsk, and Vladivostok. The Society possesses a special library of over 150,000 volumes and archives of unpublished works and materials, chiefly on ethnology. Librarian and Keeper of the Archives: I. P. Mursin. Publications: *Isvestia*, liv, i, published in 1919; *Sapiski*; and also *Zhivaya Starina*, xxv, iv, appeared in 1917.

12. *Russian Palestine Society.* (10 Mitninskaya.)

Established 1882. Number of members, 47. President: F. I. Uspensky, Fell. Russ. Ac. of Sc. The Library contains about 30,000 books published before 1900 concerning Palestine and the Christian

Orient in general. Judging from the selection of books it must be one of the few notable collections in the world. A printed catalogue in 2 volumes and supplements has been published.

13. *The Jewish Historical-Ethnographical Society.* (Vassilievsky Island, 50, 5th Liniya.)

Established 1908. President: L. Y. Sternberg. Secretary: I. I. Ravrebe.

14. *The Society for Diffusion of Education among the Jews.* (23 Sagorodny Prospect.)

Established 1863. President: Y. B. Eiger. Secretary: S. A. Kamenetsky. The Library contains about 50,000 volumes in fifteen languages on all questions regarding the Jews; also rare old printed books and manuscripts. In 1919 the valuable collection of books and manuscripts of A. Y. Garkavi was added to the Library. Librarian: I. I. Ravrebe. There are also archives on the history of the public education of Jews in Russia mostly during the twenty years prior to the Revolution. Publications: *Evreyskaya Misl*, edited by S. M. Gintsburg, Petrograd, 1922.

15. *The Neophilological Society of the University of Petrograd.*

Established 1885, the object being the study of literatures and languages of the East and the West. President: D. K. Petrov. Secretary: B. A. Krzhevsky.

Papers on questions concerning the Orient are also read during the meetings of the sections. They are indicated in the *Sapiski* (eight volumes covering the period between 1888–1915 have appeared).

Between 1920–2 the following papers were read: I. Y. Krachkovsky, "The Literature of the Arabic Emigrants in America": B. Y. Vladimirtsov, "On the question of the mixture of languages" (two mixed languages in Western Mongolia): V. M. Alexeev, "The Chinese Theatre and the Chinese performer."

Schools

The State University of Petrograd. (Vassilyevsky Island, 7 University Liniya.)

The Faculty of Oriental Studies was established in 1855. Now amalgamated with the Faculty of Social Sciences. The following were the courses announced for 1922–3:—

Elementary Arabic (Sokolov).

Arabic Texts (historical, poetry, Koran, etc.) (Krachkovsky).

Persian literature (Romaskevich).
Iranic philology (Middle Persian and Grammar of Modern Persian) (Freiman).
Turkish Philology (Samoilovich).
Turkish-Tartarian dialects (Samoilovich).
Mongolian Philology (Vladimirtsov).
Manchurian ,, (Kotvich).
Chinese ,, (Ivanov and Alexeev).
Japanese ,, (Nevsky and Conrad).
Indian ,, (Oldenburg and Shcherbatskoy).
Egyptian ,, (Struve).
Semitic ,, (Kokovtsov).
Hebrew ,, (Kokovtsov and Sokolov).
Japhetic ,, (Marr).
Ancient Iranian Philology (Freiman).
Syriac Philology (Alyavdin).
Armenian-Georgian Philology (Marr).
,, ,, Epigraphy, and Antiquities (Orbeli).
Byzantine Philology (Vassilyev).
General Linguistics (Shcherba).
Ethnology (Sternberg).
Japhetic Linguistics (Marr and Orbeli).
Paleoasiatic Linguistics (Bogoras).
Religion of the Near East and of the Christians (Andreyev).
History of Islam (Bartold).
,, Byzantium (Vassilyev).
Ancient History of Hebrews (Krasny-Admony).
Modern History of the Far East (Posdneev).
Social and Political Conditions in the Near East (Sokolov).
The Art of the Orient (Kotov).
,, Classic Orient (Flittner).

The Petrograd Institute of Living Oriental Languages. (Petrogrodskaya Storona, 17/1 Tserkovnaya Str.).

Established in autumn, 1920. Rector: Professor A. N. Samoilovich. Designed for practical purposes but has the standing equal to that of a University College. The following subjects are taught: Arabic, Persian, Turkish-Osmanic, Sartic-Uzbec, Mongolian, Indian, Armenian, Georgian, Japanese, also geography and modern history of the respective countries, history of literature and economics, and also for the persons studying in the Moslem division—Moslem

Law. English, French, and German are taught and an introduction of modern Greek is intended, as this is widely used in the Near East. From 1921 geography of Central Asia and linguistics became special courses. Regular course, three years, including trips to the Oriental countries. Number of students in 1922, 125.

Hebrew Institute (former Petrograd Hebrew University). (14 Troitskaya Str.)

Established 1918. President: S. G. Losinsky. Regular course, three years. Students may be of non-Jewish nationality. Number of students, 200.

Archæological Institute (now Archæological Division of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the Petr. Univ.).

Established 1878. In 1918 transformed into a school. Regular course, three years, the object being scientific training of experts in archæology and archæography. Rector: S. F. Platonov. On 1st July, 1922, the Institute was amalgamated with the University.

Geographical Institute. (122 Moyka.)

Established 1916. Regular course, four years (eight trimestres being theoretical studies and four practical work). Publications: *Isvestia* and *Geographical Vestnik.*

Practical School of Economics. (58 Sagorodny Prospect.)

The Oriental Society and the Practical Oriental Academy organized by it in 1900, was closed down in 1918 and all its property handed over to the School of Economics. This school has an Oriental Economic Seminary where the study of the economics of the Orient is being carried on.

Petrograd Theological Institute. (3 Troitskaya Str.)

Established 1919. Acting Director: I. P. Shcherbov. Objects: (1) Theological training required for practical purposes and for the officiating at the divine service; (2) scientific study of theological questions. Following courses which concern the Orient are held: (1) The history of the Greek Catholic Church from the Schism to modern times, including the history of the church in Georgia; (2) history of the Preaching of Christianity in the Far East; and (3) Hebrew.

Libraries

The Asiatic Museum of the Russ. Ac. of Sc. (5 University Embankment.)

Established 1818. Director: S. F. Oldenburg, Fell. Russ. Ac. of Sc.

For particulars and list of publications and catalogues see *A Brief Guide to the Asiatic Museum*, 1818–1918, Petrograd, 1920.

The Library of the University of Petrograd. (5 University Embankment.)

Established 1819. Director: I. P. Mursin. Head of the Oriental Division: S. V. Larionov. This, as well as the Asiatic Museum, has recently considerably augmented the number of its valuable books through wills and bequests as well as through the transfer of treasures nationalized by the state, especially Chinese and Mongolian, including nine volumes of the famous encyclopædia *Yun-lo-ta-tien.*

The Public Library of Russia. (37 Nevsky.)

Chief of the Oriental Division: I. G. Troitsky. New acquisitions have been published in periodical reports of the Library and their supplements. A separate printed catalogue exists only for Indian manuscripts, published by the Academy of Sciences, Petrograd, 1918.

Professor V. V. Rosen Seminary of Oriental Languages of the University of Petrograd.

This Library was founded in 1910. It contains more than 5,000 works. Keeper: A. A. Romaskevich.

MUSEUMS

National Hermitage. (35 Millionaya St.)

Established 1735 by the Empress Catherine II. Director: S. N. Troinitsky. Objects of interest for Orientalists are kept in following departments: 1. Department of Antiquities: (*a*) Classic Orient; (*b*) Oriental Christian; (*c*) Moslem and Caucasian antiquities. 2. Department of Applied Art: (*a*) Middle Ages; (*b*) arsenal; and 3. Department of Numismatics and Glyptic: (*a*) Oriental coins; (*b*) various Oriental stones.

Russian Museum. (4 Inzhenernaya, Mikhailovsky Palace.)

Established 1895. Object, to represent the arts and life of the peoples of Russia and of the neighbouring countries. The nations of the Orient are represented in the ethnographical division of the museum, in its third department of Caucasus and Central Asia and in the fourth of Siberia and of the Far East (including the section of Buddhism). Director: N. P. Sichov.

Recent acquisitions: (1) Ukhtomsky Collection of Buddhistic objects, described by Professor Grünwedel. (2) Collections of objects of the Far Eastern Art of A. V. Vereshchagin, Maxim Gorky, and also

of the Winter Palace, Smolny, etc.; and (3) Koslov Hara-hoto antiquities excavated in 1908–9.

Anthropological and Ethnographical Museum of the Russian Academy of Sc. (3 University Embankment.)

Established 1837. Director: E. F. Karsky, Fell. R.A.Sc.

Museum of Applied Arts, Academy of Arts (the former Stiglitz School). (9 Solianoy Per.)

Established 1881. Two departments of the Museum are devoted to the applied arts of the Orient, viz.: (1) The Oriental Department (rugs, tissues, ceramics, and tiles of Central Asia); and (2) the Far Eastern (tissues, ceramics, bronzes, jade, lacquer). Director: E. K. Kverfeld.

Oriental Museum of the University of Petrograd.

Established 1855. Numismatic collection and also objects of Buddhistic cults, arms, utensils, etc. Keeper: I. A. Orbeli.

Museum of Antiquities, University of Petrograd.

Established 1819. Includes specimens of the Egyptian and Mesopotamian civilizations in originals and casts and a library. Director: B. V. Farmakovsky.

Exhibitions

1. The First Buddhistic Exhibition. Held in autumn, 1919.

2. The Exhibition of the Worship of the Dead in Ancient Egypt. Held August–October, 1919.

3. The Exhibition of Sassanian Antiquities. Held on the premises of the Hermitage in November, 1922, and consisted of objects mainly belonging to the collections of the Hermitage, also to those of A. A. Bobrinsky and of Stroganov. Also objects were exhibited which were found outside the empire of the Sassanides, but represent their chief characteristics. In this connexion should be mentioned golden and silver wares found in Perm and Viatka districts and bronze pitchers, figures, and kettles, supported by several legs, found in Dagestan. A special feature of the Exhibition was the Sassanian cut stones and coins.

See *The Provisional Exhibition of Sassanian Antiquities*, Petrograd, 1922, by I. A. Orbeli.

Anniversaries

1. In memory of the birthday of the Russian Sinologist, V. P. Vassiliev, a special sitting of the Academy of Sciences was held on 3rd March, 1918. For speeches see *Isvestia of the RAS.*, 1918.

2. The Hundredth Anniversary of the birthday of the Russian Turkologist and Moslemist, I. N. Beresin (19th July, 1918). Celebrated in a special sitting of the O.D. of the Russ. Archæol. Soc. See *Sapiski of the Orient. Div. of the R. Archæol. Soc.*, xxvi.

3. The Centenary of the Deciphering of the Egyptian Hieroglyphs by François Champollion. Celebrated on 27th September, 1922, in a joint sitting of learned societies concerned with the study of Egypt.

4. The Bi-centenary of the Persian Campaign of Peter the Great. Two hundred years ago Peter the Great on his march to Persia visited the ruins of the settlements of the Volga Bulgars and gave orders for them to be kept and investigated, which gave the stimulus to archæological work in Russia. Celebrated in joint sitting of learned societies on 30th August, 1922.

Monuments and Public Buildings

1. *Egyptian Sphynxes.*

Excavated on the site of the ancient Thebes, Egypt, and brought to St. Petersburg in 1832. Installed on the embankment of the Neva right in front of the Academy of Arts. According to the inscriptions they represent the Pharao Amenophis III of the eighteenth dynasty (1419–1383 B.C.). For detailed description see *Sapiski of the Classic Div. of the R. Arch. Soc.*, vii, 20–51.

2. *Chinese Lions.*

Also on the embankment of the Neva in front of "Peter the Great's House". These two granite lions were taken from Girin, Manchuria, by General Grodekov after the Boxer Rebellion and brought to St. Petersburg in 1907.

3. *Mosque.* (7 Kronversky Prospect.)

Foundation stone laid on 18th February, 1906, the first divine service held in 1910. In a few small details the construction is not yet complete. Built from the funds supplied by Russian Moslems and by the Emir of Bokhara. It represents more or less closely one of the Samarkand Mosques, in which Timur's sepulchre stands.

4. *Buddhist Temple.* (Staraya Derevnya, Blagoveshchensky Str.)

Built in strictly Tibetan style from funds partly given by Dalai-lama, partly collected among Russian buryats and kalmiks. A group of Russian students of Buddhism also co-operated with the constructors.

5. *Synagogues.*

One, 2 Lermontovsky Prospect, opened in 1893.

Another, in Preobrajensky Cemetery, opened in 1911.

List of Petrograd Orientalists

The birth dates are indicated according to the old Russian (Julian) calendar. The Georgian dates may be calculated by adding thirteen days. Professor invariably means Professor of the University of Petrograd. Each person in this list is engaged in work in one or several of scientific institutions listed above.

Alexeev, V. M., Professor (b. 1st January, 1880, Petrograd). Chinese Philology and Civilization of the Far East.

Alexeeva (Diakonova), N. M. (b. 14th March, 1890, Derpt). Egyptology.

Alyavdin, A. P. (b. 3rd December, 1885, N. Usad, Pensa District). Syriac language and letters.

Alikhanian, A. A. (b. 29th July, 1896, Tiflis). Armenian.

Barannikov, A. P. (b. 9th March, 1890, Solotonosha, Poltava District). Sanskrit.

Bartold, V. V., Professor (b. 3rd November, 1869, Petrograd). History of the Orient (chiefly Moslem).

Bertels, E. E. (b. 13th December, 1890, Petrograd). Iranic philology.

Bogoras (Jan), V. G., Professor (b. 15th April, 1863, Mariupol). Paleoasiatic languages (chukchi).

Vamvaki, K. G. (b. 1852, Constantinopol). Osmanli.

Vassilyev, A. A., Professor (b. 22nd April, 1867, Petrograd). Byzantine studies and Arabic.

Vassilyev, B. A. (b. 8th December, 1899, Petrograd). Chinese philology (confucianism and poetry).

Viner, S. E. (b. 13th June, 1860, Borisov, Minsk District). Hebrew Bible and letters.

Vladimirtsov, B. Y., Professor (b. 20th July, 1884, Kaluga). Mongolian philology, Tibetan and Altaic linguistics.

Gintsburg, I. O. (b. 10th August, 1871). Arabic.

Genko, A. N. (b. 4th November, 1896, Petrograd). Caucasian (Georgian and Armenian) languages.

Dondua, K. D. (b. 13th October, 1890, Kutais). Georgian and Armenian languages.

Ernstedt, P. V. (b. 22nd June, 1890, Gatchina). Sanskrit and Coptic.

Sarubin, I. I. (b. 10th October, 1887, Simperopol). Iranic dialectology and ethnography.

Ivanov, A. I., Professor (b. 18th March, 1877, Petrograd). Chinese philology (philosophy).

Inostrantsev, K. A. (b. 5th March, 1876, Petrograd). The Ancient History of the Near East.

Kokovtsov, P. K., Professor (b. 19th June, 1861, Pavlovsk). Semitic philology and Hebrew literature.

Conrad, N. O. (b. 1st March, 1891, Zhukovka, Orel (now Briansk) District). Japanese philology, Corean and Ethnology of the Far East.

Kotvich, V. L., Professor (b. 20th March, 1872, Ossovo, Vilna District). Manchurian and Mongolian Philology, Tungusian dialects.

Krachkovsky, I. Y., Professor (b. 4th March, 1883, Vilna). Arabic philology.

Maggid, D. G. (b. 25th August, 1862, Vilna). Hebrew.

Markon, I. Y. (b. 28th February, 1875, Molodechno, Vilna District). Hebrew history and letters and Semitic philology.

Marr, N. Y., Professor (b. 25th December, 1864, Kutias). Languages and civilization of the Caucasian peoples, Japhetidology.

Marr, Y. N. (b. 6th January, 1893, Petrograd). Persian philology.

Meshchaninov, I. I. (b. 25th November, 1883, Ufa). Elam, Chaldæic cuneiform writing.

Oldenburg, S. F., Professor (b. 14th September, 1863, Byankino, Transbaikal District). Sanskrit philology, Indian, and Far Eastern Art.

Orbeli, I. A., Professor (b. 8th March, 1887, Kutais). History and arts of Caucasia and neighbouring countries, Kurdish.

Pekarsky, E. K. (b. 13th October, 1858, Piotrovichi, Minsk District). Yakut.

Petrov, D. K., Professor (b. 13th August, 1872, Petrograd). History of Arabs in Spain.

Posdneev, D. M., Professor (b. 26th January, 1865, Orel). Japanese.

Poppe, N. N. (b. 9th August, 1897, Cheefoo, China). Mongolian philology and Uralo-Altaic linguistics.

Ravrebe, I. I. (b. 18th April, 1883, Baranovka, Volin District). Hebrew.

Rosenberg, F. A. (b. 1st March, 1867, Fellin, Lifland). Iranic philology.

Romaskevich, A. A., Professor (b. 16th August, 1885, Odessa). Persian philology.

Samoilovich, A. N., Professor (b. 17th December, 1880, N.-Novgorod). Turkology.

Smikalov, G. Ph. (b. 13th April, 1877, Verny, Semirechensky District). Chinese.

Sokolov, M. N. (b. 19th June, 1890, Moscow). Hebrew language and letters.

Struve, V. V., Professor (b. 21st January, 1889, Smolensk). History of classic Orient (Egyptology).

Tikhaya (Tseretelli), M. G. (b. 23rd April, 1890, Kutais). Georgian language and literature.

Troitsky, I. G. (b. 23rd June, 1858, Volgapino, Yaroslav District). Hebrew and biblical archæology.

Tubiansky, M. T. (b. 17th October, 1893, Petrograd). Indian philology (philosophy and Bengali).

Fasmer, R. R. (b. 22nd October, 1888, Petrograd). Moslem Numismatics.

Flittner, N. D. (b. 14th September, 1879, Petrograd). History of Ancient East, Egyptology.

Freiman, A. A., Professor (b. 23th August, 1879, Warsaw). Iranic philology.

Shileiko, V. K. (b. 3rd April, 1891, Petrograd). Assyriology.

Sternberg, L. Y., Professor (b. 18th April, 1861, Zhytomir). Ethnography, Gilyac.

Shcherbatskoy, F. I., Professor (b. 19th September, 1866, Keltsi). Sanskrit, Indian philology, and Tibetan.

Shchutsky, Y. K. (b. 10th August, 1897, Ekaterinburg). Chinese philology (taoism and poetry).

Eberman, V. A. (b. 19th November, 1899, Petrograd). Arabic philology.

List of Petrograd Orientalists residing elsewhere

Adonts, N. G. (b. 10th January, 1871). Armenian philology. West. Europe.

Baradiyn, B. B. (b. 16th June, 1878, Transbaikal District). Mongolian, Tibetan, and Buddhistic studies. Aga, Transbaikal District.

Dzhavakhov, T. A. (b. 11th April, 1876). History of Georgia. Tiflis.

Eliseev, S. G. Japanese philology and Far Eastern Art. Paris.

Yokhelson, V. T. (b. 1st January, 1859, Vilna). Paleoasiatic languages (Yukagirian and Aleutian). U.S.A.

Lubimov, A. E. (b. 3rd November, 1878, Pensa). History of the Far East, Manchu. Pensa.

Malov, S. E. (b. 4th January, 1880, Kasan). Turkish dialects. Kasan.

Martinovich, N. N. (b. 1883, Petrograd). Osmanli. W. Europe.

Mironov, N. D. Indian philology. Manchuria.

Polivanov, E. D. (b. 28th February, 1891, Smolensk). Japanese, general linguistics. Tashkent.

Rudnev, A. D. (b. 17th February, 1878, Petrograd). Mongolian philology. Viborg, Finland.

von Staël Holstein, A. A. (b. 20th December, 1876). Indian philology. Peking.

Hashchab, A. Ph. (b. 10th November, 1874, Tripoli). Arabic and Persian. Teheran.

Schmidt, A. E. (b. 20th March, 1871). Arabic philology, Islam. Tashkent.

List of Deceased Orientalists

The birth dates are indicated according to the Julian, the death dates according to Georgian Calendar. In some cases references are added as to where complete biographies, lists of works, or obituary notices are to be found.

Vesselovsky, N. I. (b. 12th November, 1848, Moscow ; †30th March, 1918, Petrograd). History of Central Asia and of the Orient in general. See *Isvestia of the R. Ac. of Sc.*, 1918, and *Sapiski of the O.D. of the Russ. Arch. Soc.*, xxv.

Volkov, I. M. (b. 1882, Sayachyi Gori, Tver District ; †16th October, 1919, ib.). Egyptology. Publications : *The Laws of the Babylonian King Hammurabi* (Moscow, 1914) ; *Aramaic Documents of the Jewish Colony on Elephantine in the Fifth Century B.C.* (Moscow, 1915) ; *The Ancient Egyptian God Sebec* (Petrograd, 1917).

Harkavi, A. Y. (b. 1837, Novogrudok, Minsk District ; †March, 1919, Petrograd). Hebrew Philology.

Gesse, F. F. (b. 2nd November, 1895, Petrograd ; †22nd September, 1922, ib.). Archæology and art of the ancient Orient and Egyptology.

Zhukovsky, V. A. (b. 24th April, 1858, Voronezh ; †4th January, 1918, Petrograd). Persian philology. See *Isvestia of the R. Ac. of Sc.*, 1918, and *Sapiski of the Oriental Div. of the R. Archæol. Soc.*, xxv.

Kipshidse, I. A. (b. 25th August, 1885 ; †1918, Tiflis). Georgian philology.

Krotkov, N. N. (b. 1st December, 1869, Simbirsk ; †in spring, 1919 Petrograd). Manchurian philology.

Kusmin, I. P. (b. 9th January, 1893 ; Petrograd ; †28th May, 1922, ib.). Arabic philology and Islamic studies.

Kurono Yosibumi, N. (b. 1859, Tokyo; †8th December, 1918, Gatchino). Japanese.

Lemm, O. E. (b. 5th September, 1856, Petrograd; †3rd June, 1918, ib.). Ancient Egyptian philology, Coptic language, and letters. See *Isvestia of the R. Ac. of Sc.*, 1918, and also *Christian Orient*, vi.

Markov, A. K. (b. 1858; †1st August, 1920, Petrograd). Moslem Numismatics.

Mednikov, N. A. (b. 2nd March, 1855, Petrograd; †26th October, 1918, Staruy Krim). Arabic philology. See *Sapiski of the O.D. of the R. Arch. Soc.*, xxv.

Posdneev, A. M. (b. 27th September, 1851, Orel District; †17th September, 1920, Rostov-on-Don). Mongolian and Kalmik philology and Manchurian language. For list of publications see *Mongolia and Mongolians*, i, and *Russian Borderlands*, 1911, No. 18.

Radlov, V. V. (b. 5th January, 1837, Berlin; †12th May, 1918, Petrograd). Turkology. See *Isvestia of the Russ. Geogr. Soc.*, 1918, and *Isv. of the Russ. Ac. of Sc.*, 1918.

Rosenberg, O. O. (b. 7th July, 1888, Friedrichstadt; †26th November, 1919). Japanese philology and Buddhist philosophy.

Smirnov, V. D. (b. 28th July, 1846, Astrakhan; †25th May, 1922, Petrograd). Osmanic philology.

Smirnov, Y. I. (b. 15th April, 1869, Irkutsk; †23rd November, 1918, Petrograd). The art of the Near East.

Turayev, B. A. (b. 24th July, 1868; †23rd July, 1920, Petrograd). History of the Ancient East, Egyptology, Coptic, Ethiopic studies. See *Isv. of the R. Ac. of Sc.*, 1920; for list of publications see ib., 1918.

Falev, P. A. (b. 8th December, 1888, Petrograd; †3rd August, 1922, ib.). Turkology.

THE WORD-TONE OF THE STANDARD JAPANESE LANGUAGE

By K. JIMBO

THE problem of "accent" in the Japanese language has attracted the attention of a few Japanese scholars for some hundred years. In recent years more writers, both native and foreign, on the Japanese language have touched upon this problem. For instance, B. H. Chamberlain, *A Handbook of Colloquial Japanese*, 3rd ed., 1898, pp. 19–20; R. Lange, *Lehrbuch der japanischen Umgangssprache*, 1906, ss. xxvii–viii; E. R. Edwards. *Étude phonétique de la langue japonaise*, 1903, § 142 f., § 159.[1] Native writers: S. Izawa, *Kokutei Tokuhon Seidokuho* (*The Orthoepy of the State Text Books*); B. Yamada, *Nihon Daijiten* (*Japanese Grand Dictionary*); T. Takahashi, *Hatsuon Jiten* (*Pronouncing Dictionary*). Yet the results attained by these writers have not been quite satisfactory, as, for instance, Lange considers the Japanese "accent" to be that of stress, while Izawa thinks it is the delicate difference of length of speech-sounds. Yamada, Takahashi, etc., while they were right in thinking it to be difference of pitch, could not make out the pitch relations of the syllabic units of each word, and their method of indicating the "accent" was quite misleading.

In 1919 the Department of Education of the Japanese Government appointed a committee of five for the purpose of investigating and standardizing the Japanese word-tone. The appointment was a part of the work of the Educational Department, which has been undertaking for many years the investigation of many problems both theoretical and educational relating to the Japanese language. The members of the committee are: K. Hoshina (chairman), Professor of the Japanese language in the Imperial University of Tokyo; M. Andō, Professor of Linguistics and the Japanese Language in Wased University, Tokyo; K. Jimbō, Professor of Linguistics in the Higher Normal College of Tokyo; K. Sakuma, author of two books (written in Japanese), *The Accent of the Japanese Language*, and *The Pronunciation and Accent of the Japanese Language*; M. Tōjō, Japanese dialectologist.

The work of the committee has been as follows: (1) The investigation of the nature of the Japanese word-tone, and of the forms or types

[1] See also article by Oreste Pletner, "Musical Accent in Japanese Morphology": *Bulletin*, Vol. III, Pt. III, p. 447 seq.

of the word-tone in the vocabulary contained in the elementary school textbooks compiled by the Educational Department. The results of this were published in a pamphlet, *Aksento towa Nanika?* ("What is accent?"). (2) The holding of summer courses on the Japanese word-tone for elementary school-teachers throughout the country.

The following is the brief summary of the facts ascertained by the members of the Committee.

At present the dialect spoken by the educated people of Tokyo, the capital of Japan, is considered the standard speech in the matter of vocabulary and syntax, and is adopted in the Government textbooks. But in matters of pronunciation and accent, they are not yet so fully standardized as vocabulary and syntax owing to the less advanced state of study. Of course, in this respect also the pronunciation of the Tokyo speech may reasonably be taken as standard, and is actually being so considered by the majority of the Japanese people. The appointment of the Committee is the first step towards this object.

Some Peculiarities of Japanese Pronunciation

As it is not the aim of this article to discuss the speech-sounds of Japanese in detail, only those points are indicated which are necessary in the description of word-tone.

(1) *Vowels.*—(*a*) There are five standard vowels, **a, i, u, e, o,** of which **u** is more strictly to be written **ɯ** because of the absence of lip-rounding. In this article **u** will be used as it is the more familiar symbol. (*b*) The distinction of short and long vowels is "significant" in Japanese, e.g. **toru** (take), **tooru** (pass through); **itai** (painful), **iitai** (want to say); **jukata** (bath-gown), **juukata**[1] (evening). N.B.—The ordinary method of indicating length as **a:**, **o:**, etc., is avoided in this article for the reasons to be given later. (*c*) Devocalization of vowels is a rule between two voiceless consonants, e.g. **kita** (north), **kiʃi** (shore). In the case of **u** it may be called to drop off entirely, e.g. **kusa** or **ksa** (grass); **suki** or **ski** (being fond of); **tsuʧi** or **tsʧi** (earth); **ɾukai** or **ɾkai** (deep). Also after **ʃ, ʧ,** the dropping off of **i** is usual, e.g. **ʃita** or **ʃta** (tongue); **ʧikara** or **ʧkara** (power, strength). The vowels **a, e,** and **o** are very often devocalized in rapid speech between two voiceless consonants, e.g. **kakanai** (do not write); **kesanai** (do not

[1] The examples of Japanese words are given in the symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet.

extinguish); **koko** (here, this place). But in slow careful speech they are fully pronounced.

(2) *Consonants.*—(*a*) The one to be noted in connexion with word-tone is the consonant which the present writer proposes to represent by **ŋ̆**. It is a nasal very much like **ŋ**, only the closure between the soft palate and the back of the tongue is incomplete. Purely from the point of view of articulation, this sound might be called a sort of nasalized vowel **ũ** or **ɯ̃**, but according to the function it has in expressing meaning, it is a variety of **ŋ**, for in Japanese **m**, **n**, **ŋ̆** are only varieties of *one* "unit of sound", e.g. **sando** (three times), **sammai** (three sheets [of paper, etc.]), **saŋŋeŋ** (three houses), **saŋ̆eŋ** (three *yen*). In the last two examples, if one tries to pronounce them with the nose-passage closed, one will get something like **saggeg** instead of **saŋŋeŋ**, while in trying to pronounce **saŋ̆eŋ** in like manner, one can feel the air coming through the opening left between the palate and the tongue. (*b*) "Double" consonants. They are often significant. Examples: **kata** (shoulder), **katta** (conquered); **kasai** (destructive fire), **kassai** (cheers) or (applause in speech); **iʃo** (a will), **iʃʃo** (together).

"Syllabic Units"

The term "syllabic unit" is here used as a translation of the Japanese term **onsetsu**. **on** means sound, **setsu** means section or division—in German "Glied". In a majority of cases in Japanese the combination [one consonant + one vowel] is used as recurring units, e.g. **ha-na-ŋa-sa-ku** (flowers open); **ha-sa-mi** (scissors); **na-ŋa-ku** (long); so that in the consciousness of ordinary Japanese people—that is to say, people who have little technical knowledge about speech-sounds—this combination is considered as one unit. Moreover, this subjective fact may be tested by objective experiments: each combination [consonant + vowel] is pronounced in approximately the same length of time. The present writer has made a few experiments at the laboratory of the Phonetic Department at University College, London, and the same thing can be observed in the reproductions given in Mr. Sakuma's books from the tracings made by him at the psychological laboratory of the Tokyo Imperial University. With this fact in view, the above-mentioned Committee have adopted the term **onsetsu** as the name of a kind of unit in Japanese speech-sounds.

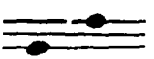
In like manner each of the following sounds is "felt" by the Japanese to be of the same value as one syllabic unit, and the

Committee also treat them as so many onsetsu (syllabic units). (*a*) Simple vowels. Examples: **a-i** (love)—2 units; **a-o-i** (blue)—3 units; **ko-e** (voice)—2 units. (*b*) Long vowels. Ex.: **o-o-ki-i** (big)—4 units; **o-ka-a-sa-ŋ** (mother)—5 units; **ne-e-sa-ŋ** (elder sister)—4 units. This is one of the reasons why "long" vowels like these are better written **oo, ii, aa,** etc. (*c*) Devocalized vowels. Ex.: **ki̥-ta** (north)—2 units; **ʧi̥-ka-ra** (strength)—3 units; **ɸu̥-ka-i** (deep)—3 units. (*d*) Double consonants. Ex.: **ka-t-ta** (conquered)—3 units; **i-ʃ-ʃo-o-ke-m-me-i** (with utmost effort)—8 units. (*e*) Nasal consonants. Ex.: **ko-n-do** (this time)—3 units; **ʃi-m-bu-ŋ** (newspaper)—4 units; **sa-ǰ-e-ŋ** (3 *yen*)—4 units.

Word-tone

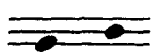
By the word-tone of Japanese we mean the fixed relative difference of pitch of each syllabic unit in a word. Sometimes the term "accent" is used to denote the high pitch, for instance we say "In this word the accent is on the first syllabic unit, etc." This word-tone is fixed with each word—that is to say, in a given community (e.g. the educated class of Tokyo people) the same distribution of high and low pitch is observed in the same word pronounced by any person of the community under any circumstance whatever. Therefore it is to be noted that word-tone differs from the absolute pitch or so-called speech-intonation, for children and women have naturally high absolute pitch of voice, and adult men low pitch. Again, the same person may vary in the pitch of his voice in different occasions, and also the actual difference of pitch in any given speech of an individual may be various from sound to sound and may be different from that of the same speech pronounced under different circumstances.

Now there are three degrees of pitch in Japanese, which may be called high, middle, and low. For example, in the word **hana** (flower), the first syllabic unit **ha** is low and the second syllabic unit **na** is high. We can represent this as:—

hana or 

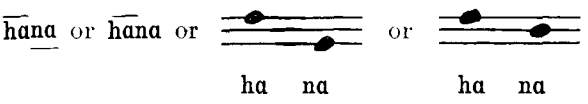
ha na

In the word **hana** (nose), the first syllabic unit **ha** is low, the second **na** is middle. We can represent this as:—

hana or 

ha na

Again, in the word **hana** (beginning), the first syllabic unit **ha** is high, the second **na** is low, or in connected speech, **na** may come down to the " middle " pitch. We can represent this as :—



In the second example **hana** (nose), the difference in pitch between the two syllables is very slight, so that for simplicity we may regard the pitch of the whole word as level. Consequently, of the three degrees, the distinction of the middle and low may be abolished and only high and low need be retained. The Educational Department Committee have adopted this two-degree scheme on the assumption that in " even word-tone " the first syllabic unit is really a little lower than the second. This is more simple and convenient for teaching purposes. So the above examples are marked respectively **hana**, **hana**, and **hana**.

The observation of a certain number of Japanese words as to their word-tone has revealed the fact that there are definite types of pitch-distribution according to the number of syllabic units in words. These " types " are as follows :—

(i) Of words with two syllabic units. **hana** (beginning), **āki** (autumn), **āme** (rain), etc., are of the same type, to be classed together under one formula **ōo**, where **o** represents one syllabic unit. **hana** (flower), **kami** (paper), **jama** (mountain), etc., are of the same type, to be classed together under the formula **oō**. **hana** (nose), **ame** (kind of jelly), **sake** (liquor made from rice), etc., are of the same type, to be classed together under the formula **oo**. Thus we have three formulæ or types : **ōo**, **oō**, and **oo**.

(ii) Of words with three syllabic units, there are four types :—

(*a*) **ōoo**. Ex. : **karasu** (crow), **teŋki** (weather), **meŋane** (eye-glass).
(*b*) **oōo**. Ex. : **kokoro** (mind), **tamaŋo** (egg), **kakine** (fence).
(*c*) **ooō**. Ex. : **atama** (head), **otoko** (man), **hanaʃi** (story).
(*d*) **ooo**. Ex. : **usaŋi** (rabbit), **kimono** (clothes), **minami** (south).

Theoretically possible types such as **ōoo**, **ooō** do not exist in the standard Tokyo speech, although in some dialects **ooō** type seems to exist.

(iii) Of words with four syllabic units, there are five types :—

(*a*) **ōooo.** Ex.: **āisatsu** (salutation), **ōokami** [1] (wolf), **kōnitʃi** (to-day).

(*b*) **oōoo.** Ex.: **uguisu** (thrush), **konezumi** (small rat), **nakajubi** (middle-finger).

(*c*) **oōoo.** Ex.: **aozora** (blue sky), **ooame** (heavy rain), **kitakaze** (north wind).

(*d*) **oōoo.** Ex: **imooto** (younger sister), **kaminari** (thunder), **hobaʃira** (mast of a ship).

(*e*) **oooo.** Ex.: **empitsu** (pencil), **sentaku** (laundry), **juukata** (evening).

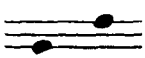
Of words with five or more syllabic units we can formulate the types in the same way, but here they are omitted.

Of these types given above, those not marked [**oo, ooo, oooo,** etc.] form a class distinct from other types, which contain at least one low-pitched unit and at least one high-pitched unit. We call the former "even-pitch class" **heiban-ʃiki** and the latter, "rising-falling class" **kifuku-ʃiki,** no matter how many syllabic units there are in the word. This division into two classes has some significance in the change of word-tone types in compound words, in conjugation forms of verbs, and in syntactical combinations of words.

We can formulate a few general laws of word-tone in the standard Tokyo speech as follows :—

1. If the first syllabic unit is of high pitch, the second syllabic unit is invariably low. Such a type as **ōoo,** while it can be observed in certain dialects, never exists in the Tokyo speech.

2. If the first syllabic unit is low, the second syllabic unit is invariably raised. This may seem inapplicable to "even-pitch class". but if we remember that the so-called even pitch is really a low-middle type, we can confirm this law by observing that even in this class the second unit is invariably *raised* to the middle pitch.

There are a few remarks to be made in supplement to the above statement. (1) In describing the word-tone types, such forms as **oō** or  were given. This would seem to mean that the voice keeps the same pitch during one syllabic unit and then suddenly jumps up or

[1] Here is another reason for writing "long vowels" as **oo** etc., instead of **o:** etc.

down to the next. As a matter of fact, such a thing is almost impossible, and in actual pronunciation the voice goes up and down gradually, though very rapidly, from one pitch to another, and even within a unit itself the voice may fluctuate up and down. Only those salient parts of this fluctuation which catch our attention in hearing are schematized in our mind, and make up the idea of high or low pitch. (2) In words like **aʃī̥ta** (to-morrow), the second syllabic unit ʃi̥ is devocalized, a fact which may seem to be in contradiction with the second law given above. Speaking purely objectively, the sound in which no voice takes part cannot be called high or low in voice-pitch. But subjectively we think that the second syllabic unit ought to be high in analogy with thousands of other examples, and we make efforts to raise the voice at the second unit, and actual tension of the vocal chords for producing high pitch seems to take place. Besides, in a very slow speech or in " song-song " reading of a text when we recover the voice, the pitch is invariably raised. (3) It may be asked, how can we distinguish the low-middle type **o̥o, o̥oo,** etc., from low-high type **o̥ō, o̥o͞o,** etc. ? It is an interesting fact that if we take the same words followed by what is called in Japanese grammar " post-positions " (which corresponds to English preposition in grammatical function), the distinction comes out very clear. Take, for instance, **a͞tama** (head), and **kimono** (clothes), and put after each the post-position **ŋa,** which denotes the nominative case. The former is accentuated **a͞tamaŋa,** while the latter **kimonoŋa.** In the speech idea of the Japanese, the distinction of these two types is quite clear, but if these words are pronounced in isolation they may sound nearly alike and be very difficult to discriminate by objective listening only. (4) The same kind of remark as the preceding can be made of the so-called monosyllabic words, such as **e, ki, ho,** etc. If these are pronounced by themselves, the listener can never tell whether they are high or low, simply because there are no other sounds to compare them with. Yet in the consciousness of the Japanese, **e** meaning " picture ", has high pitch, **e** meaning " handle " [of a knife, etc.] has low pitch : **ki** (tree) has high pitch, **ki** (spirit, mind) has low pitch ; **ho** (ear [of wheat, rice, etc.]) has high pitch, **ho** (sail) has low pitch. This distinction is due to the fact that when post-positions **ŋa, wa, o, ni,** etc., are added, they are pronounced **ēŋa, eŋa ; ki͞wa, kiwa ; ho͞o, hoo,** etc.

The Relation of Word-tone to Speech-intonation

As stated above, the word-tone is the relative difference of pitch fixed in each word. In other words, in a given speech-community the same word is always pronounced with the same distribution of high and low pitch no matter who the speaker or what the circumstances may be. So that the people of the speech-community can recall a word from memory and tell at once what type of word-tone that word has. On the contrary, in actual speaking there are infinite varieties of pitch-modulation differing with persons and circumstances. This latter is what the Committee have preferred to call by the name of speech-intonation. Of course, one may sometimes be able to observe that in a certain number of cases a certain type of intonation is used, for instance, such and such intonation is generally used when asking questions, etc. But if one recalls from memory a word, phrase, or a sentence by itself, one cannot tell at once what intonation it has, except that one could say such and such intonation is generally used in such and such occasions.

As the word-tone and speech-intonation are both matters relating to the pitch of voice, the question of their relations to each other becomes necessarily an important one. These relations may be briefly summarized as follows :—

1. While intonation of our speech is, on the one hand, relatively fixed conventionally in each word in what we call word-tone, it comes out, on the other hand, as the direct expression of the emotional side of our consciousness. When people are excited or speaking under stress of any emotion, their voice acquires a much greater range of pitch than when they are calm. Likewise when people put emphasis on any word of their sentence, the word is generally pronounced with a higher pitch together with greater stress or force. In Japanese this occasional high pitch is placed on the higher part of the word-tone. While usage requires that certain syllabic units shall always be higher or lower than other syllabic units, nevertheless, there is in connected speech a sentence-intonation which may increase or diminish the intervals between the pitches. Sentence-intonation can never cause an inherent high-pitch to become lower than a neighbouring lower pitch, or vice versa.

2. Another phenomenon of intonation to be noticed is observed at the end of a " sense-group " or at the end of a sentence. There are roughly speaking three kinds of terminal intonation, rising, even, and falling. They are quite independent of word-tone types, for a sentence

e.g. **hi̥toŋa kuru** (a man is coming) may be pronounced rising, even, or falling at the end, according to the circumstances under which it is spoken. Generally speaking, it is pronounced rising when used interrogatively, and falling when the fact is asserted. As for the word-tone, **hi̥toŋa** belongs to the even-pitch class, and **kūru** belongs to rising-falling class. Now we have here an interesting fact. That is the relation between the terminal intonation and the tone of the word that happens to come at the end. For example, in such a word-group as **kono hanā** (this flower), that word **hanā** has the high pitch in the last syllabic unit. If the terminal intonation is rising, that rising comes out simply as bringing the high-pitched unit to a considerable height. If the terminal intonation is not rising, the last unit **ha** is brought to a slightly high pitch. It may be observed that if this intonation is recorded in a machine, there is actually the falling of voice at the end of **na**, yet this **na** is never pronounced lower than the preceding **ha**, which would entirely upset the tone-type of the word, and make it into some other meaning or into nonsense. Again, if the last word is such as **ārn** "is, are", where **a** is high and **ru** is low, the falling terminal intonation will simply make the last syllabic unit **ru** low pitch, whereas if the terminal intonation is rising the voice first falls from **a** to **ru**, then again rises at the end of **ru**.

THE INSCRIPTION OF STHIRATATTVA AT KHAJURI

By L. D. Barnett

KHAJURI, in Sanskrit Kharjūrikā, is the name of (*inter alia*) a small village about 2 miles to the west of Guḍā (Gooda), and some 44 miles to the west of Indargaṛh, in Rajputana. Among its ruins is the inscription which I now edit from an estampage recently sent to me by Pandit Gopāl Lāl Vyās, the learned and energetic Curator of the Darbar Archæological Museum at Jhalrapatan, who has also very kindly supplied me with some notes on the topography.

The old village is now utterly ruined and deserted. On the north of it is a dense forest, in which, at a distance of about a mile, stand four or five old temples. These have lost nearly all their statuary; in one of them, however—that of Kaṅkālī Mātā, I understand—there is an image of Śiva lying on the ground. The present inscription is engraved on the stones of one of these temples. To the same building is attached a row of eight well-carved columns, in the midst of which is a stone image of Kārttikeya. At the foot of the latter is the following inscription, in *deva-nāgarī* characters, $\frac{3}{10}$ to $\frac{2}{5}$ in. in height:—

|| ū[ṁ] Svāmi-Kārtikeya Acale-
|| svara-yogī-prasādātuṃ [*sic*!] || seva-
|| ka Thiratatva-jogī mūrti sthā-
|| pite jātatha (?) || śubhaṃ bhavatu ||

This tells us that the image was set up by Sthira-tattva or Thira-tattva, the hero of the inscription printed below. In the central temple is a stone image of Gorakṣanātha, with the legend: ūṃ śrī-Gorkhanātha-prasādāya. Near these buildings are some small houses, all but one of them in ruins; these in former times were the hermitage of Kharjūrikā, the home of Sthira-tattva, to which our record below refers, and lie about ten miles from the border of Bundi State.

Our record, which is in good *deva-nāgarī* letters, mostly a little under $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height, has a somewhat unusual feature: it consists of a Sanskrit text followed by a vernacular summary. The Sanskrit text comprises sixteen verses, of which Nos. 1, 2, 14–16 are in the *anuṣṭubh* metre, 3, 4, 8, and 13 *vasantatilakā*. 5 *aupacchandasika*, 6, 11, and 12 *śālinī*, 7 *śārdūlavikrīḍita*, and 9 and 10 *pṛthvī*. The only noteworthy feature about the language in these is the relative pronoun *yakaḥ* (v. 9). Verses 1 and 2 present adoration to Brahma and Śiva

respectively. Verses 3–16 narrate in florid style that there was a saintly Śaiva Yogī of the Jāleśvara sanctuary named Maheśvara-tattva ; his disciple was Bhramara-tattva, who resided in Gargâraṇya and by the Mānasa-saras ; his disciple was Vicāra-tattva ; his disciple was Dharma-tattva ; and his disciple is the Yogī Sthira-tattva, a resident in Kharjūrikā (Khajuri), who is favoured by the Cāhumāna chieftain Goda of Ghṛtaghaṭâcala and the prince (*kumāra*) Mādhava, who at Dhundhumāra on the Gajendra-giri is always received with reverence by Narmada, the lord of Ṣaṭpura, and the prince (*kumāra*) Candrasena, and who is venerated by Sūrya-malla, the lord of Vṛndavatikā (Bundi). This Sthira-tattva has built a temple to Śiva-Kapileśvara and another to Bhairava, with a pond full of lotuses and a garden, and these temples were consecrated in the month Tapas (Māgha) of Vikrama-Samvat 1563. Govinda the architect (*sūtradhāra*) composed this record, and it was engraved by the mason Sāṅga.

The remainder of the record is in the local dialect. For the most part it is a plain prose summary of the Sanskrit verses preceding it. It gives the location of the Jāleśvara sanctuary as in the Utpalâraṇya, and presents the vernacular forms of the names of the persons and places previously mentioned. Thus *Gargâraṇya* now appears as *Gāguraṇa* ; *Mānasa-saras* as *Māna-sarovara* ; *Ghṛtaghaṭâcala* as *Ghīhaḍa-parvata* ; *Kharjūrikā* as *Kharjūrī* ; *Goda-vibhu* as *Ṭhākura Hāṛo Rāüta*[1] *Godo* ; *Dhundhumāra* as *Dhūṃdhalī* ; *Narmada*, lord of *Ṣaṭpura*, as *Ṭhākura Rāü Narabada* of *Ṣaṭakaḍa* ; and *Vṛndavatikā* as *Būndī*. Bhairava appears with the fuller title of Kāla-bhairava. Then follows a statement that the pond was dedicated in Vikrama-Samvat 1561 (elapsed), the 13th of Vaiśākha *badi*, a Monday, and that the phallus of the Kapileśvara temple was consecrated on a Wednesday, the 2nd, the rest of the date being lost. Some names, only partially preserved, are appended.

The most important of the persons mentioned is Sūrya-malla of Vṛndavatikā, i.e. the famous Sūraj Mall, Rao of Bundi, who ascended the throne in Samvat 1590 ; his history is narrated in Tod's *Annals*, i, p. 359, iii, p. 1476 of Crooke's edition. It follows that the inscription was probably written and engraved some years after that date. The Jāleśvara sanctuary is perhaps to be located in or near Jalor. Gargâraṇya or Gāguraṇa is now Gāgrun ("Gagraun" according to Tod, *ut supra*, i, p. 15), in Kotah State, some 4 miles north from Jhalawar, on the border of a deep forest, about 60 miles north-east

[1] *Rāuta* seems to be derived from *rājaputra* (*Epigr. Ind.*, xi, p. 35).

of Khajuri. The lake mentioned may perhaps be the Mānsarowar near Chitor (Tod, *ut supra*, ii, p. 919). Ṣaṭpura or Ṣaṭakaḍa is now known as Khaṭkaṛ; it lies nearly 12 miles to the east of Bundi State and some 32 miles to the north of Kotah.

The following conspectus, in which the numbers refer to the lines of the inscription, shows the chief features of the dialect of the second part, which is apparently something between Marwari and old Gujarati [1]:—

Masc. and neut. Nouns and Adjectives.—(1) Nominative-acc.: (*a*) tatsamas, sing., °*saṃpūrṇa*, 19, °*yogī*, 19, etc., *yogâbhyāsa*, 23, et sim.; plur., °*śāstra*, 23, *ṭhākura*, 26; (*b*) tadbhavas, sing., *celu*, 19–21, *celo*, 20, *Hāṛo*, 24, *rāüta*, 24, *Godo*, 24, *rāü*, 25; plur., *ghaṇā*, 26.

(2) Instrumental: sing., *ṭhākure*, 26; plur., (?) °*yogíśvare*, 23.

(3) Ablative: *dhana-tye*, 26.

(4) Genitive: °*vicāra-ro*, 20, *tapa-ro*, 21, 22, °*parvata-ro*, 24, *Ṣaṭakaḍa-ro*, 25, *Kapileśvara-ro*, 27, *Kālabhairava-ro*, 27, *Mahādeva-rī*, 22, *Mahādeva-rā*, 27, °*yoga-re*, 27.

(5) Locative: *Utpalâraṇya-māhe*, 18, °*samīpi*, 19, *sannidhāni*, 19, 20, *Gāguraṇi*, 20, *Mānasarovari*, 20, *bhūmaṃḍali*, 21, *ṭhāṃmi*, 24, 25, °*parvati*, 24, *arthi*, 27, °*pāre*, 25, *varṣe*, 27.

Feminine Nouns.—(1) Nomin., *vāvi*, 26, *vāḍī*, 26, °*pratiṣṭhā*, 28, °*sthāpanā*, 28; (2) Accus., *sevā*, 21, etc., *bhagati*, 25; (3) Genit., *bhagati-ro*, 22.

Pronouns.—(1) Instrumental sing., *jiṇaiṃ*, 22, *tīe*, 26; (2) Dative sing., (?) *jīe-nāṃ*, 26; (3) Genitive sing., *tīe-ro*, 19–21, *jīe-rī*, 24–5.

Verbs.—(1) Present tense: 3rd pers. sing., *rahaı*, 21, 24, *pravarttaï*, 22, *sevaï*, 26, *chaı*, 21–2, 24; 3rd pers. plur., *karaiṃ*, 25, *sevaim*, 26.

(2) Present Participle: nomin. *karato*, 21, loc. absol. *karate thakaï*, 23.

(3) Past Medio-passive Participle: masc. sing., *hūu*, 19–20, *pāmyo*, 24; femin. sing., *hūī*, 29, *kīdhī*, 28: masc.-neut. oblique base, *cahoḍyāṃ*, 26 (?) [2]; causal stem, *karāvyaṃ*, 28 (apparently fem. plur.).

(4) Gerund: *kare*, 26, *jāṃṇe*, 23 (unless this is a mistake for *jāṃṇate*, loc. absol.).

[1] Professor R. L. Turner, who has kindly examined these notes, writes to me: "I daresay it might be the local dialect of the time. But to-day W. Marwāṛī of that district, though it has gen. postposition *ro*, has *hũm*, 'I am.' On the other hand, the Bhīlī dialect immediately to the west has *chu*. It is curious that though many Rājasthānī dialects have *ro* and many have *chu*, none apparently have both *ro* and *chu* except Bikanērī, which is of course far removed from Khajurī. Perhaps, however, *ro* belongs to Govinda the architect, and *chaı* to Sāṅga the mason!"

[2] This word is puzzling. Professor Turner suggests that it may be an adjective in the oblique plural agreeing with plur. *dhana*, "from their ample riches," comparing Guj. *coḷū* and H. *caurā*, "wide, ample"; but he pertinently points out that if it be so the *y* is mysterious.

(5) Participle of Agency: *jāṇanahāra*, 20, *karaṇahāra*, 21–2, *ācaraṇahāra*, 22.

The *ṛ* in the name *Hāṛo* (l. 24) is written very like the *n* of Gupta inscriptions, except that the tail at the bottom is rather angular instead of being rounded; the *ḍ* is quite normal. In Marwari, on the contrary, the former character (with a more curled tail) is used to denote the *ḍ*, while the normal character for *ḍ* is used to express *ṛ* (*Ling. Surv. India*, IX, ii, p. 20).

The date given in l. 28, Vikrama-Samvat 1561, Vaiśākha *badi* 13, Soma, must be Monday, the 24th April, A.D. 1503. Mr. Sewell, who has kindly examined the data, has pointed out to me that by the Sūrya-siddhânta, according to which a second Caitra was intercalated in V.S. 1561 current, the given *tithi* must have fallen on a Tuesday for V.S. 1561 current, and on a Sunday for 1561 expired. The First Ārya-siddhânta, which intercalates a Vaiśākha in V.S. 1561 current, would make the *tithi* coincide with a Monday of adhika-Vaiśākha in that year, and with a Sunday in V.S. 1561 expired. It would, therefore, appear that the date was calculated by the Ārya-siddhânta, and referred to adhika-Vaiśākha of V.S. 1561 current.

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[1] Oṃ[1] namaḥ Śivāya || Ānaṃdāyâprameyāya sarvāya paramâtmane | cidai[2] 'naṃtāya nityāya satyāya Brahmaṇe namaḥ || 1[3] Namaḥ Śivāya gurave sa-

[2] rggasthityaṃtahetave | apāratarasaṃsārasāgarottārasetave || 2 Āsīd amaṃdatarayogamahovibhinnasaṃsārasaṃtamasarāśir udārasatvaḥ[4] | Jāle-

[3] śvarâśramaṇabhāvitaśuddhabodhasāmrājyabhāg iha Maheśvaratatvayogī[5] || 3 Śiṣyo 'bhavad Bhramaratatva[6] ihâsya Gargâraṇyâgrya Mānasasaraḥsavidhâśra-

[4] masthaḥ | aṣṭâṃgayogaśaraṇād Acaleśvarasya prâpya prasādam agamat paramaṃ padaṃ yaḥ || 4 Atha tasya Vicāratatvasaṃjño[7] viṣayagrāmavinirjjayai-

[5] kadhīraḥ | prayatas tapasâbhavad vineyo 'khilatīrthâśrayaviśruto mahâtmā || 5 Śiṣyo 'muṣya śreyasā bhāsamāno jñānârciṣmaddagdhakarmâ-

[1] Preceded by a symbol.
[2] Read *cide*.
[3] The numeral has been omitted, and then added above the line.
[4] Read °*sattvaḥ*.
[5] Read °*tattvayogī*.
[6] Read °*tattva*.
[7] Read °*tattva*°.

[6] bhyudīrtte | buddhvā bhāvān naśvarān muktasaṃgo Brahmâdvaitaṃ saṃśrito Dharmatatvaḥ[1] || 6 Tacchiṣyaḥ Sthiratatva[2] eṣa jayati prodyattapaḥsaṃbhṛtir jñā-

[7] noddhūtatamastatiḥ śritaŚivadhyānânatiḥ sadgatiḥ | iṣṭâpūrttavinirmitiprasṛmaraśreyastatiḥ saṃyati[3] Brahmânaṃdaratir maho-

[8] dayamatir yogâṃcitasvonnatiḥ || 7 Kharjjūrikâśramarataḥ pariśīlyate 'sau yogīśvaro Ghṛtaghaṭâcalanāyakena | bhaktena[4]

[9] GodavibhunonnataCāhumānavaṃśyena Mādhavakumārasamanvitena || 8 Gajeṃdragirisaṃśrayaṃ śrayati Dhuṃdhumāraṃ yakaḥ sa

[10] Ṣaṭpuranarâdhipo namati Narmado yaṃ sadā | kumāra iha bhaktibhir bhajati Caṃdrasenaḥ punaḥ sa Vṛṃdavatikāvibhuḥ śrayati Sūryama-

[11] llo 'pi ca || 9 Apārakaruṇāparaḥ sakalajīvarakṣāvidhau vimuktipathaśāsanair aviratam pavitrâśayaḥ | anekanaranāyakair a-

[12] bhisamarpitāḥ saṃpadaḥ prakalpayati pātrasād amalakarma kāmaṃ vinā || 10 Ākhyātāni śrīVirūpâkṣamukhyair eṣa jñātvā yo-

[13] gataṃvāṇi[5] dhīraḥ | yuṃjan yogaṃ sâṃgam unnidramudraṃ nādâlīnaḥ kāṃkṣati Brahmabhūyaṃ || 11 Niḥsaṃgo 'pi Brahmasaṃsaktacitto 'py āta-

[14] nvānaḥ śaivayogīśabhaktiṃ | devâgāraṃ bhaktiyogena ramyaṃ nirmāti sma smeramūrddheṃdumāuleḥ || 12 Prāsādam unnatataraṃ Kapileśvarasya śrī-

[15] Bhairavasya ca tayoḥ snapanāya puṇyāṃ | vāpīm apārakamalāṃ Kamalâlayāyāḥ krīḍâspadaṃ punar acīkarad eṣa vāṭīṃ || 13 Vikramârkasya

[16] sama[ye] khyāte paṃcadaśe śate | triṣaṣṭyā sahite 'bdānāṃ māse Tapasi suṃdare || prāsādayoḥ pratiṣṭhâsīd vāpyām upavane 'pi ca || 14 ||

[17] Sūtradhāraḥ kalādhāro Goviṃdo muktitaṃtravit | sthiraprāśastim akarod imāṃ yogīśasauhṛdāt || 15 Anavadyair varaiḥ padyaiḥ sa evâli-

[18] khad uttamāṃ śilāyāṃ tām udakirat Sāṃgaḥ śilpavidāṃ

[1] Read °*tattvaḥ*.

[2] Read °*tattva*.

[3] Read *saṃyatir*.

[4] On the left margin is written *Śrī-Śivadāsa*, the first three syllables being a little below the level of l. 8 and the last two below them.

[5] Read °*taṃtrāṇi*.

varaḥ || 16 || Atha bhāṣayā praśastisaṃbaṃdho likhyate || Śrī-Utpalâraṇya-māhe Maṃ-

[19] . . . karadurgasamīpi śrī-Jāleśvara-Śivâyatana-sannidhāni jñāna-yoga-saṃpūrṇa āïsa Maheśvara-tatva-yogā [1] hūu | tïe-ro celu āïsa Bhramarata-

[20] tva Gāguraṇi tathā Mānasarovari Acaleśvara-sannidhāni hūu | tïe-ro celo dharma-vicāra-ro jāṇaṇahāra āïsa Vicāratatva hūu | tïe-ro celu āïsa

[21] Gharmatatva [2] dharma-ro ācaraṇahāra tapa-ro karaṇahāra bhūmaṃḍali aneka-tīrtha-sevā karato rahaï chaï || tïe-ro celu āïsa Thiratatva aṣṭâṃga-yoga-pravī-

[22] ṇa aneka-śāstra-nipuṇa sakala-kalā-paripūrṇa aṣaṃḍa [3] -tapa-ro ācaraṇahāra śrī-Mahādeva-rī bhagati-ro karaṇahāra pravarttaï chaï || jiṇaïṃ śrī-Go-

[23] rakṣanātha-pramukha-yogîśvare kī . . . ṃ . . . [śā]stra jāṃṇe anaï daśa-mudrā-sahita aṣṭâṃga-yogâbhyāsa karate thakaï nādânu-saṃdhāna-laya pāmyo ||

[24] . . . . . [Gh]īhaḍa-parvati Kharjūrī-ṭhāṃmi rahaï chaï | Ghīhaḍa-parvata-ro Ṭhākura Hāṛo Rāüta Godo tathā Kūṃara Mādhava sadā jïe-rī se-

[25] [[4] vā karaïṃ | tathā Gajeṃ]d[r]agiri Dhūṃdhalī-pāre ṭhāṃmi Ṣaṭakaḍa-ro Ṭhākura Rāü Narabada tathā Kuṃara Caṃdrasena | jïe-rī bhagati karaïṃ || tathā Būṃdī-

[26] . . . . . jïe-nāṃ sadā sevaï | bījā hī ṭhākura ghaṇā sevaïṃ | tïe ṭhākure bhagati kare cahoḍyāṃ dhana-tye prāsāda vāvi vāḍī

[27] . . . . . kaï śrī-Mahādeva-rā bhakti-yoga-re arthi śrī-Kapileśvara-ro prāsāda tathā śrī-Kāla-bhairava-ro prāsāda thira vāvi thira vā-

[28] [ḍī] . . . . . tti (?) karāvyaṃ || Śrī-Vikramârka-samayâtīta-saṃvat 1561 varṣe Vaiśākha-vadi 13 Some vāpī-pratiṣṭhā kīdhī

[29] . . . . . di 2 Budhe śrī-Kapileśvara-prāsāda-li[ṃ]ga-sthāpanā hūī || Sa° Ratanasī-suta sā° Devā sā° ||

[30] Paṭala Maganā [5]

[1] Read °*yogī*.

[2] Read *Dharma*°.

[3] Read *akhaṃḍa*°.

[4] The letters within the bracket are purely conjectural.

[5] These letters are somewhat uncertain, as the paper of the estampage has been cut off through the middle of them.

HISTORY OF THE MISSION OF THE FATHERS OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS, ESTABLISHED IN PERSIA BY THE REVEREND FATHER ALEXANDER OF RHODES

Contributed by Sir ARNOLD T. WILSON

THE following is a translation of a little work bearing the full title of: Relation / de la / Mission / des Peres de la / Compagnie / de Iesus/. Establie dans le Royaume de Perse / par le R. P. Alexandre / de Rhodes. Dressée et mise au iour par un Pere / de la mesme Compagnie.[1] A Paris, chez Iean Henault, Libraire-Iure, / ruë Saint Iacques, à l'Ange Gardien & / Saint Raphaël. M. DC. LIX. Avec privilege du Roy.

PREFACE

I have noted in former years that certain narratives which I have given to the public, of the same nature as this present one, have not failed entirely either to bring comfort to virtuous souls or to give pleasure to those who took the trouble to read them.

For this reason I venture to hope that this present one, which treats of the Mission of our Society recently established in Persia, and others still to come, dealing with the East and West Indies, Syria, and Greece, will be no less successful in producing these effects. This is my sole object in undertaking the work of compiling and publishing these records.

In order, however, still further to justify these short works, which are devoted primarily to the propagation of our holy Faith among unbelievers, I must ask the reader to remember that they are founded on examples left both in ancient and modern times by great Saints which the Church bids us honour as being especially favoured by God, and imitate as models of all perfection.

In ancient times we notice that St. Paul in several of his incomparable epistles introduces edifying tales such as these, and seeks to interest the early Christians with accounts of his labours and of the blessings which God deigned to bestow on them.

St. Luke, too, writes on this subject in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts with reference to the same great apostle and to St. Barnabas, saying: *Narrantes conversionem gentium faciebant gaudium magnum*

[1] Note by Translator. The compiler's name is Father Jacques de Machault, see Du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en* 1660, Schefer, Paris, 1890.

Fratribus—" declaring the conversion of the Gentiles " to the early Christians, whom they address as brethren because of the perfect charity which bound them all together in that golden age of the Church. " They caused great joy unto all the brethren."

In the same passage the story again records that these two great men on arriving in Jerusalem declared to the Apostles and to all the company of the Faithful, *Quanta Deus fecisset cum illis*—the excellent marvels which God had wrought by their hands in the preaching of the Gospel. In the preceding chapter also, we read that these same two Apostles when they were among the Christians at Antioch " rehearsed all that God had done with them, and how He had opened the door of faith unto the Gentiles ".

We see then from these repeated instances—passing over several others of a like nature—that St. Paul earnestly desired that the story of the spreading of the Christian religion should be told to the Faithful and considered that this was a means of benefiting their souls, not only through the sacred joy caused to them thereby, but also inasmuch as it strengthened their veneration for the Faith by relating to them its glorious triumphs.

Nothing can be more true than the precept of the Angel on this subject, namely, that it is good to keep close the secret of a king, but honourable to reveal the works of God—*Sacramentum Regis abscondere, opera autem Dei revelare et confiteri honorificum est.*

As to the examples in recent times, I will content myself with quoting those of St. Ignatius the founder of our Society, and St. Francis Xavier his most illustrious companion in the work of saving souls.

In the life of the former we read that among his most usual subjects of discourse, both with our members and with people outside, were the singular graces which God had bestowed on the labours of the Brethren whom he himself had already sent to all parts of the world to win for God the heretics and infidels—in a word all sinners, for the winning of every soul was the only limit to his zeal. And as regards the great Apostle of the Indies, his letters, so angelic in tone, are adorned in divers places with saintly discourses which tell of the great favours conferred by Heaven on the works of his Mission. Narratives of this kind seem to him to be so beneficial to his fellow-men that he entreats those to whom the letters are addressed to tell them to his friends, in particular to certain ones noted both for their virtue and for their knowledge of philosophy—to which subject he had devoted himself at the University

of Paris, both as a student and a teacher. He was convinced indeed that these narratives would prove a powerful means of attracting minds to the pursuit of virtue, as also of awakening a zeal for saving souls.

It is true, also, that those who read these accounts of the sudden yet perfect conversion of so many heathen, after long years lost in vice and total ignorance of God, should be inspired with dread lest their continual refusal of grace will draw on them the curse pronounced by the Son of God against the Jews—*Auferetur a vobis regnum Dei, et dabitur genti facienti fructus ejus*, " The Kingdom of God shall be taken from you and given to a people which shall bring forth fruits worthy of it."

Those whom God has called to this Society will, moreover, acquire a special power for service. For the zeal which, as will be seen by this narrative, prompts in these days so many of our French brethren—to say nothing of those from other countries—to devote themselves to the saving of souls in New France, in the East and West Indies, Turkey and Persia—in a word, in all quarters of the globe—this zeal, I say, is a very sure testimony and valued pledge, assuring them that the original spirit which inspired our Society from the beginning, is still alive in all its purity and strength. For this zeal *is* the spirit, is its life and only purpose.

Moreover, this history of the Mission to the Kingdom of Persia is the first to be given to the public, for the reason that the records were the first to reach me ; besides which it is the most famous among the undertakings of our Society in recent years. I know also that several distinguished people are eagerly awaiting it, desiring to learn about the beginnings of the enterprise which seem to be the most interesting part. The other histories will, however, follow as soon as possible.

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History of the Mission of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, established in the Kingdom of Persia by Father Alexander of Rhodes

CHAPTER I

Special Honour due to the Mission in Persia

This account of the Mission of the Society of Jesus in the Kingdom of Persia cannot be begun in a more fitting manner than by quoting the well-known comment uttered by St. John Chrysostom when treating of St. Matthew's Gospel, with reference to the Mystery of the Adoration of the Kings (*Hom.* 6. *in Matt.*). According to this statement, the Incarnate Word, on coming into the world, gave to Persia, in the persons of the Magi, the first manifestations of His mercy and light; for from this kingdom (so says our great writer) he called them—the first of all the Gentiles—to a knowledge of Himself; so that the Jews themselves (he adds) learned from the mouths of Persians the birth of their Messiah, which they would not learn from the writings of the Prophets—*Persico sermone didicerunt, quae Prophetis nuntiantibus discere noluerunt.*

If, therefore, the Saviour of the world loved this Kingdom so much as to honour it with the earliest of His favours, it is certain that those whom He deigns, in His mercy, to associate with the great work for which He became man—namely the salvation of men—and to number among the labourers of His Gospel, cannot better win the approval of their Master and further His original desires than by directing their zeal

and devoting the missionary life to which they are dedicated towards regaining, for His service, through the power of their preaching, this flourishing Monarchy which—so this same great Doctor tells us—the Magi had already conquered.

CHAPTER II

The French Brethren of the Society of Jesus called to the Mission in Persia

The Brethren of the Society of Jesus, who bear this sacred name for no other purpose than to sacrifice themselves, according to their peculiar Missionary vows, as victims in the cause of Salvation, being prepared to face labours, trials, even death itself, as did Jesus their divine Head, would seem to be particularly suitable for this glorious enterprise.

Many years ago, moreover, the Holy See assigned this field to our Society, when it commanded our Fathers in the town of Goa (from whence it is easy to reach Persia by way of the Persian Gulf) to go and carry on their work in Isfahan, the capital of that country. The Fathers undertook this task with a firm resolution to carry it through in a worthy manner. Certain events occurred, however, which obliged them to postpone the execution of their plan.

The purposes which God has framed and established in His Eternity cannot be frustrated in their effects, but must, sooner or later, find fulfilment; and so, having called the French Brethren of our Society to the Mission in Persia—as the trend of events has amply proved—His divine Providence has enabled this task to be successfully performed in our own days, through means as wonderful as they are concealed. As God, nevertheless, makes use of secondary causes for the fulfilment of His designs, so He had recourse to this usual method of His divine Providence to set this particular plan in motion.

I read first of all in the records of our Mission at Aleppo that, when the Bishop of Babylon was in that town with our members, observing our activities and the diligence and energy shown by the Fathers in helping souls, he first intimated to them the resolution which he had formed of having some of our members with him in Persia—"for I shall do more," he said, "with a couple of Jesuits than with many other workers," and he thereupon bade them prepare themselves.

The Mission was furthered in the second place by the most illustrious Queen of Poland. This lady, of noble French lineage, who brought to her new realm all the finest qualities of a soul of royal degree, which qualities lend more lustre to her crown than do all the precious stones

which she possesses—this princess, whose heroic courage, during the revolutions in her country, is the admiration of all Europe, evinced so pious and generous a zeal for conquering Persia for Jesus Christ that, in order to start so glorious an enterprise she gave from her own funds a considerable sum of money to be devoted to the maintenance of the Missionaries called to this work. Moreover, many other virtuous and influential persons who by charitable actions are furthering, according to their ability, the work of salvation and acquiring in the sight of God the merit of apostles, since they give the alms whereby many good workers are maintained in the performances of their apostolic labours among the heretics and unbelievers—these gentlemen, and ladies, too (for the latter share with men the glory of this sacred zeal), have devoted themselves so wholeheartedly to the Mission in Persia, that we have been obliged to accept their help and send some of our Brethren to found this Mission, in spite of the fact that many others exist in New France, the islands of America, Greece, Syria—to say nothing of the Indies—so many, indeed, that the Superiors can scarcely find the necessary workers for them all.

Chapter III

Father Alexander of Rhodes appointed Superior of the Mission in Persia

It was necessary to find a capable and experienced head for this Mission, which is a particularly important one, owing to the size and population of the country, also to the fact that the inhabitants are cultured and highly intellectual people although brought up in Muhammadanism and strongly attached to this sect, which is so antagonistic to the religion of Jesus Christ.

Father Alexander of Rhodes, a leading light in this apostolic Ministry, in which he has laboured conscientiously and with success for more than thirty years in the Missions of China, Cochin-China, Tongking, and several others in the Indies, has therefore been chosen from among our Superiors to take control of this one, and to guide it in its early stages—for, as a rule, it is in these early stages that the seeds and foundations are laid, out of which spring and develop the successful achievements of the noblest enterprises.

I will first of all give an account of his voyage to that country. Many distinguished persons who hold him in esteem and affection will be glad to hear the details, which are not without interest, seeing that his journey was hindered by various incidents of a distressing nature. It is not unreasonable to believe that these incidents were

planned by the malice of Satan, who wished to prevent the good works which this Mission would be able to perform, for the glory of God, when aided by the wisdom and piety of so worthy a Superior. I shall afterwards describe the state of the Mission and certain things which have happened since he took charge of it, which ought to be made known, as should also the first fruits already being reaped in this field.

Chapter IV

Journey of Father Alexander of Rhodes to the Mission in Persia and what befell him as far as Malta

After he had been appointed Superior of the Mission in Persia by the Reverend Father General, Father Alexander of Rhodes embarked at Marseilles on the 16th November, 1654, with another Father and a Brother, all three being bound for the same destination.

Their voyage was at first very rough owing to excessively heavy seas. They were therefore all three ill, and the Father of Rhodes more seriously so than the other two. A furious gust of the storm which took him unawares threw him so violently on to some woodwork that he thought his back was broken. In order to remedy this mishap as quickly as possible, it was necessary to bleed him at once, and his sufferings continued to be very acute as far as Malta, for the entire five days which covered this first section of the journey. Moreover, a corsair of Barbary pursued them determinedly for three whole days, keeping them in perpetual alarm and distressing fear ; but in the end it pleased God to deliver them from it and to bring them safely to the port of this famous island.

No sooner had the Father arrived at the College (which belongs to our Order) than he had to be attended by doctors and surgeons. These, however, on discovering that there was nothing broken but merely a violent shock to the nerves, applied the necessary remedies so promptly that in three days he was again able to say Mass. And on the Feast of St. Francis Xavier, the great Apostle of the Indies, which falls on the 2nd of December, he was so far recovered that he was even required to give the customary address in praise of this Saint, and this he did in Italian, which he has spoken well for several years. All the Fathers of the College and many notable persons from outside had urged him to give this address. The congregation was numerous and most distinguished : the Grand Master himself was there with members of the Grand Cross from all Nations and a large assembly of Knights. They were all delighted with the Father's preaching—notwithstanding

the fact that the captain of his ship had been anxious to depart since the morning in order to have the company of another ship which was going the same way. The Grand Master commanded the harbour-master not to let any vessel leave until after midday, and by that time the sermon was finished and the ship amply loaded with provisions through the munificence of the Grand Master himself, who wished by this generosity to give proof of his esteem for the Father. The latter departed that same afternoon and was scarcely able to find words in which to express, either to the Fathers of our Order or to the Knights, his appreciation of the kindness which he had received from them all during his nine days' stay on their island.

Chapter V

Continuation of the journey through Sidon and Urfa and what happened in these two places

After continuing their journey successfully for nine more days, they arrived safely at Sidon in Syria on the 11th December, where Father Poiresson, Superior of the Missions in that country, made them welcome and treated them with extraordinary kindness.

As the Father of Rhodes was expecting certain letters from France, which he required to enable him to enter Persia and gain an easier access to the Court of that country, he postponed any further advance for a few days, in the hope of receiving them at this port of Sidon, which has fairly frequent communication with Marseilles. Yet he did not wish to be entirely idle and thought that he could not better employ this period of waiting than by visiting the Holy Places in Palestine, to which the distance was only three or four days' journey. So he spent the Christmas festival there and immediately afterwards found a convenient caravan and travelled by this means to Aleppo.

Eight days' journey from that place brought him to the town of Urfa, which is the ancient Edessa. There the Brother who accompanied him was seized with a violent sickness from which they thought he would die and, if he had not had the courage to bleed himself, he would certainly not have recovered. This mishap was most distressing to the Father, who was thus for a considerable time threatened with the loss of a help most necessary to him in the difficulties of this arduous journey.

God sent them comfort, however, in that they met the Patriarch of the Christian Sect called Jacobites, who, although a Schismatic, treated them with great consideration. In the first place he gave them

lodging near his Church and, besides this, he visited them frequently and, moreover, brought remedies and other refreshments for the invalid.

In return for these kind offices, the Father tried on his part to serve him in the manner most profitable to his salvation and, in several discussions which they had together, urged him, together with his Bishops, to seek reunion with the Catholic Church. There are, indeed, a number of Bishops subordinate to him—for he is styled Patriarch of Antioch—and these used to be present at the discussions. He prevailed on them to give heed to his instructions and actually persuaded them to send one of their members to Rome, in order to recognize the Pope as Universal Head of the Church, and to render him the homage due on behalf of them all. The representative chosen for this commission was an intelligent man and, at his request, the Father provided him with letters of recommendation.

The Turks showed them a place near Urfa where the Patriarch Abraham is supposed to have been thrown into the fire and delivered by a miracle—a great fountain springing from the earth at that moment. This fountain may be seen to-day and is full of fish which nobody dares to touch, through superstitious dread.

The Armenians also showed them an ancient Church of theirs, to which St. Alexis withdrew for a long time. His dwelling-place is still to be seen, and is very like the one shown in his Church at Rome, which latter was under a staircase in his father's house.

Chapter VI

The Father's Companion taken from him by a Turkish nobleman, to serve as doctor

In the meantime, the Brother who was accompanying the Father, after being ill for a month and a half, began to recover, and actually gave in charity certain remedies (of which he had some knowledge) to sick people in the country who came to consult him from all parts. The success of certain notable cures achieved through these remedies attracted so many patients to him that he became tired out and required treatment himself, which, however, failed to relieve him.

His fame even spread to Diarbekr, the capital of Mesopotamia, so that the Governor of that city sent a special envoy with a large retinue in order to carry off the Brother, just as if he had been some celebrated doctor from France—so far did rumour improve on the real state of affairs! But the worst was that they forced him to depart

at once, although he was not yet strong nor recovered from his illness. This fell as a fresh misfortune on the Father who was unable to go with him, being in charge of certain Church furniture, books, and other things destined for the Mission, and who was thus losing not only his companion—the separation from whom was very bitter and caused him many tears—but was also being deprived of his interpreter.

Being thus alone and unable to speak or communicate with other people he placed his trust entirely in God and set himself to the performance of spiritual offices, namely long and frequent prayers, in order that God in His mercy should send him help and protection in his sore distress. During his retreat his main comfort was to receive in faith the most holy Sacrament, which was indeed the only solace of his utter loneliness.

At last the Father recognized, through experience, the truth of the promise which God, in the words of the Psalmist, makes to His servants: *Cum ipso sum in tribulatione*—"I am with him in his trouble." For, at the end of his retreat, his misfortunes were changed to a state of peace and joy, since an opportunity was offered him to travel to Diarbekr, which he did in six days and subsequently recovered his companion, as we shall presently relate.

Chapter VII

The Father rejoins his Companion at Diarbekr and what he did there

The Father found his companion in the best of health and they embraced each other with such joy as only those can feel who love, and their recent separation enhanced the joy and satisfaction of this meeting. He was very well received at the house where the Brother was staying as a doctor, in which capacity he was assisting the master of that house. The latter was one of the chief noblemen of the city and a great friend of the Governor of the Province, who had arranged to have the Brother brought there for him, as has been related.

They were obliged to remain there two months, partly on account of the sick nobleman, who had to be attended to until he was completely recovered, and partly on account of the great heat, which in that country is a source of considerable danger.

The town of Diarbekr is large and thickly populated, its inhabitants being said to number some twenty thousand Turks and thirty thousand Christians. These last are all Schismatics of different sects, the three most numerous being Armenians, Jacobites, and Nestorians. It would seem to be a promising field for enterprise if we had a Mission

established there with workers who could speak Turkish or Armenian, the two languages most commonly spoken in that country.

The Father of Rhodes was on friendly terms and had several conversations with the three Bishops of these sects, on the mysteries of our Faith, with which their tenets do not agree. He found them, on the whole, most agreeable and willing to learn the truth ; for, to use his own words—*longe abesse a regno Dei*—they shewed themselves not far from the Kingdom of God. There they met a Franciscan Father, a man of great virtue and knowledge, who does a considerable amount of missionary work there ; he, however, can only speak Arabic, which is understood by few. Five or six good missionaries could be well employed in any part of Mesopotamia, which is a fine well-populated country, where there are innumerable Schismatics who could easily be persuaded to join the Catholic Church, if some enthusiastic and discreet preachers were to show them the truth.

Chapter VIII

End of the Father's journey and his arrival in Persia

At last, after the Feast of the Assumption, when the heat was less intense, the Father left Diarbekr with his companion. He had sent in advance, from Urfa, a Polish Father who was also destined for the Mission in Persia, in order to warn the Fathers there of his impending arrival, to arrange matters and to facilitate his entry into the country.

His journey through the further Provinces of Turkey, which lasted until nearly the end of September, was pursued in constant danger of his life—though he was preserved by God's special protection. He and his friend were, however, obliged to submit at various stages to extortion and robbery, by which they lost most of what the virtuous people, anxious for the welfare of the Missions, had given them ; it was a marvel indeed that they escaped with their lives from the clutches of these harpies.

They finally reached Persia at the beginning of October, and the remembrance of dangers so recently passed heightened their appreciation of the treatment they received after crossing the frontiers of this great kingdom, so full of kindness and courtesy. The first town through which they passed was Tabriz, the ancient Ecbatana of Scriptural fame, the second city of this powerful monarchy. It is a beautiful, well populated place, where a good Mission will one day

be able to do great things ; up to the present, however, no missionaries of the Gospel have worked there.

There they found the relatives of a recent martyr of Cochin-China, an Armenian by nationality. This man had travelled through India to Cochin-China, so far from his own country, and had embraced the Catholic Faith, abjuring his Schismatic creed, thanks to some of our Fathers who work for the conversion of these unbelievers ; then, devoting himself to the Fathers, by aiding them in their sacred labours, he finally carried off the palm of a glorious martyrdom.

As, however, the most important concern of the Mission was its establishment in the capital, the Father stayed only a short time at Tabriz and set out again as soon as possible with his companion. Though handicapped by serious ill-health, yet he would not delay, but continued his journey bravely for another month until, at the beginning of November, they arrived at Isfahan the Royal City. They found the Fathers there in good health, busily engaged in studying the language of the country and delighted to see their new Superior.

Chapter IX

Founding of the Mission at Isfahan by Father Aymé Chezaud, who was well versed in the Persian language and taught it to the other Fathers

It was Father Aymé Chezaud who laid the first foundations of the Mission of our Society in the Kingdom of Persia. This worthy missionary had previously proved his zeal for many years in our Missions in Syria and notably in the one at Aleppo, of which he was Superior, where he had achieved amazing works amidst unusual hardships. Having acquired an excellent knowledge of the languages of those regions, he had now learned Persian and was absolutely familiar with it.

Now this zealous worker for the Faith had long contemplated a journey to Persia in order to bring there the light of the Gospel and to gain souls for Jesus Christ, through his own labours and those of our Brethren who were to follow him in this glorious enterprise. For this purpose he had compiled a Persian dictionary, as well as various other books in this language, which were most useful to the Mission.

He arrived in Persia in the year 1652, and began to work there at once and has continued to do so until this day. He has won a high reputation for his character and capability throughout the city of Isfahan, as well as at the Court, where he is held in great esteem by the nobility and by the King himself, as will be seen by certain memorable

events which we are going to relate. When the Father of Rhodes took charge of our Mission, it consisted of three members, two Fathers and a Brother, and he and his companion brought the number up to five. It was a very small number for such a great undertaking. As a knowledge of the language was the first and absolutely essential consideration before attempting anything else, they all set to work to study it, under the direction of Father Chezaud. He proved such a helpful instructor that they made remarkable progress in very short time ; some, indeed, obtained such proficiency in the language, after two or three months, that they were able to give religious instruction in it, both by catechism and otherwise.

Chapter X

Liberty allowed in Persia for discussing matters of Religion

It may be said in general that this country presents a great opportunity for the propagation of the Faith, in that it may be taught here without constraint. Most of the inhabitants, it is true, profess Muhammadanism, which is the religion of the King and his Court ; but, as they follow an interpretation of the Koran different from that adhered to by the Turks, they allow complete liberty for religious controversy to all who wish to indulge therein. There is no law here, forbidding it on pain of torture or death, as there is among the Turks, the extreme rigour of whose law makes it almost impossible for anyone to convert them from their false doctrine.

Chapter XI

Baptism of dying children ; first fruits of the Mission

The first and most important fruits won in early days by our missionaries in this promising field was the Baptism of a number of small children on the point of death. This could be done easily, as the parents themselves often brought them, in the hope of procuring some bodily remedy for them ; when, however, the case was so serious that the Fathers judged that there was no hope of recovery, they secured Eternal Life for these children by means of Baptism. I am told, indeed, that a certain Brother of the Barefooted Carmelites baptized, during one year, more than three thousand children, whom Heaven took to itself forthwith by a peaceful death.

The harvest of these innocent souls is all the more abundant since the number of children in this country who die young is considerable.

It is estimated that, in one year alone, the children who died in Isfahan numbered forty thousand at least; and one Father, moreover, baptized five or six in a day. This was a safe harvest, in no danger of being lost. But the more there are in Heaven of these little angels the more intercessors there will be to pray to God for their country, that its conversion may be assured.

Our workers are encouraged in this hope by occurrences of which the Father of Rhodes professes to have been an eyewitness, when he was working among the pioneers of the Mission at Tongking. He declares that, at the very beginning of the Mission, they baptized a few small children who were dying of disease, and that these opened the way to a great multitude of heathen who very soon afterwards adopted the Faith, the number of converts amounting to at least two or three hundred thousand.

I am obliged to mention here the particular generosity of a certain French Duchess, a lady whose piety is no less illustrious than her lineage is most exalted. On the occasion of the illness of one of her sons, she promised that, should he recover, a perpetual donation of fifty *écus* should be devoted each year to the maintenance of those of our missionaries among the heathen to whom the special task of baptizing small children would be allotted. And for the sake of these poor innocent souls, which are so precious to Him that angels from His Paradise are assigned to them as guardians, God graciously allowed this young nobleman to recover perfect health. So worthy an action ought most certainly to be imitated, and I pray that the Holy Spirit may inspire the wills of many other persons to do the same. I know that many persons of high rank and virtue are in favour of this and, only by increased alms-giving, will they increase the number of labourers for the Gospel. In these early stages, the less you exact from the heathen the more readily they yield themselves and listen to you. In a word, pure and disinterested charity is the key which opens all hearts. Missionaries should take for their motto the beautiful saying of our Saviour: *Beatius est magis dare quam accipere*, "It is more blessed to give than to receive" (Acts xx, 35). Moreover, when preparing His Apostles for the Mission of the whole world, He gave them this noble teaching: *Gratis accipistis, gratis date*, "Freely ye have received, freely give."

Chapter XII

The Truths of our Holy Faith propounded in public; second fruits of the Mission

The second fruit, which followed on the first and which may be considered as the beginning of the mercies obtained from our Lord by the Holy Innocents of whom we have just spoken, is rendered the more remarkable by its rareness, which enhances its value. The like of it was probably never seen or heard in Persia during all the preceding ages. For the mysteries of our Holy Religion were frequently proclaimed and their truth received with all the respect that could be possibly desired, in the most illustrious and the most learned assemblies of the Kingdom.

The Muhammadans, of the Sect predominant here, have the merit, as I have said before, of being willing to discuss their religion and to listen equally to the teaching of others. And so, when it became known at the Court that Father Aymé Chezaud was capable of demonstrating clearly and forcibly the truth of the Articles of our Faith and, in particular, the two principal ones, namely that of the Most Holy Trinity and of the Incarnation of the Word—the Son of God—the Prime Minister of the State, who is called Itimad ud Daula (which means "hope of prosperity"), was commanded by the King to assemble the most learned of the Muhammadan doctors, in order to confer and argue with the said Father, who, because of his perfect mastery of the language, is the only one able worthily to uphold the truth.

These discussions have taken place several times in the palace of the said Minister, in the presence of all the most exalted Court officials, always with the most brilliant success as regards the furtherance of the good cause. It may, indeed, be said that our Lord, according to His promise (Luke xii, 12), gave to Father Chezaud, during these conferences, utterance and wisdom which his opponents could neither contradict nor resist. And yet he was there as a poor stranger, defending and attacking alone in these intellectual contests against all the most select and famous of the Muhammadan doctors, who fell one after the other, like so many raw recruits, before this solitary Frankish doctor, as they called the Father.

Chapter XIII

First Conference on the Articles of our Faith, held with the Muhammadan doctors

As these matters will be more interesting if reported in detail, I shall relate all the minute particulars of these discussions, giving

them from letters written by the Father of Rhodes who was there on the spot, and by Father Chezaud who was responsible for the whole proceeding; also by Father Vabois, Superior of our settlement in Smyrna, who wrote to me according to information received from persons actually at Isfahan at the time. The testimony of these three witnesses may undoubtedly be accepted, seeing that they are of trustworthy and irreproachable character. The circumstance which gave rise to these conferences was that Father Chezaud wrote, in Persian, a book demonstrating the truth of the two principal mysteries of our Holy Faith, and presented it to this nobleman, who, as I have said, is the first Minister at the Court, favoured by the King and all-powerful with him, and holding absolute and undisputed authority throughout the Kingdom—which gives proof of his ability and prudence. He is in truth a person of sound judgment, subtle intellect and most kindly disposition, ready to listen to reason, and with whom it is a pleasure to confer. Moreover, he takes pleasure in beautiful things and shows a keen interest in the particular developments of our sciences, having a perfect knowledge of those in repute among his own people.

He received the book with expressions of pleasure and gratitude and promised that a reply should be made to it. He thereupon called together the most distinguished of the Muhammadan doctors and caused the first discussion to be opened in his presence. At first he gave little praise to the Father, possibly in order not to discourage those of his own sect, or perhaps in order not to show him too much favour in public. Nevertheless, when he had heard him argue alone against a score of his own doctors, and perceived that his discourse was based on solid reason, and that he was defending the truth with such boldness, he several times took the Father's side—although himself a Muhammadan; for, being a man of sense, capable of grasping and discerning arguments put forward and, moreover, a clear reasoner, he was convinced by the truth and let it dominate his mind.

Among the doctors was one who had been a Jewish Rabbi and become a Muhammadan. This man had come to the dispute armed with a Bible in Hebrew, thinking thereby to gain some signal point. His intention was to show that the Old Testament spoke with respect of Muhammad and, in order to prove this, he quoted a Hebrew word which somewhat resembles this name, and which means "much" or "very", like the Latin adverb *valde*. The Father, however, who knew Hebrew as well as he did, instantly refuted him by pointing out that, in the chapter in question, the same word appeared in conjunction with a

Hebrew word meaning *malus*, i.e. " bad " or " wicked "—the sense being " very wicked ". He inferred, therefore, that, if slightly earlier in the same chapter, this word meant " Muhammad ", it would still have the same meaning afterwards, with the epithet *malus*, so that the sense would be that Muhammad was very wicked. When Itimad ud Daula perceived the stupid mistake of this Rabbi, he blamed him and advised him to produce something better and more reasonable, since that passage was by no means to the point. The doctor remained confused and silent and was unable to make any reply.

This first discussion lasted from midday until nightfall and then the Muhammadans, who required rest and refreshment, betook themselves to supper. As the day was Friday, the Father was not able to partake of their meat. Besides this, he had been summoned to the discussion early in the day, before he had had time to take anything, so that he was obliged to remain fasting the whole day and night until the morrow, notwithstanding which he had to keep his mind alert and ready for the difficulties which his opponents hurled at him incessantly, scarcely giving him time to breathe.

Chapter XIV

Two other Conferences on the same subject and their success

The Muhammadan doctors had scarcely finished supper when, arming themselves once more with their wretched tenets, they renewed the contest by a second discussion. As they had become heated over their meal and had had wine into the bargain, their excitement was the more intense, their voices louder, and the noise more deafening. Their discourses were so confused that they could scarcely follow the trend of their own arguments and, thus entangled in their own pitfalls, they prolonged the conference until well after midnight. As to the Father, he still remained fresh and with the same presence of mind, manipulating with force and skill the armour of our strength (to use the words of the Apostle)—strong in the power of God, and destroying thereby all the force of their reasoning and all the machinations with which they imagined they could oppose the truths of the Faith, until at last these proud spirits were compelled, willing or not, to capitulate and submit to him. They could not avoid owning themselves vanquished, though their pride forbade them to do so orally, and the Father came out of this second struggle with great triumph. The minds of his opponents were convinced and subjugated by the force of his reasoning; yet obstinacy still dominated their wills, and

it was only owing to the freedom of will that they persisted in withstanding so great a luminary. It cannot, indeed, be wondered that this freedom will not yield to man, since it dares to resist God Himself.

A few days later, the Father was summoned to a third discussion, which was again held at the palace of this royal favourite. It began in the evening and lasted nearly the whole night. The doctors who took part appeared to be quite different from the previous ones. It seemed as if they were a specially chosen body, a reserve force held in readiness for a final effort, to fight a decisive battle; in a word, these doctors were more learned and better trained than the first protagonists. There was also more of orderliness and even of modesty in their procedure, and they maintained throughout the discussion a manner of speaking which was more orderly and in accordance with the rules of dialectic.

The chief subject of the conference was the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, which the Father undertook to prove by passages in the Gospels. It should be mentioned here that numerous Muhammadans refuse to recognize the Gospels which we possess, as the words of God. They maintain that these are not the true Gospels, basing this theory on a still more ridiculous and false idea, namely, that our Lord, when ascending into Heaven, took up with Him the genuine Gospels. There are, however, other Muhammadans who reject this absurd and fabulous view and agree with us that the Gospels are, undoubtedly, the words of God.

Itimad ud Daula, without either denying this belief or accepting it, wished to hear how the Father would prove from the Gospels that our Lord was true God.

The Father set forth this proof in such an orderly manner, followed it up with such clear reasoning, and brought it to such an emphatic conclusion that the Minister, carried away, as it were, by the truth, could not refrain from saying before the whole assembly that the Father was a veritable mine of information—such abundance of knowledge had he displayed on a most edifying subject.

Moreover, being particularly charmed with his discourse, the nobleman bade him formulate in writing all his conclusions, and then accorded him a second mark of the esteem in which he held him. This was that he intimated to him, in most kind and civil words, that he feared to inconvenience him by summoning him so often to his house, and said that he would no longer take the liberty of so doing, but that the Father himself should choose the times which suited him best, and

come as often and whenever he pleased. As to the Muhammadan doctors, Itimad ud Daula bade them go and seek the Father in his own house if they wished to continue their discussions with him. This they did several times but, as the Father's dwelling was not large enough to receive or hold all the doctors who came in large numbers from all parts, they themselves, at the Father's request, found another place which was larger and more spacious, and there they still continued their meetings.

The Father, in the meantime, drew up the document for which the nobleman had asked. When he brought it to him, the latter stated that he did not dare receive it without first knowing the wishes of the King on this subject, and asked the Father to hold it in readiness until he had learned whether His Majesty was willing that further public discussions should take place at his house. They still await the King's command in this matter, but, from time to time, the Father holds his conferences with the principal people of the town, as also with some of the most exalted members of the Court who have the honour of attending the King himself.

Although the fruit of these discussions, in which our holy religion wins such glorious victories over error, is not yet perceptible—and, indeed, too rapid a harvest might prove transient and not lasting—nevertheless we hope that God, *qui de tenebris facit lumen splendescere*, "who" (as Saint Paul says) "makes a light to shine in darkness"—the darkness, namely, in which this kingdom is engulfed—will show forth His glory here at the time ordained by the wisdom of His divine Providence. Who can doubt as to the result of our prayers—they are the arms to which everything must yield and which carry all before them. Good souls cannot employ them in a more worthy cause. Never did the arms of the Macedonian conqueror who subjugated this vast Persian Empire to his rule, undertake such an exploit. For, after all, these sanguinary battles of his only resulted in ravished wealth, conquered subjects—in fact, a little more land gained; whilst the prize won by the bloodless battles of prayer is the saving of souls, the winning of Heaven—indeed, of God Himself, with all the benefits of His Eternity for the immortal souls of men.

Chapter XV

Views of Armenian Schismatics with regard to these discussions

If the discussions which we have described have not yet shaken the intellects of the Muhammadans—characterized as these are by

obstinate adherence to their long-implanted errors—they have, nevertheless, had a powerful effect on some of the most influential of the Armenian Schismatics, who are to be found in large numbers in this country. The signs of this effect appeared in their assembling together after the report of these conferences, and of their brilliant success as regards the Christian religion, had spread through the town. Further, they complained bitterly of the ignorance of the bishops and priests, who are incapable of making a reasonable justification of their faith to the Muhammadans. Their discontent went to such lengths that they took council together to induce their Patriarch to bring about the union of all the Armenians with the Church of Rome, since a single priest of that Church had been able to stand up to all the Muhammadan doctors and vindicate with such honour the truth of the Faith of Jesus Christ.

This fruit, the outcome of the said discussions, must not be considered as slight or negligible, for it may by degrees open the way to a much greater one, namely the bringing about of this union. It has been ascertained, moreover, that certain of these Armenian Schismatical priests got wind of the complaints formulated against them. Fearing, so it was said, that we should take up our abode among the members of their sect, they attempted to gain the support of some of their people in order to make a stand against us and prevent us from establishing ourselves in that place. They found this by no means easy, for their own people, rejecting their entreaties, told them that they ought to be the first to make eager efforts to induce us to dwell among them, since (so they said) it was solely owing to the vigorous defence of Religion by the Roman Brethren that they had not already become Muhammadans. Also (and this deserves particular notice) the Armenian Patriarch himself offered his thanks in person to Father Chezaud, for having upheld the cause of religion in such a worthy manner, and also for having always spoken in their favour to Itimad ud Daula (as he had heard from reliable sources). Indeed, the Father would never discuss, with the nobles of the Court, the difference between ourselves and the Armenians, nor reveal their rank errors concerning the mysteries of our belief, even when the nobles questioned him with much curiosity and subtlety on this subject. The favourite of the King even spoke to him of the low esteem in which he held the Armenians, and told him of a scheme, under consideration at the Court, of subjecting them to the same treatment meted out recently to all the Jews in the Kingdom, who had been compelled to become

Mussulmans, i.e. Muhammadans, and to renounce entirely their Jewish faith. This ill-advised action, which reduced these poor creatures to extreme misery, is worth relating here in greater detail, from the beginning. I must add that the Christians shared, if not in the evil treatment, at any rate, in the *fear* of being subjected to it themselves.

Chapter XVI

The Jews in Persia compelled to become Muhammadans and the Christians delivered from the fear of a like evil

The Jews had spread themselves all over Persia in far greater numbers than might be supposed, and were leading a most peaceable existence without any suspicion of the terrible misfortune which was hanging over their heads. It came as an unexpected blow and threw them into dreadful consternation when, all of a sudden, an edict from the King was issued and published in every place in Persia commanding them, on pain of death, to abjure the Jewish religion and profess, thenceforth, that of Muhammad.

The terror and consternation recorded in Scripture (Esther iii and iv), which the ancestors of this most unhappy nation suffered long ago, when Haman, their cruel enemy, caused the fatal decree obtained from the King against them to be proclaimed throughout this same kingdom, may be taken as a picture of the fear and anguish experienced by these, their descendants, at the first news of this edict.

As regards the reason for this action, it should be known that, for the last thirty years, these poor wretches had been chattering incessantly about the imminent coming of their Messiah, and boasting, with a flourish of words no less insolent than vain, of his power and magnificence, which were to surpass those of any ruler on earth. As the Court was annoyed by this rumour, the Jews were compelled to make a public promise to the effect that if, before the expiry of thirty more years, their Messiah failed to appear in accordance with their declarations repeated each day with the most incredible audacity, they should then all become Muhammadans. They were held to their word ; and, as they had so often and so long deceived the people and abused their credulity, the resolution was formed not to let their falsehood pass unpunished this time, but to hold them to the strict fulfilment of their promise.

As the prescribed period of thirty years had expired without their Messiah appearing—any more than he had done on the previous occasions when impunity had been the prop and stay and, so to speak,

the safe-conduct of these frequent deceptions, and when their lying had brought about its own exposure and conviction—the King and all his Court would no longer give countenance to such deceivers; they were compelled by the edict to keep their promise, and could find no means either of escaping it or of reducing its hardship.

Nevertheless, as it is well-known that their minds are mercenary, eager for money and ready to comply with anything in the hope of some temporal advantage, the King, the more kindly to induce the Jews to obey the edict, gave thirty piastres to each man and fifteen to each woman of that sect. All the Jewish sacred books were, however, taken away from them, and they were forbidden to frequent their synagogues and commanded only to attend mosques, to which the Muhammadan officials had express orders to conduct them.

As this accursed race is cowardly and entirely attached to the earth, and seeing, too, that their religion, which has become obsolete since the rise of Christianity, is incapable of giving them the strength to defend it, they all obeyed the edict and submitted themselves to Muhammadanism.

The Christians of the country, observing this strange and sudden procedure, were at first somewhat apprehensive lest a similar outrage should be inflicted on them. They had, however, given no cause for this, and events soon made plain to them that no such idea had even been considered. Nevertheless, the treatment accorded to them, after the enforcing of the edict against the Jews, caused them unceasing distress. The King commanded them to leave the dwellings which they had established in various quarters on either side of the city of Isfahan, and to live all together in a place nearby, which had been assigned to them for that purpose. The object of this novel and, therefore, disturbing scheme is still unknown, and the King has shown no other signs of disfavour or ill-will towards the Christians. In fine, the decision was formulated and passed with extreme secrecy, for politics at this Court are conducted with all the prudence characteristic of the period, so that there are no means or access whereby to discover the motives of its schemes.

God, in whom alone is their trust, will save these Christians—if it so please Him—from worse mishap, by the same protection with which He has graciously favoured them in the past, in other imminent perils which have threatened them at divers times.

After all, if this order of the King seemed hard on the Christians as concerning their temporal well-being, the fact of their accepting

it willingly was advantageous to their principal welfare—namely, that of their souls ; for, thanks to their isolation, neither they nor their children will have so much trade or personal intercourse with the Muhammadans, and will consequently be less exposed to contagion by their corrupt manner of living.

Chapter XVII

Permission granted to us by the King of Persia, in deference to His Most Christian Majesty, to establish ourselves in Isfahan

We now come to the events directly connected with our establishment in Isfahan, the capital of Persia. It pleased God to show us a means to this end as honourable as it was efficacious. The Father of Rhodes, who had taken certain preliminary steps for this object before his departure from Paris, had been awaiting the result of these for more than fifteen months ; for the trade routes between France and Persia, besides being very long, are also difficult and very uncertain, so that, out of five or six letters written from either end, only one perhaps will reach its destination. At last, towards the month of May, 1657, after this weary time of waiting, the arrival of two of our Brethren relieved the Father of his anxiety, for they brought, and handed to him, letters and presents sent by our King to the King of Persia. When the Father offered these, the latter received them with all the sentiments of esteem due to so great a Monarch, whose incomparable virtues are known and lauded throughout the Universe. Further, the King made known to all his Court, by public declaration, that he was no less charmed than honoured by these attentions. And, although other potentates of Europe had already written to him on behalf of this Mission, yet the dispatches from His Most Christian Majesty were so highly considered by him that, immediately after receiving them, he graciously accorded us full permission to establish a fixed and permanent abode near his palace and to build a church there.

Meanwhile, another event occurred which served to strengthen and facilitate the carrying into effect of this permission. The letters of Father Chezaud, written in January, 1658, give the following account of it :—

" The Muhammadan doctors had raised several objections against our holy religion in their intercourse with an Armenian of the town of Julfa, whom the King desired to become Muhammadan. He replied that he would do so unless I could give a satisfactory answer to all their objections against our holy Faith. I do not hesitate to blame the

imprudence of this man who was thus compromising the truth of our religion, which ought under no circumstances to be brought into question. His offer was accepted and I was summoned by Itimad ud Daula, the Prime Minister, to his residence, and found there the principal Muhammadan doctors, together with this Armenian from Julfa, and many other inhabitants of the same place. The objections were presented to me one after the other. I answered them as the grace of God inspired me, with such boldness and assurance, that the nobleman showed himself entirely satisfied, and dismissed the Armenian, free to practise the Christian religion without being further molested on that account.

" Although I consider that the principal result of that conference was the saving of this man for the Faith, another result ensued, namely, that the Prime Minister ratified the permission already granted us by the King to buy a suitable and convenient house for our activities. His kindness went further even, for, of his own free will, he offered to obtain the necessary sum from the King to enable us to pay for it.

" In view of the present poverty of our Mission and the absence of any possible hope of assistance from this country, I might have been tempted, and perhaps rightly so, to accept this offer ; yet our Lord deigned to inspire me with thoughts more generous and more worthy of the dignity of our holy religion.

" Therefore, after humbly thanking the Minister for his obliging offer, I told him that I neither desired nor expected any temporal gift from the King, but only wished that His Majesty would grant me one favour, namely, to accept a book which I had composed expressly to have the honour of presenting it to him, in order to justify to him the cause of our holy Faith. I also added that, in defence thereof, I would fear nothing that might be inflicted on me. The nobleman signified his approval of my request and my resolution, and I thereupon retired, after reiterating my humble expressions of gratitude." Such were the main contents of the Father's letter.

As to the house where the Fathers established their Mission, it is situated in a fine part of the city near the King's palace and, although small, is amply large for those who at present live in it. When the number of Missionaries increases, it can easily be enlarged. There is already a fine chapel, beautifully decorated, and even the Christians are beginning to frequent it.

There was no lack of opposition, as is always the case where new religious establishments are concerned, when the spirit of evil can

easily raise it through his agencies; obstacles were, however, all removed by the authority of Itimad ud Daula.

Chapter XVIII

Monsieur de la Chappelle, a gentleman of Normandy, increases the fame of our Missionaries by his discourses in their favour

Apart from the esteem in which this great nobleman held Father Chezaud, as I have already related, God also raised up an ally whom the Fathers never expected. This latter assisted greatly in their advancement in the good graces of the Prime Minister, on whom the well-being of our Mission most of all depends, since he is able to influence the mind of the King in any way he pleases. This ally is Monsieur de la Chappelle, an honest gentleman of Normandy, whose excellent qualities have secured him a favourable reception at this Court, and free access to the nobleman who holds entire sway over the country.

This worthy gentleman gave him full and detailed information regarding our Society, telling him how it professes all sciences, divine and human, in order to render service to all sorts and conditions of men, and how, for this purpose, its Brethren make their way to all countries of the earth, gladly exposing themselves to hardships in life and perils of death, and how many had, indeed, met their death, in different parts of the world, midst iron and flame, in order to bring souls to the true God.

Thanks then to his estimate of the capability of Father Chezaud and of his knowledge of all the finest and most erudite sciences, Itimad ud Daula was induced to regard the Father with even greater favour, hoping, indeed, that he would impart to him some of his choicest and most rare knowledge. Indeed, since the discourses of this honest French gentleman, on behalf of our Society (for which the Mission is deeply indebted), he has been far more eager to receive Father Chezaud. He asked the Father to compose certain books for him, on matters other than the Faith and, the Father having complied with this desire, he was most pleased with the first ones presented, which were on mathematics, interspersed with rare information of a most attractive and ingenious nature. And being, moreover, industrious and clever with his hands, the Father made some interesting models illustrating the same science, which the other received with admiration and pleasure.

By means of these allurements, the Father also won over another

nobleman, nephew of the Prime Minister and greatly influenced by him, a young man of excellent intelligence and very much interested in our sciences, and who already holds an important position in the country. Indeed, when the news of the death of the Great Mogul and of his son's accession in his place was received at this Court, this young nobleman was appointed to an important Embassy which was sent to secure peace with the new King, in order to preserve the profound tranquillity which the kingdom of Persia has enjoyed and which the Prime Minister endeavours, above all, to maintain.

This young nobleman has a special friendship with the Father and often converses with him, taking singular pleasure in hearing him talk on our sciences and in being instructed in them.

May it please God that the prophecy of Isaiah—*In doctrinis glorificate Dominum*: "Ye shall praise God with the understanding"—may be fulfilled here, that these natural truths may prove a blessing to the minds of the Persian noblemen, disposing them to receive the supernatural truths of Faith and their own salvation. It is for this end alone that our Society studies and professes these sciences.

Chapter XIX

The Armenians rescued from difficulties in a discussion

To return, however, to the frequent religious discussions which have been taking place here recently, and which are unlike anything ever seen or heard of before, the same Father is always singled out among all the "Frankish" Brethren to officiate at these meetings. A short time ago he arrived most opportunely at one of them, where a large number of people were assembled. Scarcely had he appeared, when his presence served to reassure certain Armenian notables, whom the others were trying to induce to become Muhammadans. These poor people were so utterly confused, by the specious arguments put forward and urged with great vehemence by their opponents, that they could scarcely extricate themselves. When the Father appeared on the scene, they could make no better reply than by saying that they would refer their case to him in the presence of Itimad ud Daula.

This latter thereupon stated that he was aware that an essential difference existed between ourselves and the Armenians, and that their *vartapads* (i.e. doctors) would not agree in what the Father taught. When, therefore, the Father himself began to speak, he first quickly covered the ignorance of the Armenians. He next cleared away the objections put forward, as easily as if they had been

so many cobwebs—for only feeble minds would have been caught or entangled by them; and, finally, he brought these Armenians safely through the contest and delivered them from the misery into which they had been plunged. They were afterwards so grateful, that they, and other members of their sect who knew what had happened, came and thanked the Father at his house.

The Fathers have reason to hope that the King will soon give them a house at Julfa, a town nearby, which is full of Armenians. If this takes place, a wide field will be opened for the preaching of the Gospel, especially if the project entertained and assiduously aimed at by the founders of the Mission—namely, the general reunion of the Armenians in this Kingdom with the Church of Rome—is realized. The heads among the Armenians are decidedly in favour of this, partly in order to protect themselves from insults which they receive owing to their ignorance of the truths of the Faith which they profess in common with us, and partly in order to strengthen themselves against temptations to apostasy, by which they are often assailed, with great danger of succumbing.

As regards the Persians, the Father of Rhodes tells us in his writings that he considers these religious discussions as the happy foreshadowings of benefits which God in His mercy has assuredly in store for this fortunate country. He is right in describing them as the flowers which are beginning to appear and to bloom. *Flores apparuerunt in terra nostra*, says this wise and experienced Missionary, and adding *Dominus dabit benignitatem et terra nostra dabit fructum suum.*

He joins these two passages of scripture together, in order that they may serve as a consoling text to encourage the Mission in its present labours and anxieties, which are by no means small, and alleviate their bitterness with the hope of abundant fruit in the future. "The flowers," he says, "have appeared in our land; God shall bless us and our land shall bring forth her increase."

Chapter XX

The King of Persia desires to learn about the Mysteries of the Faith, but is prevented from doing so

Among these frequent discussions, the opportunity occurred for one which caused greater satisfaction to the Fathers than all the previous ones, on account of the hope which they had of its producing excellent results. On this occasion, Itimad ud Daula brought the Father to discourse on our Mysteries in the presence of the King, in his palace.

God, who holds in His hands the hearts of Kings, and guides them as He pleases, in accordance with the wisdom of His Holy Spirit, had doubtless inspired him with this desire, so beneficial to himself and his whole state. Moreover, this desire came to him spontaneously, and not through the inducement of any other person, for he himself commanded the Prime Minister to bring the Father to him, in order that he might learn about the truths of our religion.

But there arose, I know not how, an unfortunate circumstance which prevented him from doing so, brought about doubtless by the evil one, fearful of the good results which this conference might produce ; for it occurred at the very moment when the Father arrived, and it held the King's mind so strongly pre-occupied that he no longer had any desire to hear the Father. And, what is more vexing, it is said that various artifices have since been employed in order to divert him from his intention. So important is it to make good use of the first signs of favour, the moment they are offered to a man.

God, who knocked this first time at the door of the King's heart, is too faithful in His goodness to be turned away by this refusal. May He then knock so loud and so often that, at last, this great Monarch will open the door to Him, and receive Him in his heart as well as in his kingdom. By so doing he will gain a still greater Kingdom in Heaven, when death obliges him to quit the earthly one over which he reigns.

Last Chapter

XXI

Obstacles encountered by the Mission in Persia and its hopes of success

The greatest obstacle in the way of saving souls in this country consists, it seems, in the high degree of temporal prosperity which it now enjoys. The entire Court, which is one of the most sumptuous and magnificent in existence, is so absorbed in luxury and pleasure, that the sole thought and occupation of the nobles belonging to it is how to enjoy themselves and gratify their senses. It can therefore be imagined what the position of the King, who holds absolute sovereignty with power to exact anything he wishes from his subjects, who revere him as a Divinity on earth, must be.

What the Gospel preaches first and foremost is nothing short of repentance ; the Cross is its first principle, and the mortification of the senses its chief precept. Yet nothing is impossible with God, and His all-powerful grace triumphs over all. By shedding the light of Faith on the most sensual hearts, this grace will cause them to love the Cross

and strive after mortification, as ardently as corrupt nature and bad habit caused them at first to shun these things. This is the very miracle which the early Church witnessed in the conversion of the Corinthians, a people censured, even by other heathens, for their extreme sensual depravity. Has it not also been witnessed in recent centuries in the conversion of so many people in the New World, who were formerly most corrupt? And why should it not occur again in our own time by the conversion of Persia to Jesus Christ?

It is, moreover, as Wisdom tells us, in the nature of God to supply His children with hope whereby they gain courage to stand firm in all difficulties. Besides, He delights in accomplishing, by this means, what the entreaties and industry of men fail to accomplish or even attempt.

In spite of all these obstacles, the Father of Rhodes has such great hopes of the Mission, of which our Lord has appointed him Head, that he is approaching our Reverend Father General with the request that two further Missionaries, capable primarily of learning the languages most widely spoken in the country, shall be sent out. One would learn Persian and the other Armenian; and they must, moreover, be well versed in divinity and the humanities, a knowledge of both being essential here. The first is necessary in order to give solid teaching on the truths of our religion, and to refute effectively the objections raised by adversaries, many of whom are as ingenious and clever as they are malicious and obstinate. The second is required in order to conciliate and win over intellectual people through the attraction of rare and interesting knowledge. I have just learned that two Fathers of the Province of Lyons, both excellent workers and well endowed with the qualities mentioned, have been nominated for this work. So zealous and enthusiastic is our Society for the Glory of God and the propagation of His Church.

As to our success, that depends on Heaven, in which the Mission places its entire trust. *Sicut fuerit voluntas in coelo, sic fiat*—let it be according to the will of Heaven. What is required of a Missionary worker is, not that he shall *cure* souls, but he shall *care* for them: *Curam exigeris*, says St. Bernard, *non curationem*.

For how many centuries has the Angel of the Kingdom of Persia, mentioned in Scripture (Daniel x), been working for this end, together with the other Guardian Angels? They are still working without cessation or rest. All work undertaken for God ultimately attains success, for He Himself is our exceeding Great Reward. *Ego ero merces tua magna nimis.*

I shall conclude this narrative with the most recent information I have received in a letter, written on 30th October, 1658, by the Father Superior of the settlement in Smyrna, which town has fairly frequent communication with Persia. He writes of having seen a French Brother recently arrived from Persia, who assures him that Father Aymé Chezaud is still in high favour with that great nobleman of whom we have so often spoken. He himself, in speaking of the Father, asked this Brother: "Can there be three other men like him in the whole of France?" These are the words of a stranger who does not know how rich our country is in great men of every description.

We have still great hopes, and it often seems as if our efforts would bring forth fruit—*sed non est virtus pariendi*—yet up to the present they have not been able to do so. The time is not yet ripe and we must wait in patience until the moment when God shall reveal His power.

Thus far, we have at least baptized small children, who are going on before, and gaining Heaven in large numbers, by their prayers to plead the cause of their parents and, through God's mercy, to obtain their conversion. If they are the last in age, they are, nevertheless, the first in Heaven. *Erunt novissimi primi*, may, indeed, be said of them; and may it please our Lord to bring the rest of this saying of His to pass—*et erunt primi novissimi*—that the first in age may be, at any rate, the last in the Kingdom of Heaven, *fiat, fiat*, Amen—so be it.

Father Chezaud intends to go to the country where the Ark of Noah is supposed to have rested, about thirty days' journey from Isfahan, in order to found a Mission there, as a favourable opportunity has presented itself. There are, however, powerful opponents of this scheme, so active and vigilant, that we can scarcely write letters to him without their being intercepted either by these people or their emissaries. To quote the words of the Apostle who long ago encountered the same opposition in his preaching of the Gospel: "I would they were even cut off which trouble" the workers of the Cross (Galatians v, 12). And, since it is Satan who secretly moves the springs of these pernicious machinations against man's salvation, let us say with the same Apostle: the God of Peace shall shortly bruise this evil one under the feet of His Preachers (Romans xvi, 20), so that, through their ministry, this great Monarchy may embrace our Holy Faith and become obedient to Jesus, the King of Kings.

In order to omit nothing which may cause satisfaction to the readers

of this narrative, I will add that I have just read a letter from Father Alexander of Rhodes, dated 20th May of last year, 1658. It confirms all that we have stated here concerning these discussions between Father Chezaud and the Muhammadan doctors. He still carries them on with considerable success, and great hopes are entertained both of bringing back the Armenian Schismatics to the Church of Rome, and even of converting Muhammadans to the Faith.

I shall add further that the Prime Minister of this country, whom we have mentioned so often and with such great respect, has renewed his promises to the Fathers to the effect that he will use his influence with the King, in order to obtain a second house for them in the quarter where the Armenian Christians live—about a league distant from Isfahan. This will facilitate our relations with them and the realization of the scheme which they themselves seem to favour, namely, that they shall renounce their schism, and become united once more to the Catholic Church.

The same Father has also made such a thorough study of the Persian language, that, notwithstanding its difficulty and the fact that he himself is well advanced in years, he has acquired such a perfect knowledge of it that he is able to use it readily both in preaching and confession. Who will deny that he deserves greater praise for this study than did the learned Roman who, in his old age, set himself to learn the Greek language, since the latter was only prompted by vain mental curiosity, whilst the Father aimed at the solid fruit of saving souls ?

The Father likewise holds Missions in the suburbs and villages near Isfahan, where he sows the first seeds of the Gospel. Above all, he seeks out dying children who are beyond hope of recovery, in order, through Baptism, to open the gate of heaven to their souls the moment these leave their bodies. Thanks to his vigilant care and kindly acts, many have already obtained this happiness ; and he pursues this good work with much zeal, promising himself that their holy Guardian Angels will join with these happy children in their powerful intercession in Heaven, for the conversion of their country, and will obtain this through the goodness of God. Indeed, if our Saviour in the Gospel assures us that, when two of His servants join together in asking for any particular blessing, His Father will freely grant it to them, what, then, may not be obtained, through His mercy, by the united prayers of so many thousands of innocent souls and blessed Spirits ?

Let us now conclude this history in the same way as we began it,

with a remark referring especially to Persia. The Incarnate Word, Who claims to be the Truth, and is so, in virtue of His origin and the Source of His Being, is able, if He please, to win so many souls away from error and induce them to receive the truth of the Gospel, that the exclamations of joy and praise,—which once resounded in the Court of an ancient Persian King, on the decision of the ingenious problems recorded by Esdras (see 1 Esdras, iv)—may be heard again in these days in the Court and throughout the Empire of the present mighty Monarch, and in the same words : *Benedictus Deus veritatis, et magna est veritas, et prævalet super omnia,* " Blessed be the God of Truth, Great is Truth, and mighty above all things." Truth beareth away the Victory.

THE END

Sanction by the Reverend Father Provincial

I, Jacques Renault, Provincial of the Society of Jesus, in the Province of France, in accordance with the privilege granted to us by their Most Christian Majesties Henri III, Henri IV, Louis XIII, and Louis XIV, at present reigning, hereby permit Jean Henault, bookseller of Paris, to print, or cause to be printed, by any printers he shall think fit, a book entitled " History of the Mission in the Kingdom of Persia, etc.," by Father Alexander of Rhodes, edited by Father Jacques de Machault, both of the Society of Jesus, and approved by three Brethren of the same Society.

In witness whereof I have affixed my signature hereto.

JACQUES RENAULT.

PARIS.
15th March, 1659.

Summary of the Royal Warrant

By the grace and privilege of the King, granted at Paris, the 28th day of March, 1659, Signed Fillacier.

Jean Henault, bookseller of Paris, is permitted to print, or cause to be printed, to sell or retail a book entitled " History of the Mission in the Kingdom of Persia ", by Father Alexander of Rhodes, etc., for the space of five consecutive years ; all other booksellers and printers being forbidden to print, or cause to be printed, to sell or retail the said book without the consent of the aforesaid M. Henault, under penalty of a fine of five hundred pounds and confiscation of the volumes, as is stated more fully in the warrant above mentioned.

First issue, 1*st April,* 1659.

Copies are now available.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIAN PAINTING AND CULTURE

A Lecture delivered at the School of Oriental Studies, London, on 10th November, 1924

By Hermann Goetz

THERE is an old and widespread opinion that India is the "Country without a History". And this idea is one of the reasons of its having become wrapped in that veil of mystic twilight in which the Romantic Period of the last century saw it, given up only to religious and philosophical speculation. Perhaps this veil has not yet fallen from the whole of its antiquity. It is true research has enabled us to attain some knowledge of the history of many dynasties, wars and social revolutions, religious struggles and literary feuds: nevertheless, all this seems to be merely a ripple on the surface, a waving of billows above the calm depth of a population that never changes its manner of life. Again and again we are told that much of the oldest tradition has survived in India up to the present day. And this is certainly true, for there is no land so fitted to serve as a place of refuge for past forms of civilization and culture as this country is, great as a small continent, with all its contrasts of plains, deserts, and sultry jungle, of mild hill climate and exuberant tropical vegetation. But this statement evades the essential facts. In every country, side by side with the latest forms of civilization, its oldest traditions are still alive, and though they may be of interest to the folklorist, it is not the task of the historian to trace cultural developments in their atavist remains, but in the beginnings and the culminating points of their evolution: and these have always been supported by the leading classes, and the history of them has been more or less that of the reigning civilization of their time.

Now it is an unfortunate fact that we know so little of Indian history; and no stronger proof of this fact can be adduced than the work of the late Mr. Vincent Smith,[1] the first real History of India from its oldest times to the present day, to show how shadowy and fragmentary our knowledge of India's past is. An objection may be raised, and it may be said that there are only a few countries in which

[1] The *Early History of India*, Oxford, 1904, 1914 (2nd ed.): the *Oxford History of India*, Oxford, 1919.

tradition goes back to such a remote antiquity as in India. True, but what is the nature of these traditions? Putting aside religious and poetical writings or religious monuments in stone, are there any documents older than the beginning of our millennium? I fear almost none.[1] And, nevertheless, they must have existed, since Chinese reports and references in later works often make mention of them;[2] there must have been ancient chronicles, official papers and documents, family traditions, novels, etc., and also there must have been monuments made of wood or stucco or clay which have not been preserved on account of their secular, transitory purpose. The Indian climate, so destructive on account of its damp, hot, rainy seasons, and the heat of its summers, has destroyed all that had not yet been annihilated by wars and disasters.[3] Consequently, there has been preserved only that which could excite interest even in times of decay and barbarity, to be saved from oblivion and the murderous accidents of life in many widespread and often repeated copies—a privilege only enjoyed by holy religious books and the poetical works of classical authors.[4] Thus, our knowledge of India's past will probably always remain fragmentary and one-sided, on the one hand meagre, insufficient

[1] The finds of Sir Marc Aurel Stein in Khotan, and those of Marshall in Taxila, are almost the only exceptions; and here only documents of political life and secular art have been excavated. Of course, there are many copper-plate grants and inscriptions on stone; but, though they are the most important source of our knowledge of Hindu history, their contents are very meagre, never to be compared with similar monuments from Ancient Greece or Rome. Finally, the character of the Dharma- and Arthaśāstras is too scientific to show the real changes and types in Hindu public life, in spite of their enormous value as theoretic systematizations of the ideal of their time.

[2] Yuan Chwang, who visited India in the seventh century, tells us that there had been detailed annals in every town. And all the chronicles since the eleventh century cite older sources, of which the earliest belong to the eighth century. But none of these early annals have come down to us, and the documents of the Gupta times were unknown even to the historians of the eleventh century. See my article "Die Stellung der indischen Chroniken im Rahmen der indischen Geschichte" (*Zeitschrift für Buddhismus*, vi, pp. 139–59, 1924).

[3] Therefore, only in those countries of Hindu civilization which belong to the Central Asiatic region of arid plains and deserts (Eastern and Western Turkestan, Eastern Persia, Sistan, or Panjāb), as Khotan and Taxila, ephemeral monuments have survived.

[4] It is almost the same case with the documents of the Mediterranean cultures. During the Middle Ages there have been preserved only the early Christian scriptures and those heathen authors who had become classics or were very popular, as the historians Cornelius Nepos, Livius, etc., whereas the learned works of Varro, etc., have been lost. Of course, the conditions for the preservation of monuments have been far better in Europe than in India, and, nevertheless, our knowledge of the institutions of life in the Hellenistic kingdoms and the Roman Empire has been very incomplete until the discovery of the enormous numbers of papyri in the dry soil of Egypt.

remains of historical tradition and worldly culture, on the other, the immense treasures of religious scriptures and art, and the mass of poetical works, alas! too detached from real life to be used for historical investigations without great reserve. There is no hope that this situation will ever change, and even the most careful compilation of all traditions may not succeed in a reconstruction of the history of India's civilization.

Yet there is perhaps another way of achieving our end. Comparative history shows that everywhere in the world certain typical lines of evolution are always repeated, that notwithstanding the great differences in the aspect of the various forms of civilization, the evolution of the great phases of social, economic and intellectual life comes back again with a regularity almost absolute.[1] It may be worth our while to inquire whether there are in the civilization of India also such periodic phases of evolution; in this investigation it will be necessary, of course, to avoid any forcible construction of purely imaginary phases. And, further, we must consider all periods of its history with the same care, and not put aside whole periods as "not classical" or "decadent", without examination of them, as is done even now by some scholars. History knows no periods that can be leaped over; even times without apparent cultural accomplishments are invisibly working at the roots out of which will grow new blossoming periods of social life. Among such periods we must include also those of foreign government and domination; for they do not necessarily imply also the dominance of foreign civilization; not seldom two different civilizations may go on side by side hardly mingling at all, and it often happens that they produce most important fresh developments when they do mix. Therefore we shall not discard these epochs, which in the midst of chaotic troubles form the new conditions of life for coming centuries, but we shall face them, the turning points in India's history.

While speaking about these problems I am quite aware of their difficulty, and I shall propose a way of getting nearer to them, not wholly unknown, but yet very seldom adopted. We shall start from the monuments of art,[2] in particular from painting. Why from just this kind of documents? Certainly, they will not be the richest and

[1] Compare the works of Vierkandt, Spengler, Bücher, etc.

[2] There have been some scholars who have already proceeded in this way of investigation: A. Foucher, "The Six-Tusked Elephant" (*Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, London, 1917, p. 185 ff.); and Sir Thomas W. Arnold, "Indian Painting and Muhammadan Culture" (*Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, lxx, p. 617 ff., 1922).

most fertile source for our knowledge, but perhaps they are the simplest, clearest, and least corrupted. Religious documents have always and everywhere altered truth in *majorem Dei gloriam*, and poetry has done the same by imitating famous models or revelling in fancy dreams. They may be very useful for the historian, but they cannot give him reliable guidance through the puzzling network of life. And painting? Yes, the painters, too, have copied and forged. But they were least of all concerned with religious precepts,[1] their work depicted more than any other the life of their own days, without being so much entangled in a net of æsthetic theories as that of the poets. But, what is of the greatest importance, there is something in their work that they never could have anticipated, which reveals their innermost feelings and character, and here we shall begin our examination. This is not what they depicted, but how they did it: the style of painting and the conception of man in it.

But how may we attain our end in this way? You all know the scheme of Sociology and National Economy: The development of nations in the continued rhythm swinging between Absolutism and Democracy, the breaking up of Monarchy into Oligarchy and Democracy, at last to return slowly to the dictatorship of one single faction and thence to Absolutism again. You know also the double course of this evolution in history which we call the Middle Ages and Modern Times. You know also, how closely these phases of political evolution are connected with the forms of economic life. Everywhere you see Monarchy grow up out of the Imperium, but the older phase is built up on a basis of natural economy, the later one on that of capitalism. The inner development is that of a regroupment from clan association to economic association. The decay of the great economic units of clan and village into smaller ones at the same time creates the feudal forms of government; the continued break-up of these units and the exchange of goods caused by it develops the centres of traffic, the towns and cities, and therewith the democratic and at last the socialistic forms of constitution, till at last capital, scheming in the greatest possible measures of space and means, builds up a new dictatorship and at last a new Absolutism. In ancient Greece the feudalism of Homeric times changes

[1] None of the Śilpaśāstras are very old, in every case not earlier than the eleventh century. And on the other hand, Indian miniature painting of the Mughal and Rājput type has never been guided by religious precepts. Only the Tibetan and late Nepalese, Bengali-Buddhist, Singhalese, and early Jain pictures show a distinct hieratic character.



FROM AN AJANTA FRESCO

into the bourgeoisie of the city-states of Athens. Corinth. Sparta, and Thebes: the government at first aristocratic becomes at last socialistic till the empire of the Great Macedonian devours all these petty *poleis*. And it is just the same in Rome. from the kingdom of Tarquin to the Consulate of Brutus, the quarrels between the patricii and the plebs, till after the "red" dictatorship of Marius, Cæsar and Octavian found the new principatus. It is the same in the whole of Europe during the Middle Ages up to the Renaissance, and again to Modern times. And it is virtually the same in the East also. Though, in the Orient, monarchy has not been overthrown until recently, nevertheless there is here, too, a rhythmical change of dictatorial, feudal, and bureaucratic government, corresponding to the change of aristocratic and civil administration of the kingdom.

But each of these revolutions implies in the same degree also a change in the character of men and their ideals. And this no accidental change, but a slow, yet steady changing of human nature, a progressive refinement—not necessarily an improvement—of the leading classes. The barbarian grows up into the heroic type of man with all his ideals, and as intellectual life develops to the mediæval knight. It is the progress from the berserkers of the Edda to the heroes of the Nibelung poem, and at last to the knights of King Arthur. Then the spirituality of knighthood becomes more and more mystical, and later philosophical, till the bourgeois ideal is formed; the Humanitas, the Sophrosyne of the Greeks. Finally, the last ideal, the ideal of Decadence, the well-educated, æsthetic, nervous cavalier and mondaine. For this change of ideals has deeper roots, the breaking up, not only of state and economic unity, but also of family life, from the tribe and family to the free individuum, the change from the relation of the sexes for the purpose of a well-bred offspring to personal love and at last to voluptuous pleasure.

This change of thought and feeling is most clearly reflected in art, and it is that element, so difficult to define, which we call style, and it is that which finds its expression in the change of the ideal type of man in pictorial art.

The greater part of the monuments of early Indian Painting that have survived are the frescoes in the cave-temples of Ajantā [1] and

[1] V. Goloubev, *Peintures Bouddhiques aux Indes*, Paris, 1914; J. Griffiths, *The Paintings of the Buddhist Cave-temples at Ajantā*, London, 1896–7; C. J. Herringham, *Ajantā Frescoes*, Oxford, 1915.

Bāgh,[1] in Central India, and in the passages of the hill-fortress Sīgirīya,[2] in Ceylon (time of the Gupta Emperors and their immediate successors, i.e. fifth to seventh century). After a gap of several centuries there follow the few Buddhist manuscripts of the time of the Pāla kings of Bengal, the eleventh and twelfth century,[3] the Jaina manuscripts from Gujarāt and Rājasthān (thirteenth to fifteenth century),[4] and it is not until the middle of the sixteenth century that there begins in the whole of Northern and Central India the development of an enormous mass of well-painted miniatures and frescoes.[5]

The curious, the special feature of the history of this art, is that there is no consistent process of evolution. The art of Ajantā was highly developed and comparatively naturalistic, with rich composition and good perspective, while the art of the sixteenth century is quite a primitive style. Just as in the relievos of Ancient Egypt and of Early China, the frescoes of Knossos and the carvings of Sumer, the art of the sixteenth century builds up its figures, limb by limb, each presented in its best view, for example the eyes from in front but the face in profile, the breast from in front but the arms and feet from the side. And, nevertheless, both styles of art belong to one another; for those few manuscripts painted between the times of Ajantā and the sixteenth century show the development of the primitive miniature style out of the high art of Ajantā in a process of slow decay.[6]

How can we explain this? In Europe the same decay of art, in quite the same manner, is to be found at the threshold of the transition from the Ancient World to the Middle Ages. May it be possible that there exists a similar Mediæval Period in India? Vincent Smith dates the beginning of such a period from the breakdown of the Gupta

[1] J. Burgess, *Notes on the Bauddha rock temples at Ajantā and on the Paintings of the Bāgh Caves*, Bombay, 1879; A. K. Haldar, "The Paintings of the Bāgh Caves" (*Rūpam*, viii, 1921).

[2] *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey*, Ceylon, 1905; *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xv, p. 117 (1897–8).

[3] A. Foucher, *Étude sur l'iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde d'après des monuments nouveaux*, Paris, 1900; E. Vredenburg, "The Continuity of Pictorial Tradition in the Art of India" (*Rūpam*, i).

[4] P. Ch. Nahar and K. Ch. Ghosh, *An Epitome of Jainism*, Calcutta, 1917, p. 706; W. Hüttemann, "Miniaturen zum Jinacaritra" (*Baessler-Archiv.*, 1914, pp. 47–77); Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Section of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, vol. iv, "Jain Manuscripts," 1924.

[5] For our purposes see especially Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, London, 1916.

[6] Goetz, "Studien zur Rājputen-Malerei II" (*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, Neue Folge*, i, pp. 119–30, 1924).

Empire and its culture about A.D. 700.[1] But he does not give a satisfactory explanation of his reasons for so doing. But perhaps we shall be able to prove that he was right, that not only the difference of political condition, but also the whole structure of this period obliges us to regard it in fact as a kind of Middle Ages from the philosophical point of view. Therefore let us analyse the historical facts one by one; with the paintings as our guide, let us study the phenomena contemporaneous with them.

The art of Ajantā is not isolated. It has its contemporaries in the East, that of the Chinese Empire of the T'ang; in the West that of the late Roman Empire. And it itself is the outcome of the Indian Empire of the Guptas. Further investigations will show this relationship to be still closer. Everybody who knows the painted mummy-portraits from the Fayūm and Middle Egypt will find here the same naturalism as in Ajantā, the same over-ripeness and sensuousness. And still more! Compare the figures, the men and women! These men, most tender, weary people, with intelligent faces that reveal that they have had experience of all the world. And these women! These are the grand mondaines, and if not, they look as though they like to affect such a character. The Hellenistic and Roman women with their artificial, well-curled hair, and their enlarged, pointed eyes—that is the Roman world of the emperors, the Rome of Decadence![2] And in Ajantā? Are these men, these ladies in any way different? Here again we see the same tired looks, the same mondaine feeling. How swing the hips of these ladies, how coquettish are their eyes, how refined the endless confusion of little curls and flowers round the face, how refined the round neck, arms, and hips, the jewellery, modelled out of many little filigree-links, how refined the clothes, thin as a cobweb, revealing all their beauty and grace. What a culture is this? Its great poets are Kālidāsa and Dandin, Amaru and Bhartrihari. And these authors use quite the same artistic expedients as the painters. How much more artistic is their language in comparison with, for example, that of Aśvaghosha or even the poets of Buddha's times! And further! The beauty of this wonderful poetry is nothing but one single great suggestion, a thrill of wonderful pictures, hunting each other in a melodious whirl, each well-painted, each so sweet, and the

[1] V. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, Oxford, 1918, pp. 163–4, 172.

[2] For an analysis of the "decadence" compare Eckart von Sydow, *Die Kultur der Dekadenz*, Dresden, 1922. There are, of course, some variations according to time and country, but the essential facts are everywhere almost the same.

throng of them has the effect of an hashish-dream. Their enchanting charm is not derived from the vigour of the characters described, not from the skill of building up their poems, but from this tender chiselled work of a most artistic style full of melody and brilliant similes. If we should seek for Western analogies we may find them only in the poetry of Oscar Wilde and Baudelaire, of Flaubert, Mallarmé and Aubrevilly, or in the art of Beardsley. And such is also the character of the society. The heroes of the Daśakumāracaritam [1] are cavaliers, intriguers and Don Juans, and their heroism is only a gallant pose. And the ladies are grand amoureuses, giving away their favours only too soon. Nothing is more significant than the morals of these ladies: Frivolity and sentimentality; and an honourable man would only be the aim of public derision. Hail to the Ganikā! These are the morals of the Gupta times.

These are the last beautiful, but poisonous flowers of a late civilization, symptoms of a decadence, as we know them in the Rome of the Cæsars, the Rokoko and Fin de siècle; and all the other phenomena too of the life in these times are in harmony with this aspect. The Gupta Empire was an universal imperium, reigning over the greater part of India, whose relations extended over the whole of the known world, to China and Japan, to Turkestan and Rome, to Cambodia and Java, an empire governed by a central administration of royal officials. Its commerce and traffic were flourishing: not the aristocracy, not the peasants, not the workmen, but the great merchants, the bankers and industrials were the leading classes, and this monde elegante took rank immediately after the king and the priests, and was also almost the only subject matter of dramas and novels so far as they do not deal with myths and legends.

Nevertheless, this seeming splendour was already rotten in its innermost kernel. When the Huns first invaded India, they were beaten only with the greatest exertion; and under their second assault the empire crumbled down amid flames and streams of blood. The mighty hand of King Harshavardhana of Thanesar and Kanauj succeeded in re-establishing the empire again. But it is only a loose feudal state, and after his death the dream of Indian might and

[1] I have restricted my citations to this work, as it is one of the few works of Sanskrit literature whose date we know quite accurately and where we need not fear that too much may be only copied from earlier models; but the characteristics described may be found also in the works of Kalidasa and the other poets of these times. May I repeat it, that from the historical point of view the term "decadence" does not mean a period of decay, but a time of hypercivilization of the greatest splendour.

Indian culture vanished for many, many centuries. Petty territorial lords are quarrelling for what is left of the empire, their power, too, vanishing more and more before the influence of a growing feudal aristocracy.[1] The whole of Northern and Middle India falls into the hands of new lords, for the greater part nomadic tribes from the north-western frontier, following with their fortified carriages the Huns on their triumphant progress through the plains of the Indus and the Ganges. They found kingdoms in the Panjāb, in Gujarāt, and Rājasthān, other ones in Bengal, Hindustān, Bundēlkhand and the Himālayas. These are the Rājput clans. Everywhere prevails barbarism; the history of these times remains gloomy and uncertain; religion sinks into sorcery and brutal mysticism,[2] and the few poets complain of the ferociousness and the lack of interest shown by the kings.[3] Architecture alone retains its former splendour. For the power of the hierarchy increases more and more, and none of the many princes neglects to win the favour of the Brahmans and Buddhist panditas by rich Agrahāras and donations of temples to secure the salvation of his soul in the next world.

This is the condition of India up to the beginning of the second millennium A.D. Then a new ascent of its civilization begins, at first by imitating the olden times. Just as in Europe, art and Latin literature flourish for a short time under the reign of the Carolingian and Ottonian Emperors before their own national individuality comes to full development, similarly there is growing up a new Sanskrit literature, philosophy, and historiography, but they never attain the high standard of the Gupta period. Thus grows up a new architecture, building the temples and their sculptures in a sort of Barock style in the finest, most luxurious, and pathetic shapes. What the cathedrals of Rheims and Chartres are to the West, are perhaps to India the Sikharas of the Orissan and Chandel temples. The painting of this time imitates the great examples of Ajantā: but where the latter create

[1] Tāranātha describes the history of this time in Bengal: "Lahtadhandra was the last king of the Chandra Dynasty. There was no ruler, although many Kshatriyas of the Chandra-clan have lived since his death. In the five Eastern countries, Bhangala, Odiviśa, and the other ones, every Kshatriya, chief, Brahman, and chief-merchant was king in his own house, but there was no king to govern the country." Transl. Schiefner, Petersburg, 1869, p. 197.

[2] In Buddhism as well as in Hinduism, Tantrism was then at its height.

[3] See Bilhana's complaints on the rudeness of the Rājpūts of the famous kingdom of Anhilvād (*Vikramānkadevacarita*, ed. Buhler, Bombay, 1875, pp. 14, 19). Kalhana's *Chronicle of Kashmīr*, too, is full of bitter remarks about the neglect of literature by the kings.

large frescoes of rich composition, here there have remained only small miniatures in the manuscripts of Buddhist Sūtras in honour of the primeval mother Prajñāparamitā,[1] small pictures of gods, goddesses, and saints, as much drawn after traditional patterns, as the sculpture of the temples is forming even the simplest details according to the rule of the Śilpaśāstras.

Therefore this period of flourishing civilization was very short-lived. When the power of the great feudal lords went on diminishing more and more, just like that of the Emperors of Byzantium or of the "Holy Roman Empire", when the Thākurs and Rānās became more and more independent, the splendour of this courtly art faded away. The scholars continue to write also later on in this Sanskrit language sacred to them, but beside it a new rich literature in the vernaculars is growing up, whereas architecture, sculpture, and painting are falling to the lowest degree of imitation and copying.

It is in the sixteenth century that this lifeless barbarian art is filled with new vitality and feeling. The primitive style will continue to last, but its rough colours become harmonious, its figures begin to live a life of violent, ardent emotions.[2] What is the meaning of this change? What is the character of these men? What is this new world of feelings and ideals? Grave and awkward these people are, they stand like statues, they sit like idols.[3] These men are heavy, stout warriors with fierce looks. These ladies coyly bow their veiled heads. As she goes to her sweetheart the damsel hides her head in shame, and her friend has to guide her. And, further, their dresses! Long gowns come down to the knees or even the ankles, in simple, great lines, with long sleeves and sometimes also trousers; and the ladies wrap themselves in delicate shawls, laid over the head, and the hair

[1] Ashtasāhasrikāprajñāparamitā-Sūtra und Vajracedika-Sūtra.

[2] Compare the early Rāgmālā manuscripts from Rājasthān of the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, or the Pahārī miniatures from Jammū, belonging to the seventeenth century. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, Oxford, 1924; India Office, London, *Johnson Album*, xliii; British Museum, 1922-12-14-05 to 1922-12-14-07 (Bihār, seventeenth century), 1923-7-01-013, 1923-2-13-04, 1923-7-16-015; State Library, Berlin, libr. pict. A 11, Ethnographical Museum, Munich, 13-92-7, 13-92-13, 13-92-6 (*Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, xiii, p. 61 ff., 1923). In the later miniatures as well as in the Mughal paintings there are to be found quite the same characteristics, but here they are mixed up with other elements, originating in the new development of the Mughal times, or imported from Persia or Europe.

[3] This characteristic attitude is to be found also in Italian pictures of the trecento and quatrocento.

is braided in long tresses.[1] Do you know such people ? Do you know the heroes of the Nibelung Epic, how straightforwardly and open-mindedly they sacrifice their lives for those to whom they have vowed fidelity. And how tenderly and respectfully these warriors worship these coy and proud ladies ? What is the tale of the songs of Hammīr Deb, Rājā of Rānthambhōr (about 1300) ? [2] He and all his people are killed in defending a foreigner, to whom they have promised shelter against the vengeance of Sultān Alā-ad-Dīn Khiljī of Delhi. And in Malik Muhammad Jaisī's epic of Padumāvatī, Queen of Chitōr.[3] To save her honour a whole Rājput clan is exterminated, the warriors are killed in battle fighting even when dying, Padumāvatī leaps into the flames of a great funeral pile, with all her ladies, to preserve the honour of her family, the fame of whose pedigree had been known for many centuries, and to follow her husband, Ratan Sen, to the next world.[4] No man, no lady, of Gupta times would have done so, but—it was also the unwritten code of honour of our Middle Ages. Here, also, is a world of castles and hillforts (garh, koṭ, drug), a world of knighthood and chivalry. And just as the knight worshipped his lady, so the Rājpūt the woman who had given him the Rakhī.

Therefore, in India also during this period, woman and love became a heavenly revelation, and just as Western mysticism when dealing with the Holy Virgin and the Lord Christ had one of its roots in the love songs of the minstrels, so the Indian mysticism of the Middle Ages developed out of human love. In its older forms the basis of this mysticism in the carnal union may be very well perceived, but with its evolution it becomes severely ascetic and sublime.[5] Love in its various spiritual forms, Bhakti, thus becomes the essential element of both the cult of Kālī-Durgā and those of Rāma and Krishna. Durgā,

[1] There is also a great resemblance in the fashions of the Rājpūt dresses to the early Italian ones, as depicted by Giotto or Pietro da Rimini and others.

[2] Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, i, 63 ; " Brajanātha Bandyopādhyāya, Hammīr Rāsā, or a History of Hamīr prince of Rānthāmbōr " (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 48, c. 186, 1879) ; *Nayacandra Sūrī, Hammīrakāvya*, ed. by N. J. Kirtone, Bombay, 1879.

[3] Th. Pavie, " La Légende de Padmani, reine de Tchitor, d'après les textes hindis et hindouis " (*Journal Asiatique*, 5me série, tome vii, pp. 5 ff., 89 ff., 315 ff., 1856) ; G. A. Grierson and M. S. Dvivedi, *The Padumāvatī of Malik Muhammad Jaisī*, Calcutta, 1911. But there exists a great number of similar romances and historical accounts, for example the defence of Chitōr by Jaimal against the Mughal Emperor Akbar in 1567, or in modern times the conquest of Bali in Indonesia by the Dutch in 1906.

[4] Pictures of such Jauhar ceremonies : Akbar-Nāmah, South Kensington, No. 69 ; Bābur-Nāmah, British Museum, MS. Or. 3714, fol. 468*b*.

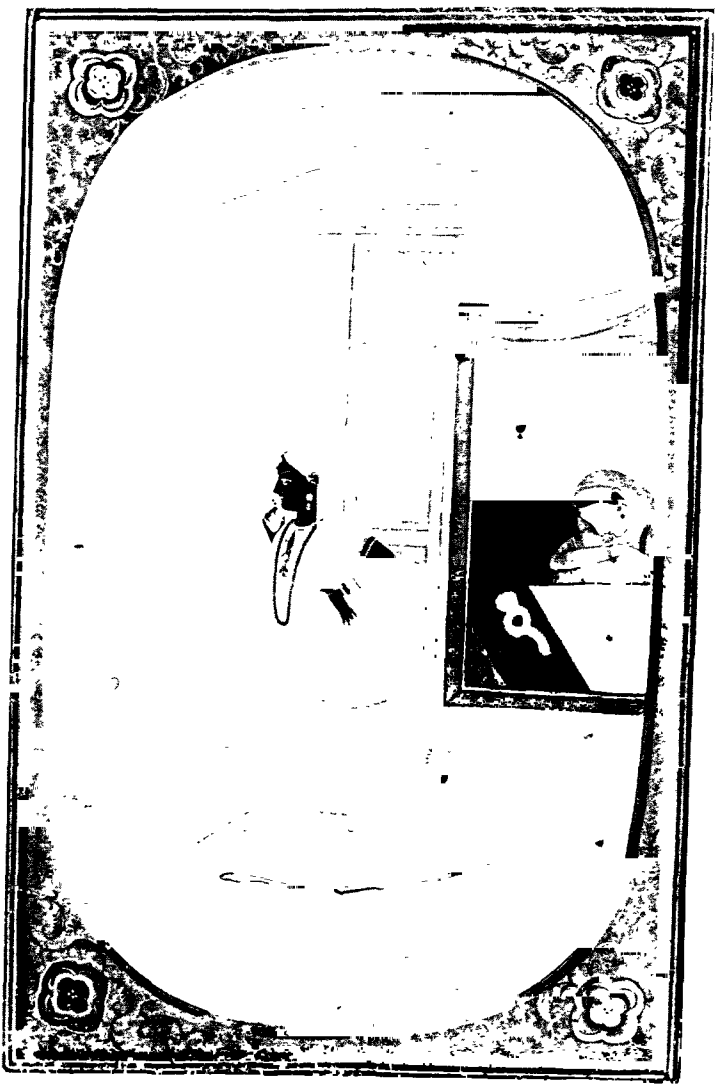
[5] Dinesh Chandra Sen, *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, Calcutta, 1911.

the Virgin (Kumārī) and divine mother (Pārvatī), takes the position of our Madonna. Kālī, the almost naked dancer in the fields of dead corpses incorporates "the devilish in woman's nature"—to speak in the terms of Strindberg, that side of her character that Christianity has never acknowledged, but has well known in its Mediæval Walpurgis-night.[1] This whole world of darkness haunts Indian speculation also, besides Kālī there are the Mātris and Dākinīs, the witches of Hindu and late Buddhist folklore, and some of the rites of the Vāmī Śākta cult are said to have a great resemblance to our Black Masses.[2]

On the other hand, in the cult of Krishna the sweet and tender exaltations of love predominate. The poems on the love and bridal union of the soul with Christ composed by the nun Mechtild of Magdeburg, whom some authors believe to be the Matilda of Dante's *Divina Comedia*, the dances of the saints with the heavenly angels in Paradise, as depicted in the charming frescoes of Fra Angelico, all these are conceptions quite familiar to the Krishnaite mystics. The Rāsa-Līlā dance unites the crowd of ecstatical souls with the heavenly bridegroom, Krishna, in holy bliss on the flowery banks of the Jumna. And the songs of the Vishnuite pada-poets paint all the phases of love between Rādhā and Krishna, between the soul and god in the tenderest and most thrilling manner. Rādhā, loving and hoping, stumbling and repenting, Rādhā in glee and in mournfulness, these are the exaltations of mystic raptures. And Krishna's demand of the delivery of herself, all those similes of her repudiation in the Brindā grove, of the vision of the heavenly city of paradise, of the Dānalīlā, what else is this than the parting with the earthly self taught by all Catholic mystics? Even more! Rādhā, deified as the symbol of heavenly love and mercy (prema), whose eternal working guides the

[1] In later times Kālī-Durgā lost most of her terrible aspect and become the sweet mother of the Universe. But in earlier times her character shows the typical features of all Mother-goddesses, the many-sided aspect of woman's nature: good and bad, placed above and below man: the mother and the mistress, the virgin and the harlot: Isis the mother and goddess of the netherworld, Hathor the virgin, the goddess of prostitution and of war; Ishtar the mother, the goddess of war and of harlots, the chained woman in Hades; Kybele, the Great Mother, and the goddesses of Eleusis, Demeter and Kore, the virgin and wife of the Lord of Darkness. Thus Kālī-Durgā, too, is the Kumārī and the mother (Śiva's wife Pārvatī-Umā), is the mistress of death and war, and the mistress of unchaste rites. This in her original character as goddess of the jungle tribes of the olden times, her association with Śiva and the speculations of Hindu philosophy are the next stages to her final aspect as the benignant mother of the Universe.

[2] H. H. Wilson, *Religious Sects of the Hindus* (Works I, p. 254 ff.).



MINIATURE KANGRA STYLE ABOUT 1800

souls to God,[1] how similar is this conception to that of Dante's Beatrice ?

It is very interesting to see how in Europe under the influence of these religious movements painting develops again to a great and wonderful art : St. Francis and Giotto. And how in India it is a similar movement that delivers painting out of the fetters of dead imitation. How this world of mystic thought pervades all Indian miniature painting, how the myth of Rādhā and Krishna becomes the most familiar subject of all pictures made at the courts of the Rājput princes, in all its variations, as illustrations of the legend in the Bhāgavata-Purāna, as also the Rāgmāla and the Nāyakā descriptions.

In a similar manner we might go on and show, how under the influence of the international Mughal empire painting is secularized, how personality begins to come to the foreground, in the many portraits as well as in the signatures of the artists, how most of the movements of the Renaissance are to be found here again, though in a less developed form, later also those of the Baroque and Rococo, the change of style from the linear to the picturesque in the time of the last great Mughal Emperors, ending here also in a gracious and lofty, playful-romantic fashionable art in the last decades of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. And so on. But for such investigations there is no time. Yet you have seen how behind the contrast of the ancient Indian fresco style and the late miniature painting there unveils itself the greater one of two worlds of civilization, antiquity, and the Middle Ages, the late antique hyper-civilization, and the Mediæval Romanticism. The great curves in the evolution of civilization are everywhere the same, and herein the East follows the same laws as Europe. The invariability of the Orient is only a seeming appearance, and the belief in it is not older than the industrial evolution of Europe in the last 150 years. But even when this illusion disappears India will not lose its charm. All the exuberant multitude of the forms of civilization and culture that it has produced will be revealed to us on the basis of a historical point of view, and the great laws of nature, though they may never change, hide themselves in every place, in every period, in endless, ever new forms of expression, and the particular individuality of India manifests itself in quite a different way to that of European civilization and culture.

[1] So in the teachings of Chaitanya.

A NOTE ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF HAUSA

By A. Lloyd James, Department of Phonetics, University College, London, and G. P. Bargery, Superintendent of Education, Northern Provinces, Nigeria

THE following remarks on the pronunciation of Hausa are the result of observations extending over a period of two months made by the writers upon the speech of some of the Hausa-speaking natives employed at the Wembley Exhibition.

For the greater part of the time the subject was Inuwa, a native of Kano, an intelligent metal-worker of about twenty-four years of age, a pupil at the Kano Arts and Crafts School. Some preliminary work was done with two other pupils of this school.

Considerable help was given by Mr. E. W. Nicholson, of the Education Department, Northern Provinces, Nigeria, and by Mr. C. K. Meek, of the Political Department, Nigeria.

Valuable assistance was obtained from the Magaji of Katsina and another member of the Emir of Katsina's suite during their visit to England.

Owing to the limited time at the disposal of the writers and the fact that the observations were confined to so few natives, the following remarks are made tentatively in the hope that they will serve as a basis of criticism, but at the same time it is also hoped that they may be of service to those interested in the language.

Vowels

The following diagram illustrates the position of the vowels with reference to the cardinal vowels, as recognized by the Phonetics Department of University College, London, and as recorded on H.M.V. Gramophone Record No. B. 804.

Examples of these vowels will be found in the following words :—

1: ɾɪ:k'a = eye tooth or fang.
ɾī:tǫ = whistling.
bī:kǫ = going after a runaway wife to persuade her to return.

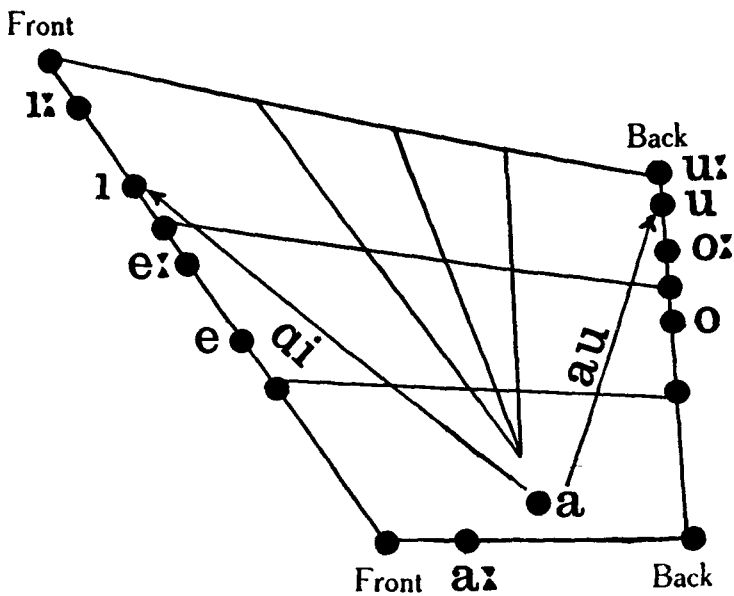
1 ɾɪtǫ = come out.
bɪkī: = a feast.

e: **bare:wa** = red-fronted gazelle.
re:ma = rock coney.

e **arewa** = north.

a: **ra:na** = sun or day.
ʀa:ɗɪ = breadth.
ʀa:ra = begin.
ta:rī = cough.

a = very like Eng. ʌ.
ʀari = white.
gaddama = squabble.
patākạ = florin.
ʀadāmạ = marsh.



o: **to:** = sign of agreement, assent.
dō: dọ: = taking back a thing given.
dọ: dō: = something that causes fear.
s'o: ho: = an old man or thing.

o **taro** = threepenny-bit.
ŋgo = take hold ! here !

u: **bu:nu:** = old thatch.
k'ū:nạ = burn, burning heat.

u **bu̱nū** = black cloth.
ku̱nū = gruel.

aɪ **aīku̱** = work.
mau̱ = owner of, possessor.

au **kaurɪ** = thickness.
k'aurɪ = smell of burning.
aure = marriage.

Consonants

	Bilabial	Labio Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	b		t	[c]	k	ʔ
			d	[ɟ]	g	
Affricate			ʧ ʤ			
Implosive	ɓ		ɗ			
Ejective			t'		k'	
			s'			
			ʧ' ʦ'			
Nasal	m		n		ŋ	
Lateral			l			
Lolled			r			
			[ɻ]			
Fricative	ɾ		s ʃ			
			z			
Semivowel	w			j		

Plosive Consonants

t and **k** are slightly aspirated.

b, d, g, not fully voiced in initial position.

c, ɟ. These consonants are subordinate members of the **k** and **g** phonemes respectively, and occur before front vowels, especially **i,** e.g. **dō:ku̱** = **dō:cu̱** = horse. The on-glide of these palatal consonants is very audible, resulting almost in **dō:icu̱**. It is also audible after consonants, e.g. **sārku̱** = **sārɪcu̱** = chief. ʔ **ʤɪrgɪ** = **ʤɪrɪɟɪ** = a boat.

Implosive

ɓ and **ɗ**, usually represented in European script by **ḅ** and **ḍ**, are in reality Implosive consonants. They are not made, as has been previously supposed, with simultaneous glottal closure. Voiced consonants cannot be so made, for there can be no vibration of the vocal chords

if the glottis is closed. It is impossible to *see* what is happening, but it would appear that the glottis, with vocal chords in the position of voice, is drawn down through the air column. When the point of oral contact is released, the external air is drawn into the mouth.

ɓ and **ɗ** are of frequent occurrence, e.g.

Compare—**ɓa̱rī** = miscarriage
and **ba̱rī** = to leave off.
ɓā:ɓe̱ = estrangement
and **bā:be̱** = grasshopper.
ɗo̱:kī = longing, rejoicing.
dō:kɪ̱ = horse.
ɗāka̱ = inside of house.
dāka̱ = pounding.

Ejectives

These are the consonants made with simultaneous glottal closure, the glottal closure being released *after* the oral closure. Of these, possibly the one that is most striking and does not appear to have been previously recognized is **s'**, usually represented in European script by **ts.** The sound used by all the Kano subjects under observation was **s'**, but the Emir of Katsina and the members of his suite, whom we heard on one occasion only, used **ts'** or something approaching almost **ʧ'**.

Compare—**s'o̱:ro** = fear
and **so:ro** = mud ceiling.
s'a:ra = contemporary.
sa:ra = cut down, chop.
s'o̱s'o = suck.
so̱so = loofah.

t' **t'abɪja** = custom.
sa̱ɪt'an = Satan.

These are Katsina pronunciations of the Kano forms **s'abɪja** and **ʃa̱ɪs'an.**

k' Compare—**k'ā:k'a̱** = how ?
ka̱:ka = harvest time.
k'ā:ra = an accusation.
k'a̱:ra = increase.
ka:ra = ignoring a fault.

Rolled Consonants

The existence of two distinctive r sounds has been generally noticed. We endeavoured to investigate for the purpose of this article the distribution of these two sounds, and have tested each Hausa speaker very carefully on this point. The conclusion that we have arrived at is that these two sounds are members of the same phoneme. This means that there will never be in Hausa two words which are differentiated from each other only by the fact that one has the first r sound and the other has the second. We find that before the vowels a, ɔ, o, u the ordinary trilled lingual r, which may have one tap or even more, is general. Before front vowels (ɪ, e) and before the palatal consonant j, and before the palatal c (which is the pronunciation of k before ɪ and e), we find the other r sound, represented in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association by ɺ. This is a one-tapped r slightly—often completely—lateralized. The acoustic effect is that of a very l-like sound. The only other African language in which this sound has previously been observed is the Bantu language, the name of which is pronounced **peɺɪ**.

Consequently, in our transcriptions, it must be remembered that the symbol r, when used in the positions defined above, has the value of ɺ, e.g. **rɪ̱:ga** = gown is pronounced **ɺɪ̱:ga**; **sarkɪ** = chief is pronounced **saɺcɪ**, but **kā:rǫ̱** = addition is pronounced **kā:rǫ̱**.

Fricatives

The bilabial fricative ʀ and the bilabial plosive p seem to be used almost indiscriminately one for the other. For example: **ʀāʃɪ̱** and **pāʃɪ̱** are common pronunciations, but the same speaker does not seem to use both. We have no means of defining the distribution of the two sounds. The three Kano speakers whom we tested invariably used ʀ.

Length

It will have been noticed, from examples given in the paragraph dealing with vowels, that every vowel may be long or short. There is a difference in quality between the long and the corresponding short vowel. Possibly this is most apparent in the case of a, for the short a has a distinctively ʌ-like quality. In view of this fact it is of the greatest importance that any system of orthography that is adopted for Hausa should be able to indicate this distinction. Length is also important in certain consonants.

Compare—**ba:ba:** = indigo
and **bab:a** = big.
la:le = welcome.
lal:e = certainly.

Tone

The following remarks can in no way be regarded as final. They are the result of limited observation, and are set forth to serve merely as a starting-point for further investigation.

We suggest that Hausa is not a tone language to the same degree as Yoruba, for example. It would appear advisable to divide tone languages into two classes, viz. :—

(1) Those in which a monosyllable may have various meanings depending upon its pitch or tone.

(2) Those in which monosyllables have only one tone.

In both cases words of more than one syllable may have various meanings according to the distribution of tones.

An example of the first class of language is furnished by Yoruba, where nearly every monosyllable may be pronounced on three different tones with three different meanings, e.g. :—

(High tone) **bō** = to drop ; to be free.
(Middle tone) **bɔ** = to worship.
(Low tone) **bọ** = to boil ; to return.

This is not the case in Hausa, as far as we have observed.

Possibly it might be advisable to restrict the term tone language to languages of the former class, and to regard those of the latter class as possessing a musical accent. There appear to be in Hausa two tones, a high and a low, and every syllable bears one of these. We have indicated throughout this article the high tone by ¯, the low by _. On monotone words we have placed no tone mark. It may be that in addition to these two tones there is a third intermediate tone, but we have not discovered sufficient evidence to support this. The following are examples of the significance of the musical accent :—

dō:dọ: = taking back something given.
dọ:dō = something that causes fear.
k'a:ra = an accusation.
k'a̱:rā = increase.
dāura̱ = adjoining.
da̱urā = Daura.
ri̱:gā = a cloak.

rī:gạ = sift.
mararakɪ = sieve.
mārạrạkī = professional cadgers.

Apart from this tone, which for want of clearer definition we might refer to as Semantic tone, there is also evident a system of syntactic tone, e.g. :—

kạ tạrī = go ! (imperative)
but **ka:tạrì?** = did you go ?
kạ:wō dō:kị̀ = bring the horse (imperative singular)
but **ku kā:wō dō:kị̀** = imperative plural.
Similarly **sạ:jē ʃī** = tuck it under your arm (imperative singular)
but **ku sā:jẹ̀ ʃì** = imperative plural.
Compare **ʃɪgā gɪda** = enter the compound (sing.).
kuʃɪgā gɪda = imperative plural.

The modification of the tone in the plural imperative in the first two cases was regularly made by each native on every occasion.

Certain distinctions of tense seem to depend entirely on tone, e.g. :

kā:ʤē: kō: bạ kạ ʤē: bà:?
Did you go or did you not ?

Whereas **kà:ʤè: kō: bạ kà:ʤè: bà:?**
Will you go or will you not go ?

With these, compare :—

ɪŋ kā ʤè: nī mā nà:ʤẹ̀.
If you go, I'll go too.

And **nnạ̀ sọ̀: kạ ʤe.**
I want you to go.

In these cases we meet for the first time with a falling tone, indicated when high by ˋ and when low by ˎ.

The treatment of verbs in this connexion is not uniform, but seems to depend upon some principle that we have not yet elucidated. Compare the tones of the verbs in the following cases :—

kā: kā:wō: kō: bạ kạ kạ:wō: bà:?
Did you bring it or didn't you ?

kā: kā:mạ kō: bạ kạ kā:mạ: bà:?
Did you catch it or didn't you ?

kā: ʃɪgạ gīdā kō: bạ kạ ʃɪgā bà:?
Did you enter the compound or not ?

kā: tɑ̨rī kō: bɑ̨ kɑ̨ tɑ̨rī bà:?
Did you go or didn't you?

The above sentences are all interrogative. Compare the following:—

kō: kā: kā:wō: kō: bɑ̨ kɑ̨ kɑ̨:wo̱: bɑ̨.
Whether you brought it or whether you did not.

kō: kā: kā:mɑ̨ kō: bɑ̨ kɑ̨ kā:mɑ̨ bɑ̨.
Whether you caught it or whether you didn't.

kō: kā: ʃɪgɑ̨ gɪdɑ̨ kō: bɑ̨ kɑ̨ ʃɪgɑ̨ bɑ̨.
Whether you entered the compound or whether you didn't.

kō: kā tɑ̨rī kō bɑ̨ kɑ̨ tɑ̨rɪ bā.
Whether you went or whether you didn't.

We give a transcription of the story of the "North Wind and the Sun". The story was told by Mr. Nicholson to Inuwa, who afterwards gave it to us in his own way.

da mukūmuku da ra:na sukɑ̨ ɪ̨ gad:amɑ̨ wata ra:na,
part. wind part. sun they made quarrel one day,
wanē:ne jā rī k'arrɪ atʃɪkīnsu̱. aʃè:!
which it exceeds strength amongst them. Behold, it happened,
gɑ̨ wanɪ maɪtarījɑ̨ jānɑ̨ u:tʃe:wɑ̨, ja rure ɠɪkīnsɑ̨
behold a traveller he was passing by, he had covered his body
dɑ̨ zanɐ̨ maɪ̨kaūrī. sukɑ̨ jɐ̨rda' da ɠuna, wandɑ̨ ja
with cloth stout. They agreed with each other who he
sà: maɪ̨tarījan naŋ ja tū:ɓɐ̨ zānɑ̨n naŋ, ʃɪ zaɪ
should cause traveller this he take off cloth this he should
zama mārɪ̨ k'arrɪ. to:, mukūmuku
become the owner of the exceeding of strength. Very well, wind
ja i ta bū:sɑ̨ da k'arrɪnsɑ̨, amā dū:dɑ̨ ja i
it set about blowing with its strength, but for all that it
bū:sɑ̨, maɪtarīja ja k'ā:rɑ̨ ɗaurɑ̨ zānɐ̨ ga ɠɪkīnsɑ̨.
blew, traveller he increased securing of his cloth to his body.
saɪ ra:na ta rɪto ta bīgɐ̨ ʃɪ̨ da k'arrɪntɑ̨. saɪ
Then sun it came out it beat him with its strength. Then
maɪtarījɑ̨ ja tū:ɓɐ̨ zanɐ̨. do:n hakɑ̨ sūkɑ̨ jɐ̨rdā ra:na ta
traveller he stripped off cloth. Therefore they agreed sun it
rɪ k'arrɪ ɑ̨tʃɪkɪnsu̱.
exceeds in strength amongst them.

KAHENA, QUEEN OF THE BERBERS

A Sketch of the Arab Invasion of Ifrikiya in the First Century of the Hijra

By Francis Rodd

WITHIN twenty years of the flight of the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina, and only ten years after his death, the recently persecuted adherents of the new Faith embarked on a series of conquests which distinguish the spread of Islam as one of the most important, if not the most important, historical period of the last two thousand years. The conquest of Egypt by the Khalifa Omar was hardly complete in A.D. 641, when the Arabs turned westward along the southern shore of the Mediterranean and became involved in a series of adventures which were destined to menace Europe at a most critical time in its history. The people of Arabia had begun to make another bid for world power which the European branches of Western Man eventually achieved, at their expense.

The Arab invasions of the North African littoral, though perhaps less known, are not less important than the parallel movements which were in progress along the eastern shores of the Mediterranean at the same period. It is sometimes forgotten that the credit which Europe has given to the Crusaders for their actions in Syria is not wholly justified; it was not by them alone that the Muslimin were held in check. We owe a greater measure of gratitude to the inhabitants of North Africa for their vigorous opposition in the first century of the Hijra; the failure of the Arabs in Tunisia and Algeria at this time contributed directly to the success of the crusades which encountered them after the first glow of religious enthusiasm had passed away and Europe was in a better position to withstand their advance.

The origin of the people of North Africa is so disputed that it would be out of place even to indicate the many theories which are current. They have been called Northern Hamites, or a branch of the Mediterranean Race, or simply Libyans. They are not Semitic in the ordinary sense of the word, though their original home may be sought in the east, unless the view is accepted that the cradle of their race was in Africa itself. Their own historians, basing themselves

on traditions current among the people, refer to a migration into Africa from Syria; while this may be correct, it would be a mistake to follow them in placing such an event in historical times.

The parts in which the Berbers, as these people are usually called, survive in the purest state are more especially to the west of Tunisia. In the centre of the littoral they have been much more in contact with foreign races ever since their first arrival. The Carthaginians established colonies only along the coast, but their historical successors, the Romans, penetrated into the interior. The latter remained at variance with the Berbers throughout their occupation; they did not so much conquer the countries of North Africa, as establish a *modus vivendi*, disturbed by interludes like the Jugurthine wars. The Berbers appear to have retained their own tribal administration under the supervision of military posts interspersed with civic "coloniæ" which sprang up to contain the mixed population and foreign immigrants. In the early part of the fifth century A.D. the Vandals of Gaiseric arrived to complicate the ethnology of the country, and finally Belisarius came with a Byzantine Army to reconquer it. Under the Emperor Heraclius, many Berbers are said to have adopted some form of Christianity. They had already for some time previously become accustomed to absorb certain elements of the various civilizations with which they had come into contact. One of their most interesting characteristics has always been the faculty for retaining extraneous influences without allowing them to detract from, or enfeeble, their own national traits. Much of the art and architecture of North Africa, and for that matter of Spain as well, is not Arab, but Berber evolved under the influence of Islam. In the course of the campaigns which followed one another in rapid succession during the seventh and eighth centuries A.D., it was the Berbers who absorbed the Arabs, and not vice versa, as so many people have assumed. A study of the influences which went to make up the so-called Arab civilization more especially in the West would go far to show how little, apart from the energy and vitality then inherent in Islam, did the conquerors really contribute. Moreover, it was only much later than the period referred to, that the Arabs became sufficiently numerous in North Africa to have any effect on the racial type in these countries.

In the 22nd or 23rd years after the Flight of Muhammad, corresponding approximately to the year A.D. 642, Ibn el Asi set out from Egypt for Tripoli. Barca, which is known to-day as Cyrenaica,

a name in classical times applied only to one part of the country near the town of Cyrene, had been occupied by the Arabs in the preceding year. Cyrene was pillaged for the second time in twenty-five years. Its capture in 616 by Chosroes the Persian in the course of his wars against the Byzantine Empire, and the devastation of what in classical times had been a prosperous country, contributed to the ease with which the Arabs were able to undertake the invasion of Africa beyond the Nile. Had the subsequent revolts of the Berbers against the Arabs taken the form of organized resistance in Barca as early as 641 or 642, the burden of the fighting would have fallen to a lesser extent on the people of the West. The early effects of the Arab movement would have been proportionately weakened, and if the nearness to complete success achieved by the later campaigns of Koseila and Kahena be considered, the subsequent development of Islam might have been very different.

Speculation on the "might-have-beens" of history, however, is an idle pastime. Ibn el Asi captured Tripoli and the neighbouring important town of Sabratha, which is near the modern village of Agilat, a few miles further west along the coast. Tunisia was at this time known as Ifrikiya; it was inhabited by Berbers and Franks, which is the best name for the people whom the Arabs called Rumi. The changing significance of the latter word is curious. The Byzantine Empire styled itself "Roman", as the Greek orthodox Church in the East sometimes still affects to do. But contrasted with the Empire of the West, Byzantium was Greek rather than Latin. When the Muslimin conquered Syria they referred to their enemies as Rumi, from the name which they knew the latter applied to themselves. Thus, after meaning "Roman" the word in Arabic came to have the sense of "Greek". It is still used in this sense, though the term Levantine would now be more nearly its equivalent. When the Arabs reached Tunisia they called all the non-Berber people there Rumi, as their friends had named the non-Semitic elements in Syria; yet in North Africa the people in question were probably more Latin than Greek; in order to avoid confusion they are therefore best called Franks.

The Berbers and Franks of Ifrikiya were living in unhappy relationship under the rule of a Byzantine adventurer, or more properly speaking, traitor, by name Count Gregory, who had seceded from his government, and assumed the Purple. He had set up his capital at Sufetula, a site, known to-day as Sbeitla, and marked by the ruins

of a Roman town, in whose previous history the only noteworthy fact which is recorded, is that it achieved the civic distinction of becoming a "colonia" after being a "municipium". The Arabs under Ibn el Asi joined battle with the Franks and Berbers, most probably in the neighbourhood of the town. They were completely victorious; Count Gregory was killed and his daughter fell as a prize of war to Ibn el Asi. In a vain attempt to pacify the country the conqueror offered the Berbers favourable terms and proceeded to occupy the land which appeared to have been most successfully reduced.

In A.H. 34 Muawiya ibn Hodeij set out to conquer Maghreb el Aksa, or the "Furthest West", including what are now certain parts of Algeria as well as Morocco. He disputes with his successor Okba the claim to have founded Kairuan. Lack of information regarding Muawiya's exploits, taken in conjunction with the information that only eleven years later was a "serious attempt" made to annex the West, appear to show how little the first campaign in this direction achieved. The enterprise must have been far from happy. Revolts broke out behind his back among the Berbers, and one of their chiefs, Ibn Abi Yezid, at this juncture commenced his brilliant career of no less than twelve apostasies from Islam whenever a propitious moment presented itself in Maghreb or Ifrikiya. For in these days to embrace Islam was a sign of submission to the conquerors: to deny the Prophet signified rebellion, independence, and freedom. Ibn Abi Yezid was only finally "converted" under the Emirate of Musa Ibn Noseir, some thirty years later.

Internal dissensions among the Arabs prevented any serious steps being taken to restore the situation until A.H. 45 or 46, when Muawiya ibn Hodeij was appointed Emir of Ifrikiya and a large expedition was dispatched from Egypt under Okba ibn Nafe' to extend the conquests of the Arabs along the southern shore of the Mediterranean in a more definite manner than had hitherto been attempted.

On his way to Ifrikiya, Okba made a very remarkable expedition from Cyrenaica into the Fezzan on the borders of the Central Deserts to the south of Tripolitania. Not only did he succeed in reducing the country in the face of the almost unsurmountable military obstacles presented by the desert nature of the area, but he also penetrated a long way down the important caravan road, which runs from Cyrenaica and Tripoli to Lake Chad; he reached the Kawar oases in the twentieth degree of northern latitude. Rejoining his army which had been left in charge of Zoheir ibn Kais, Okba installed

Muawiya in office as Viceroy of Ifrikiya and marched into the Maghreb. He defeated the combined forces of the Franks and Berbers in the "sea province of Edjem" despite the assistance rendered to them by a fleet which had been sent from Constantinople to support the Christians.

Returning to Ifrikiya, in about 50 A.H. Okba assumed the Emirate of North Africa himself, and set up his capital at Kairuan. If he did not actually found the city, he was at least responsible for raising it to be the principal centre of the West, a position which it retained until the great Berber cities of Morocco began to dispute its pre-eminence several centuries later. Kairuan is graced by some of the finest examples of North African Moslem architecture. The Great Mosque with its arcaded court facing the many pillared shrine constructed from the loot of Roman temples, dates from the Aglabite Dynasty of the third century of the Hijra (ninth century A.D.). But the name by which it is known, The Mosque of My Lord Okba, perpetuates the memory of the great Arab leader, who had dedicated a simple prayer enclosure on the site. The other notable monuments of Kairuan also represent later achievements of the Berbers created under the influence of Islam. The Arabs of the seventh century had but little to teach them, for, if the few who retained some traces of eastern civilizations such as the Yemenite, be excepted, they were mainly simple nomads of Western Arabia. Despite the misleading association of words, the Arabs were more barbarian than the Berbers.

The definite split between the Franks and the Berbers dates from the conclusion of Okba's first campaign in the west. The Berbers returned to their fields and villages, the Franks to their parasitic life in the "strong places" which had not yet been occupied by the Arabs. It was no doubt the normal state of affairs which had prevailed in the land before the arrival of the Arab invaders. The respite was not destined to survive for long the appointment of Abu el Muhajer as Emir of Africa in A.H. 55. Wearied of their association with the Franks, the Berbers began to take their own part under a leader of their own race, named Koseila, the son of Lemezm, chief of the Aureba and Beranes divisions of the people. Both Koseila and his Lieutenant, Sekerdid ibn Rumi ibn Mazet, like most of their folk, were originally Christians; only the Tuareg or Veiled People of the Desert, who are usually, but perhaps wrongly, also regarded as Berbers, were reputed to be still heathen, though the statement is

considered doubtful by certain modern authorities. Koseila and Sekerdid had been obliged by Okba to embrace Islam; their conversion only lasted until the advent of a propitious moment when they revolted against the Emir Abu el Muhajer and renounced the faith of their enemies. Their insurrection was partially checked by the defeat and capture of Koseila at Tlemcen in Algeria. Coupled with the widespread disaffection throughout the country and the activities of Ibn Abi Yezid, who needless to say had also taken the opportunity of denouncing Islam, the rising was nevertheless sufficient to bring about the fall of the Emir. The Khalifa considered that he had not displayed sufficient energy. The situation, indeed, became so serious that in A.H. 62 he was replaced as Viceroy by Okba, who was obliged to set about reconquering the land afresh. In his second term of office Okba was again successful. He nearly met with disaster in the Atlas Mountains, but defeated the Berbers and Franks under Count Julian. He recommenced to convert, or in other words, to subjugate, the inhabitants wherever he went.

Okba reached the furthest limits of the country where the deserts begin, and there undertook a rapid expedition against the Tuareg in an area called Sus between the Atlas and Anti-Atlas, followed by a second raid into the Messufa country to the south of Morocco, now called Mauretania by the French. The two expeditions are very interesting. In the first place they indicate the presence of the Tuareg in a district which is very much further north than the deserts over which they now roam, thereby confirming their own traditions of a gradual migration from the Mediterranean into the Central Sahara: and in the second place they show how well Okba understood the military necessity of not leaving unconquered raiders and hostile but intangible groups of people on the borders of settled countries. And this, if anyone should be sufficiently interested to examine the question, is the ultimate reason why the French in modern times have had to penetrate further and further into the desert as a result of their military occupation of Southern Algeria and Morocco, until they have ended by occupying the whole of the Sahara. "Trans-Saharan trade" and "the responsibilities of a civilized people to administer the nomads of the desert" are romantic fictions invented by politicians to pacify their electors. Such a solution of the problem must have appealed as little to Okba in the seventh century as it does to-day to those Frenchmen who have experience of the conditions prevailing in this economically useless area.

Since his defeat at Tlemcen by Abu el Muhajer, Koseila had been kept a prisoner by the Arabs. He seems to have been held as a hostage for the good behaviour of his people and of the Berber auxiliaries whom the Arabs were using in their western campaigns. For more than seven years Okba kept Koseila near his own person "treating him with every indignity"; and Koseila bided his time and bowed his head as so many Tuareg and Berbers have done since his day. But he neither forgave nor submitted; he remained in continuous communication with his own tribes and reported all Okba's movements which were closely followed and watched. So successfully and secretly was the work done, that in spite of the lessons which Abu el Muhajer's misplaced leniency should have taught them, the suspicions of the Arabs were allayed. Returning from the Sus and Messufa expeditions, Okba sent the bulk of his army back to Kairuan and remained behind with only a small retinue to proceed at a more leisurely pace on what would now be termed an administrative inspection of the occupied territories. But the country was still hostile, and Koseila and his people leaped at the opportunity to rebel. Okba was ambushed hurrying back to Kairuan. He was killed with his followers at Tehuda, and Koseila reigned over North Africa in his stead.

As soon as news of the disaster reached Kairuan, Zoheir ibn Kais, who had been Okba's lieutenant since the early days, precipitately abandoned the capital, leaving the place free for Koseila. Zoheir fled to Barca with a panic-stricken army and there awaited reinforcements from Egypt. To have spread with such rapidity, the revolt must have been well prepared during all the years of Koseila's captivity. It inspired terror among the Arabs: Koseila's treatment of them, however, was remarkable for its magnanimity. He pardoned all those who had fought against him and it may be presumed did not force them in retaliation to become Christians. He is said to have established his position firmly in a very short time and to have ruled with wisdom and authority over an area extending certainly as far west as Central Morocco and perhaps to the Atlantic, and including in all probability Tripolitania in the east since Zoheir had found it necessary to retreat as far as Cyrenaica. Koseila's policy contrasted so favourably with the treatment he had experienced at the hands of Okba, that when five years later he was again fighting for his life, the Franks threw in their lot with him and even accepted him as their leader.

Okba had only reigned a year when he was killed in A.H. 63. Internal strife among the Arabs in the east and the situation consequent upon the murder of the Khalifa Muawiya in Syria made it impossible for any assistance to be sent to Zoheir until A.H. 67 when the new Khalifa Abd el Melek commissioned him to avenge Okba and provided him with the necessary reinforcements. Zoheir re-entered Ifrikiya and the Arabs and Berbers met at Mems near Kairuan, where a great battle ensued. After severe fighting, the Berbers were driven back and Koseila was killed. The remnants of his army broke in flight and were pursued as far as the valley of the Moluwiya in Morocco. With the destruction of the flower of the Berber army, the influence of the Franks was also broken; henceforth they only play a minor part in the history of North Africa.

Zoheir had hardly turned his back on Ifrikiya in order to chastise the heathen of Barca from whom he had experienced trouble during his sojourn there with depleted forces after his evacuation of Kairuan four years previously, when the Berbers of the west, hearing that he had been killed in the course of these operations, once again broke out, in spite of the loss of their leaders and the absence of any organization. The Khalifa Abd el Melek thereupon appointed Hassan ibn Noman, the Governor of Egypt, to take the place of Zoheir and directed him—it becomes monotonous through constant repetition—to reconquer Ifrikiya. It was the fifth attempt in less than fifty years.

The dating of events now becomes somewhat confused on account of the efforts of Arab writers to crowd the history of the next few years into as brief a space as possible. According to El Bekri, Hassan set out from Egypt in A.H. 68, or in 69 according to Ibn Khaldun. Ibn el Athis gives 74 as the date, while another author gives A.H. 78; Ibn Abd el Hakim states that it occurred in 76 or 77. The date, as will be seen, is of some importance: on the whole, 68 or 69 is the most probable year. The later dates which have been mentioned no doubt refer to events in the subsequent part of Hassan's campaigns when he re-entered Ifrikiya for the second time. The effect, if they were applied to the initial expedition from Egypt, would be to make the protagonist of the Berbers too old to have played the part for which this story is remarkable.

Hassan ibn Noman marched into Ifrikiya by the traditional road along the coast from Tripoli and, after some fighting, captured Kairuan and Carthage by assault. The Berbers had not recovered from the disorganization which had set in after the death of Koseila.

The early Arab successes had the effect of driving the Franks, disheartened by the defeats of Mems and the Moluiya two years before, out of Africa altogether to find new homes in Sicily and in Spain. They did not, however, all depart as Ibn Khaldun states, for some of them are again heard of a few years later playing a most unsavoury part: but they must have been emigrating throughout this period in increasing numbers. Following the example of his predecessors, Hassan set out for the West as soon as he had dealt with Ifrikiya.

He had made inquiries with a view to ascertain the most prominent Berber chief from whom, or around whose person, resistance might be expected. Having anticipated serious difficulties in his reconquest, he had been surprised to encounter so little opposition due, apparently, to the absence of any personage fitted to fill Koseila's place. He was astounded to learn that the robe of authority of paramount chief of the Berbers had fallen on the unwilling shoulders of a woman. The whole period following the defeat and death of Koseila had been very disheartening for the Berbers. Their prompt rebellion after Zoheir met his death in Barca had been rather futile and had not damaged the Arabs; the rapid reconquest of Kairuan and the manner in which the Franks had given up the struggle made many hesitate to resume hostilities. But a woman conceived it to be her duty at this most critical period to attempt what no man was willing to risk. And so it came to pass that the Queen Kahena stepped down into the arena and took up the challenge of Hassan ibn Noman.

In Algeria to the south of the tourist ridden Biskra and Timgad lies a mass of mountains with peaks higher than 7,000 feet. Deep narrow valleys divide the massif into parallel crests, like the ridges and folds of a piece of stuff that has been pulled from opposite corners. There is every gradation of vegetation from cedars on the hills to groves of date palms in the valleys. To the south of the mountains lies the desert. In this limestone group which is called the Aures lie the homes of perhaps the most interesting of all the Berbers. Their constant wars and love of independence have driven them to build villages on inaccessible cliffs, with places of refuge and grain stores on the remotest and most inaccessible crags. The French entered the country in 1845, but the tribes, true to their traditions, continued to give trouble for five years until reprisals were taken by the destruction of Nara on the Wadi Abter. The unequal struggle did not even end there, and further military operations were necessary in 1859 and again in 1879.

These curious people are among the purest of the Berbers. By a trait in their character, common but less pronounced in other branches of the race, they acquired, and are almost the last people to retain, some knowledge of Arab science. But not uninfluenced by the culture of others, they kept their own ideals. The civilization of Rome, for instance, permeated them sufficiently for a number of Latin words, including the names of the months, to survive in their dialect. Even their later association with Islam did not efface these recollections. The instruments which they possess and the medical operations which they perform, especially those connected with trepanning the skull. have attracted considerable attention. Their skill is as remarkable as is the survival of knowledge at so distant a date from the time when the Arabs, who have long since forgotten it, were practising the art. Among the Aures Berbers, the faculty of learning from others more fortunately situated than themselves, and at the same time their jealous maintenance of freedom and independence are intensely interesting in combination with one another. Their receptiveness and retentiveness render it probable that at the time of Hassan ibn Noman's campaign they were possessed of a certain degree of Roman culture.

It is interesting to consider the value of Ibn Khaldun's statement that the noblest tribes of the Aures people, the Jerawa, professed the Jewish faith, whereas the other Berbers of North Africa were Christians. Christianity here as elsewhere during this period was not of the purest. The Donatist dispute had given rise to many struggles; in so far as the Berbers were concerned it represented a nationalist rather than a religious movement. Heterodoxy among them became an expression of the desire to be rid of the Byzantines, of the influence, in other words, of foreigners who had come from the eastern shores of the Mediterranean to a land already inhabited by a conscious national entity. It is curious that when the Berbers eventually for better or for worse accepted Islam, many of them continued to manifest their independence by practising the Abadite heresy; from being heterodox Christians they became heterodox Moslems. This was especially the case in the Tripolitan mountains where the Donatist persuasion had formerly been particularly prevalent.

That the Berbers should have adopted Christianity seems natural in so receptive a people with no alternative between paganism in a crude form and this religion, or some type of Greek philosophy

for which they were temperamentally unsuited. The statement, however, that a non-Semitic people became converted to Judaism needs much evidence to be convincing. Judaism is a profoundly nationalist religion, but nationalist for the Jews in particular, or at the most for the Semites in general, and not for the Berbers. The point hardly requires labouring. Among this people the statement made by Ibn Khaldun probably does not mean more than that the Jerawa had adopted some form of monotheism. In the light of their history it is inconceivable that this people should have worshipped the Lord God of Israel—the One True God they may have come to believe in, but not under the name of the Lord Jehovah.

The Berber historians explain the Judaism of the Jerawa by the traditional migration of the whole race from Syria at a time coeval with Goliath, who had been one of their kings; they parted company from the Philistines and the Canaanites to found new homes in Africa. The empiric ethnology of Ibn Khaldun, however, hardly stands the test of serious inquiry. The origin of the Libyans may, and perhaps must be looked for in the east, unless we are prepared to accept the view that the Sahara was the cradle of the race. But if they came to Africa from that direction the movement must have taken place at a time considerably anterior to the evolution of anthropomorphic monotheism as a religious conception in Syria or Arabia: and even if the Jerawa did in fact belong to the Jewish faith, it is unnecessary to presuppose an ethnological connexion with Syria at a comparatively recent date, when contact with the very ancient Jewish agricultural colonies all over North Africa is sufficient to explain the phenomenon. The origin of the latter would form the subject of a very interesting study, but the question is too complicated to discuss in this essay. It seems easier to assume that the Jerawa, instead of becoming Christians with all their heresies and schisms, simply adopted a monotheistic belief in the place of the more primitive creeds which they had outgrown. It would be more pertinent to consider whether their monotheism was of local growth or indirectly due to the spread of such beliefs from the east.

The woman who took up the challenge of Hassan ibn Noman was known to the Arabs as Dihyat el Kahena. She was the daughter of Tabeta, the son of Tifan of the Jerawa tribe, which had always provided the kings of the Abter division, one of the two main divisions of the Berbers in Ifrikiya. When Hassan marched out against her on his way to reconquer the west, he found the Queen ready. She

did not await his coming to defend herself in her mountains but advanced to meet him.

Hassan may be supposed from various indications to have marched directly towards the Aures from his capital at Kairuan. On his road lay Tebessa, the Roman military station of Theveste and the city of Saint Augustin. The place had been the headquarters of the IIIrd (Augusta) Legion during the whole of the first century A.D. before its removal to Lambessa where it was stationed for two centuries more. Both Theveste and Lambessa were military posts strategically situated for watching the turbulent semi-nomads and mountaineers of the Aures and neighbouring massifs. Lambessa, at the N.W. corner of the Aures, was otherwise important as the guardian of the north-western approaches to the massif where access is perhaps easiest from the Maghreb ; it also happened to lie in the gap by which the desert people could find a comparatively easy road into the more settled districts of Algeria. It served both to defend the gateway of the desert and the western approaches to the Aures and Tunisia. So important is the site that in modern times the French have established a military post for precisely the same motives at Batna in the immediate vicinity.

The reasons which induced Hassan to march in this direction are therefore patent. From Theveste he was no doubt making for Lambessa itself, which was under the domination of the people of the Aures : to hold this place was necessary for a further advance westwards. He seems to have been proceeding round the northern slopes of the mountains when Kahena emerged from the fastness and obliged him to prepare for battle on the Miskiana River. She had assumed the offensive and pursued her advantage by attacking the Arab position. A hard battle ensued with considerable carnage : it terminated in the complete defeat of the Arabs, who were turned in headlong flight. Kahena pursued them eastwards out of the country and into Tripolitania. Hassan betook himself to Tripoli where he received peremptory orders from the Khalifa Abd el Melek to establish himself and await reinforcements which were promised should be sent from Egypt.

The various accounts which we have of this campaign are not entirely clear. El Bekri states that Kahena had attacked Hassan's vanguard directly he enter Ifrikiya and apparently before the assault on Kairuan and Carthage ; her advanced troops were commanded by one of Koseila's generals, and Hassan was driven out of the country

to consolidate himself behind the Qsur Hassan in Tripolitania. From this we may infer that when the Arabs re-entered Tunisia in A.H. 68 they were immediately confronted by the light troops of the Berber army which scored some slight initial successes. But Ibn Khaldun and El Noweiri's accounts of the fall of Kairuan and Carthage and the subsequent battle on the Miskiana River are sufficiently circumstantial to be regarded as the true sequence of events; El Bekri was engaged in giving a geographical rather than a historical description of the country. This authority states that Hassan built two forts at a point where there are a few gardens and some brackish water, to the west of Tripoli on the road to Ifrikiya, possibly at the place known as El Hassa on the present Franco-Italian boundary. Ibn Khaldun, however, also mentions the Qsur Hassan, and in accepting his version of the story it may legitimately be concluded that after the battle of the Miskiana River, there occurred the further events which included another reverse involving the Arab rearguard in disaster. It was in the course of this pursuit of Hassan's defeated army that one of his generals was killed and many prisoners were taken near Gabes. This fighting accelerated his rout and rendered his withdrawal as far east as Tripoli inevitable. He only succeeded with difficulty in consolidating his position there by building the advanced posts at the point described by El Bekri.

Kahena had been completely successful. She had achieved more than her predecessors. Even Koseila had only chosen a favourable moment to rebel, whereas Kahena had deliberately challenged a fresh and victorious Arab army in open battle, and had routed it utterly and absolutely.

It is unfortunate that we know so little of the early part of Kahena's life. She had been the leader of her own tribe and *ipso facto* nominal chief of the Aures if not of the whole Abter division of Berbers, since before the advent of the Arabs to Ifrikiya in A.H. 27. After the death of Koseila she actually became the principal personage among the Berbers. She only assumed an active rôle, however, as military leader when the country was again endangered by the advance of Hassan ibn Noman. If he had left Egypt in 68 this would have occurred in about 69 or 70. She must already have lost her father Tabeta when she assumed the leadership of the Jerawa in 27; her mother also had probably died, or the responsible position which she acquired would hardly have fallen to her lot among a people living under a matriarchal system whereby honour and authority are given to the senior women

of princely families. But Kahena can hardly have been less than about 15 years old when she became the head of her tribe, so that her age must have been at least 57 in the year of the battle of the Miskiana. Such activity at the early age of 15 and as late in life as 60 is not unusual among the women of North Africa, where they grow up quickly, remain beautiful in the flower of their lives for only a short time, but continue for many years in wisdom and authority. Survivals of the matriarchal system are sufficient to explain her position among the Berbers. It would not have been extraordinary or very unusual.

In her lonely and responsible life she had two sons of her own, but the name of her husband is not recorded. The little that is told of her personality is tantalizing. During the battle of the Miskiana River she captured a number of Arab prisoners, including one Khaled ibn Yezid, or Yezid ibn Khaled, el Kaisi. His name suggests a connexion with the friend of Okba, Zoheir ibn Kais, who was killed in Barca : he is spoken of as a person of importance, but his origin is obscure. Khaled, we are told, was saved by Kahena, who " adopted him as her son ". It is a curious story of which we would like to know more. Why did the Queen, who was fighting the Arabs with all her strength, adopt one of the enemy as her son ? She had two sons of her own who were old enough to command detachments of her army. If, as is probable, Kahena had married when she was young, they would have been between 40 and 50 years old. But Khaled was not a child ; nor, in the light of after events, was he even a young man. What was this affection which prompted her to incur a risk that she must have foreseen might turn out so terribly badly, as indeed it did ? Her action implies that outwardly, at least, he must have shown some devotion for the queen ; their relationship implied his conscious assent. But in an age where the fate of prisoners in war was more usually death, he displayed his gratitude by playing the part of a spy. He reported the queen's every movement to Hassan ibn Noman at Tripoli, and continued in his disloyalty for six years until he committed his final act of treachery. It is inconceivable that he should have succeeded in carrying on his disloyal correspondence for so long without Kahena hearing of his activities. The country was hostile to his intentions, and to his race. He must inevitably have been the object of jealous suspicion and surveillance on the part of the Berbers surrounding the queen. She did not believe what she must have been told. She neither drove him out nor rewarded him with the punishment he deserved, and when the end came she gave him his life ; more than that, she ensured his personal safety. Kahena

lost her kingdom, her country, and her life, but Khaled ibn Yezid was saved by her.

The Arabs, as her name implies, attributed to Kahena divine inspiration, or the gift of seeing into the future. The familiar spirits foretold her destiny: they were after all perhaps nothing more than the wisdom and understanding which she possessed, for intuition and foresight have ever been esteemed as prophecy among people of grosser capacity. As soon as the campaign had been brought to a close, she returned to organize the government of Ifrikiya through the tribal chiefs of all those people who recognized her authority. That she should have ruled from Kairuan, as Koseila did before her, is inherently probable and the supposition is borne out by certain scraps of evidence. The site of her last battle against the Arabs is said to have been near Kairuan; it is quite likely to have occurred near the Roman amphitheatre of El Jem, which is known to have been her fortress, some 40 miles to the south-east near the coast. Although there are few indications of the period during her wars when it was used as a military work, the fact that her first campaign began on the Miskiana River and terminated in a running fight on the frontiers of Tripolitania, point to her having fortified the amphitheatre during the second and last campaign against Hassan ibn Noman. If the accounts which have been given are in any sense true, the fighting in 69 was hardly of such a nature as to require the provision of strong points by the Berbers, nor had she by then exercised her authority as far east as Kairuan.

Of the Franks there still remained a certain number in the country, in the old Roman coloniæ. These also submitted to the Queen. Her kingdom extended over a vast area from the borders of Tripolitania as far as, and including Morocco. It stretched down into the desert to Ghadames on the southern spurs of the Tripolitan mountains where the great road from the Mediterranean runs to Central Africa by way of Ghat and the mountains of Air. In Ghadames, the entrepot of caravans, her memory was preserved long after her death in the name given to a number of underground structures which in the days of El Bekri were called the Prisons of Kahena. Elsewhere her kingdom skirted the desert to the south of the Aures mountains and along the steppes of Algeria. Though she herself has become nameless in the lapse of years, her legend has survived among the Veiled People of the Desert in Air; they have heard of the Great Queen who fought the Arabs and resisted the conquerors of the Noble People in the country of the north.

Following her own inclinations and the accepted tradition of the

Berbers, she forgave the Arabs who had fought against her and released the prisoners taken in battle. And there was peace in the land for five years.

At length Hassan ibn Noman received the reinforcements which had been promised from Egypt and in A.H. 74, or perhaps even later, returned to Ifrikiya to fight Kahena. The queen foresaw the magnitude of the struggle in which she would be involved, but her lack of initiative during the five years' truce is difficult to explain: it was responsible for her downfall. She may have been misled by Khaled ibn Yezid: she was certainly placed at a disadvantage by losing the liberty of offensive action. Even if she had not attacked Hassan in Tripolitania while he was recuperating, and driven him further east, she should at least have taken the field directly he approached Ifrikiya. Instead, she adopted a policy which was magnificent but fatal among people who lacked her own strength of mind and determination. She ordered the systematic destruction of her country in front of the Arabs in order to delay their advance, and stultify their conquest. Her short rule had been prosperous and successful: but she made ready to destroy the wealth of the land which she had rebuilt, after fighting to maintain its freedom. The execution of her orders provoked intense dissatisfaction. That they were executed at all is remarkable in itself. Traditionally the denudation of Tunisia has been attributed to the queen, but the accusation is probably unjust, for the century long misrule of the Arabs is sufficient to account for the poverty of the country. Until the advent of the French in quite modern times it did not recover sufficiently to compare in any way with the picture which we have in classical times of a land covered with happy towns and villages. Even now there are only bare rocks and dry watercourses around many of the ruined sites. Both the severity of her orders and their execution are characteristic; Ibn Khaldun says that "the land from Tripoli to Tangier with its crowded villages showed naught but ruins".

The Franks made indecent haste to secure their own terms by going over to Arabs. Many of the dissatisfied Berbers, represented by the bastardized sedentaries of the coastal districts, who certainly had more to lose than the semi-nomads of the mountains and interior, followed suit. They were induced to desert their leader by the promises of Hassan, who felt it politic to announce a general amnesty to all who would embrace Islam. It was perhaps natural that they should do so. They had often done so in the past with the mental reservation

that when a propitious moment arrived they could always rebel once more. The leniency of Hassan's terms and his preparatory intrigues which savoured almost of compromise with the enemies of his faith, prove how serious a task he anticipated.

Kahena at last apprehended the danger of the situation, or as the Arabs said, her divine counsellors foretold that the end was not far off. She must at this time have been nearer 70 than 60 years old. Frankish treachery and Berber faint-heartedness surrendered Gabes, in the south of Tunisia, directly Hassan advanced. Nefzawa and Castilia were occupied shortly afterwards. As he moved northward, Kahena sent her two sons in charge of Khaled ibn Yezid to make their terms with the conqueror. Hassan accorded them mercy and made them honourable prisoners of war in charge of his officers. To recompense him for his services, Khaled was offered command of a detachment of the invading army and directed to attack his lady. He accepted the task with alacrity, and was engaged in the last battle which Kahena was ever to fight. The treachery of the Franks and of Khaled and the weakening of the Berbers in the towns had undermined the resistance of the population.

Near to the coast, and about two days' march from Kairuan, is the Roman amphitheatre of El Jem. It is only a little smaller than the Colosseum at Rome and of the same design. It stands nearly perfect, overshadowing a small Arab village which has been built from a tiny part of its stones. The site is that of the Roman town of Thysdrus, but except for the circus the place has disappeared. The olive yards which surrounded the prosperous colonia of the third century A.D., where Gordian had been proclaimed Emperor in 283, were ordered by Kahena to be cut down. The plains all about are now interminable and bare. The amphitheatre looms up as a splendid landmark for miles in every direction. There are hardly any trees or gardens or vegetation near. The monument stands alone, overpowering in its size and solitude.

Here Dihiyat el Kahena made her castle. Here, I think, she fought her last battle, deserted by her sons, betrayed by Khaled ibn Yezid, and abandoned by all save her own loyal tribes from the Aures. She was attacked by the Arabs, who were victorious.

There is little to add. Hassan called upon the Berbers to surrender, and proclaimed the amnesty which he had promised to all who would accept the True Faith. He demanded 12,000 auxiliaries for his army from among the people, and placed Kahena's two sons in command.

But the Queen herself he failed to conquer. She had given no thought to safety or surrender for herself. She had expected to fall in battle, but her tribes fought too well. They broke through the Arab forces and escaped with the old queen. She made her way with the loyal remnants of her army to the mountains 300 miles away to the west. The Arabs finally came up in pursuit, and the vision of her familiar spirit came true. She was killed in a last fight with the invaders at a place which thereafter was called the Well of Kahena in the Mountains of Aures. In all her 70 years she never gave in. Had she escaped right into the mountains which were her home I am sure she would have fought for her people again.

The monument of her life is the fortress circus of El Jem, which stands alone and huge on the arid plains of Ifrikiya near the borders of the country that she had ruled and defended so well against an alien people. The monument of her death is a well in the Valleys of Aures, which divide the Desert from the Sown.

THE DATE OF ZOROASTER[1]

By JARL CHARPENTIER

IN a review of Professor Hertel's recent little book *Die Zeit Zoroasters*, to be published in the *JRAS.*, I have said that for his very wide-reaching conclusions concerning the date of Zoroaster there seems in reality to be no evidence at all. A renewed investigation of the facts which seem to bear on this intricate question has only corroborated this opinion: and as there could be no room for a detailed refutation of Professor Hertel's arguments in a short review, I feel it a duty to set forth, in somewhat fuller detail, the main points which speak, as far as I understand, against his new theory.

Professor Hertel's general conclusion is (p. 47) that Zoroaster must have been alive in 522 B.C., and probably after that date also. This, I venture to think, would be somewhat the same thing as to assume that Anquetil Duperron was right in trying to fix his dates between 589 and 512 B.C.,[2] tradition unanimously telling us that at his death the Prophet of Iran was seventy-seven years old. This is slightly later than the traditional date: for the revelation of Zoroaster, according to the Būndahišn, Zāt-sparam, and Ardā-Virāf, took place either 272 years before the death of Alexander (323 B.C.), or just 300 years before the great conqueror dealt his blow to the religion—an event which is generally believed to have taken place in 330 B.C., the year after the decisive battle of Gaugamela. This would mean that the revelation took place in 630 B.C.: as according to tradition Zoroaster was, at the date when he first reached spiritual insight, thirty years old, his life should either have fallen between 660–583 B.C.—the dates suggested by West and Professor Jackson—or between 625–548 B.C.

The utter worthlessness of this Pahlavi tradition has been strongly underlined by that great historian, Eduard Meyer,[3] and Professor Hertel seems to be quite prepared to subscribe to this authoritative

[1] I prefer this form of the name for several reasons, amongst which one is that the late lamented Dr. Gauthiot and Professor Andreas have undoubtedly proved that the man's original name was not *Zaraθuštra*, but something like *Zuraθuštra*; cf. *Mémoires Soc. Ling.*, xvi, 318 seq.; *Sitzungsber. Berl. Akad.*, 1910, p. 872; *Goetting. Nachrichten*, 1911, p. 9.

[2] Cf. *Zend-Avesta*, Tome i, ii, p. 60 seq.

[3] Cf. *Zeitschrift fur vergleichende Sprachforschung*, xlii, 1, n. 2.

opinion (p. 22). But notwithstanding this, he would fain assume that this miserable tradition is fairly right when it comes to fixing the date of Zoroaster. How this is possible I leave to Professor Hertel to explain. He himself apparently thinks the date of Zoroaster to be the central point of Pahlavi traditional chronology (p. 23); but if, after all, the most important date in a tradition, the date on which it really bases its chronological system, be fairly right, how could such a tradition be wholly without value?

I now take up the main points of Professor Hertel's argumentation in order to find out how far it may hold good when treated in a somewhat critical way.

1. Professor Hertel first of all draws our attention to the discrepancy between the Gāthās of Zoroaster and the well-known description of Persian religion given us by Herodotus (i, 131–40). In this connexion the Professor's contention that Herodotus "bereiste das Perserreich" must be somewhat modified: Herodotus very probably never went to the east of Babylon, which in reality means that he never came into any personal touch with Iran proper; moreover, his interpretation of Persian names shows that he knew absolutely nothing of the Iranian languages. These are somewhat important observations to be taken into consideration before we start upon a close comparison between the Gāthās and the History of Herodotus.

The Gāthās are the inspired preachings of a great Prophet, in which he tells us of the eternal war waged between the Good and the Evil Spirit, and of his own visions of the Almighty and His archangels; in which, above all, he complains, of the fury and cruelty of the kine-slaughtering unbelievers and—much like Muḥammad—utters gloomy prophecies of their future life in the abode of darkness and tortures, while his own faithful adherents will, after a time of pain and oppression, get their reward of glorious and everlasting bliss. Is it quite fair to expect that in these magnificent hymns we should find those regulations concerning the disposal of the dead, the extirpation of obnoxious creatures, etc., mentioned by Herodotus? Do the Psalms of the Old Testament contain the ceremonial law of Moses? Do the Varuṇa hymns of the Rigveda contain the minute regulations of the later ritualists?

Herodotus, on the other hand, was a scientific and keen-sighted traveller and investigator who described in detail what he saw and what he learnt through his interpreters—mainly in an admirably correct way, but with numerous slight inexactitudes. He does not

mention Zoroaster nor his Gāthās; nor does he tell us about the lofty system of eternal dualism preached in these hymns. The *argumentum ex silentio* is that he never heard of all these things; though such arguments must be applied with due care, I am quite prepared to think that it holds good, and the reason is that I can see no necessity whatsoever for Herodotus to have heard of such things.[1]

2. Professor Hertel has not found it worth his while to consult the excellent work of Professor Carl Clemen, *Die Griechischen und Lateinischen Nachrichten über die Persische Religion*,[2] and one of the consequences of this is that he has treated with negligence classical evidence of first-rate importance. Xanthus of Lydia, an older contemporary of Herodotus, wrote about the middle of the fifth century B.C. his *Λυδιακά*, of which only fragments have been preserved. Their genuineness has been doubted, but the very highest authorities are at one in rejecting those doubts as wholly unfounded.[3] Now, Diogenes Laërtius, *Prooem.* 2, has preserved the following notice from this Xanthus: *Ξάνθος δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς εἰς τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζωροάστρου ἑξακισχίλιά φησι.* This Xanthus, who was, according to Ephoros,[4] somewhat older than Herodotus, must have been a grown man at the date of the descent of Xerxes upon Greece (480 B.C.), and he must, if Professor Hertel were right, have been born at a date within ten years from the death of Zoroaster, or possibly even in his lifetime. Is it possible that a native of Asia Minor, a subject of the Great King, could have ascribed to a man who had lived and preached very nearly within his own lifetime a wholly mythical date of some 6.000 years previous to his own? *Credo quia absurdum.*

3. If we now keep together these two sets of evidence: the one the description of Herodotus of what seems to be mainly the old Aryan religion and his complete ignorance of Zoroaster and his doctrines, and the other the suggestion of his older contemporary, Xanthus of Lydia, that Zoroaster's real date was something like 6480 B.C., what is then the legitimate inference that we can draw from this? Professor Hertel has himself pointed out the right way

[1] There is, however, a strange coincidence between the words of Herodotus (i. 131), *τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντες*, and the expression in Yasna xxx. 5, that Ahura Mazda "dresses himself in the firmest heavens". But this is a common Iranian idea.

[2] *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, xvii, 1 (Giessen, 1920).

[3] Cf. Clemen, loc. cit., p. 23.

[4] Athen. *Deipnosophistæ*, xii, 515 D.

when he remarks that there is little Zoroastrianism in the later Avesta because the Magi had put their older religion into it; but he has failed to draw the correct conclusion. The testimonies of Herodotus and Xanthus taken together show that *Zoroaster had lived centuries before their time*, and that *the religion observed and described by Herodotus was simply that of the later Avesta*.[1]

4. Professor Hertel seems to lay stress on the fact (p. 16) that Cyrus, in a Babylonian inscription, calls himself King of Babylon and worships Marduk as the highest god, while he makes no mention of Ahura Mazda. Unfortunately, this proves absolutely nothing. Cyrus conquered Babylon and with it the Babylonian gods, amongst whom Marduk was the supreme one; as King of Babylon he had, of course, to worship the gods of that city—i.e. if he was wise and tolerant, and nothing seems to prove that in religious matters he was not. It has escaped Professor Hertel that with the extension of Achæmenian power over Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Asia Minor began that period of syncretism, which resulted in the most important religious movements of the Near East before, during, and after the beginning of our era.

For the original religion of Cyrus his worship of Marduk proves nothing. We may even, in this connexion, remember the notice of Strabo, *Geogr.* xv, 3, 6, according to which Cyrus was earlier called *Ἀγραδάτης*, i.e. *Ahuradāta*, a Zoroastrian name. This notice may be late and without value, though it is curious enough; but we are reminded here of the arguments of Professor Andreas according to which *Kūruš* or *Kūraš* is not an Aryan name. It may have been a name—or even a title—taken by the conqueror at a later date as a substitute for the original *Ahuradāta*. This would tally well with what I have tried to prove elsewhere,[2] viz. that the Achæmenians—and other Iranian princes as well—had sometimes double names, one of which was in reality a title.

5. Professor Hertel repeatedly contends that Vīštāspa, the protector of Zoroaster, must be identical with Vīštāspa (Hystaspes),

[1] Professor Hertel himself points to the coincidence between Herodotus, i. 140: *οἱ δὲ δὴ Μάγοι αὐτοχειρίῃ πάντα πλὴν κυνὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπου κτείνουσι, καὶ ἀγώνισμα μέγα τοῦτο ποιεῦνται κτείνοντες ὁμοίως μύρμηκάς τε καὶ ὄφις καὶ τἆλλα ἑρπετὰ καὶ πετεινά*, and certain regulations in the Vendīdād (cf. *Die Zeit Zoroasters*, p. 51); but not even this has made him hesitate. Those same regulations apparently prevailed amongst the Iranian Kambojas according to *Jātaka* vi, 208, 27 seq. (cf. E. Kuhn, *Avesta Studies in Honour of Peshotanji*, p. 214; Nariman, *JRAS.*, 1912, p. 255 seq.; Charpentier, *Zeitschr. fur Indologie*, ii, p. 145).

[2] Cf. *Zeitschr. fur Indologie*, ii, p. 140 seq.

the father of Darius I. If that were the case, Zoroaster must, of course, needs be an older contemporary of Darius. The whole of the Professor's latest book, *Achæmeniden und Kayaniden*[1] (1924), goes to prove that same thing, and he apparently believes himself to have established this fact beyond any possible doubt.

I take it for granted that Professor Hertel has succeeded, with immense energy, in proving the non-existence of a Kayanian dynasty in ancient Iran; this work is certainly a meritorious one, though I was not aware that those old "Kayanians" had many faithful believers nowadays, especially as they have never been very useful for chronological purposes. But it should always be observed that if also, as Professor Hertel says, the word *Kavi* always means "king, monarch" in the Avesta, there is no absolute impossibility that it could also have been the proper name of an old dynasty. This, however, is beside the main question. What is far more important is that Professor Hertel has in no wise succeeded in proving the "Kayanians" to be wholly identical with the Achæmenians—quite the opposite: for to everyone who looks at them with an unprepossessed mind it is quite obvious that they are not. Nor has Professor Hertel adduced even a shadow of proof for the identity of the Kavi Vīštāspa with Hystaspes, the father of Darius; to him, as to older upholders of this theory, the proof is in the identity of the names, and it must be confessed that this is far less than is needed in order to establish this vital identity. Moreover, what Professor Hertel says[1] about Hutaosā (*Ἄτοσσα*) is wholly fanciful: the historical Atossa was the daughter of the great Cyrus and the wife of Cambyses, Pseudo-Smerdis, and Darius I: the Hutaosā of the Avesta, whosoever she was, is meant in the text at least to be the wife of Vīštāspa. Where, one may well ask, is the point of comparison between these two? That the tradition—also in the Avesta—unanimously calls the father of Vīštāspa *A(u)rvat-aspa* (Lōhrasp), while the father of Hystaspes was, according to the inscriptions and Herodotus, called *Aršāma* (*Ἀρσάμης*), is well known to Professor Hertel: but he does not offer a single sound reason to explain this all-important fact.

6. If with Professor Hertel we should believe that Zoroaster was still alive in 522 B.C. and lived perhaps some—let us say ten—years longer, he ought, according to tradition, to have been sixty-seven at that date. As he was already forty-two when he succeeded in converting Vīštāspa, this must have happened about 547 B.C.,

[1] *Achæmeniden und Kayaniden*, p. 80 seq.

i.e. twenty-five years before the date in which, following Hertel, the 53rd Yasna, the *Vahištōišti Gāθā*, was composed. This Gāthā was, according to tradition, recited at the wedding of J̌āmāspa with the Prophet's youngest daughter, Pouručistā. Now, if I am able to follow Professor Hertel correctly, Vīštāspa would in 522 B.C. have been a man of about sixty, and his faithful minister J̌āmāspa, who was with him already when Zoroaster came to him the first time, and who was, moreover, one of the first converts, must certainly have been a man of about that same age. Does it seem very probable that at the age of about sixty and some twenty-five years after his conversion he should have married the youngest daughter of his spiritual teacher ?

This argument, I admit, is somewhat on the lines of Professor Hertel himself. But it holds just as good as, or better, than his argumentation concerning the date of composition of the 53rd Yasna.[1]

7. Professor Hertel seems quite willing to admit that the god Ahura Mazda is a creation of Zoroaster himself, that he did not exist—at least not with that name—before the time of the Prophet. With this I heartily concur. But when he goes on to say (loc. cit., p. 18) that we have no historical testimony of Ahura Mazda's existence earlier than the Bīsutūn inscription of Darius I, I must protest just as vigorously. Professor Hertel seems to have wholly forgotten the word *Assara Mazāš* brought to light long ago by Hommel[2] from a clay tablet of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria (668–626 B.C.), which cannot well be anything but another form of the name of the great Iranian god,[3] and brings him back at least to the middle of the seventh century B.C.

But we have still older evidence, which Professor Hertel has tried in vain to invalidate.[4] This is found in a clay prism first discovered

[1] Cf. *Die Zeit Zoroasters*, p. 44 seq.

[2] Cf. *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1899, pp. 127, 132, 137 seq.

[3] In this connexion a word of protest should be laid against the conclusions which Dr. H. Sköld has tried, in *JRAS.*, 1924, p. 265 seq. (recently repeated in *Finnisch-Ugrische Forsch.*, xvi, 277 seq.), to found upon this *Assara Mazāš*. Of course, we know nothing about the time when the name became familiar to the Assyrians. What we really know is this : (1) In the famous text from Boghaz-köi, dating from the early fourteenth century B.C., we have a form *Na-ša-at-ti-ia*, i.e. *Nāsatya* with preserved *-s-* ; this form can neither be " Indian " (I leave it to Dr. Husing and others to believe that the rulers of the Mitani were Hindus) nor " Indo-iranian ". It belongs, of course, to the Iranian invaders from Media, and shows that at this time *-s-* was still preserved in Iranian dialects. (2) The Gāthās, the oldest literary document in an Iranian language, have throughout altered *-s-* > *-h-* ; they may well date from about 1000 B.C., though they were, of course, written down much later. This is all so far.

[4] Cf. *Die Zeit Zoroasters*, p. 36 seq.

and published by George Smith, which contains a list of twenty-three Median princelings conquered by Sargon (722–705) during his Median campaign in 715–713 B.C. Amongst these names are two very notable ones, viz. *Ma-aš-da-ku* = *Mazdaku* and *Ma-aš-tak-ku* = *Maztaku*. Professor Eduard Meyer, several years ago,[1] laid great stress upon these names, and quite correctly pointed out that they must be derived from (Ahura) Mazda and thus proved him to be a god worshipped by the Medians in the eighth century B.C. If, as is highly probable, the religion of Zoroaster was first preached in Bactria, it must have taken some time before it spread to Media and found converts amongst its warrior-princelings.

Professor Hertel thinks that these conclusions are fallacious; but his reasons are very weak indeed. His philological argumentation is of a sort that one is somewhat astonished to meet with in a scientific work, and I shall pass it over in silence; but when he says that it is *a priori* improbable that these names should be derivations of (Ahura) Mazda because they would then be the only "theophore" names in this list, something must be said of such a method of arguing. First of all, if these names are the only ones in this list derived from the names of a deity, what does it matter? And further: is it not quite probable that the bearers of these names were true Zoroastrians, whose highest—and in one sense only—deity was (Ahura) Mazda, and who, consequently, took names only from him and not from obscure godlings? And does it seem to Professor Hertel that in the *older* stages of Iranian history and languages—as we find them before us in the Gāthās of the Avesta, the Achæmenian inscriptions, and Herodotus—there is any great abundance of "theophore" names? That is scarcely my own impression; and I suppose that their rarity is due to the Zoroastrian reform which substituted for the ancient polytheism the religion of Ahura Mazda, the One, Eternal, Almighty God. At a somewhat later period, when the old gods began to re-assume their positions, such names—especially those of the type *Miθradāta* (*Μιτραδάτης*), etc.—became more common.

There are several other objections to the method and results of Professor Hertel that I should like to raise here: but what has already been said seems to me quite sufficient to prove that his theories concerning Zoroaster rest on crumbling foundations. Professor Hertel's contributions to our knowledge of the Pañcatantra and the Indian fable-literature in general are far greater than those of any

[1] Cf. *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachforschung*, 42 (1909), p. 1 seq.

other living scholar, and have been read with admiration and gratitude by all; his recent works, on the other hand, seem to show that he is not in the same degree an eminent historian as a great philologist, and his ways of argumentation very often betray a lack of sound historical method and sense. I should like to sum up my short objections to his arguments with the following questions.

1. If, as he suggests, Zoroaster was still alive in 522 B.C. and somewhat later, and was on the very closest terms of intimacy with Vīštāspa (Hystaspes), the father of Darius I; and if this Darius was a fervent Zoroastrian—as seems to be shown by his frequent references to Ahura Mazda—how is it possible that his inscriptions are absolutely silent as well concerning the founder as concerning the chief doctrines of his paternal religion?

2. If Professor Hertel admits that Ahura Mazda is a creation of Zoroaster, how does he explain the occurrence of *Assara Mazāš* in the seventh century B.C., and what *valid* objections has he to raise to Eduard Meyer's explanation of the name *Mazdaku, Maztaku*, occurring in Media in the late eighth century B.C.?

3. How does Professor Hertel combine the narrative of Herodotus with the notice preserved from Xanthus of Lydia in a way so as to refute the combination suggested by me under section 3 above?

So much for Professor Hertel. If, on the other hand, we hold with Eduard Meyer, Andreas, Clemen, Bartholomæ, and others, that the date of Zoroaster is to be fixed somewhere in the neighbourhood of 1000-900 B.C.—or perhaps even somewhat earlier—one crucial point becomes clearer which so far has not been touched by Professor Hertel, viz. the interrelation of the language of the Gāthās with that of the Veda.[1] That they are closely connected no one has so far doubted. Now the Rigveda, if we look away from the exorbitant dates suggested by Professor Jacobi and the late B. G. Tilak, may in its oldest parts very well belong to the centuries following close upon the Aryan invasion in India, which may have taken place about or soon after 2000 B.C.[2] The metal spoken of in the Rigveda as

[1] I learn from *Ahrmuzden und Kajanieden*, p. 10, that the Professor thinks the greater part of the Rigveda to have been composed outside India proper in post-Zoroastrian times, i.e. according to the same authority, after 500 B.C. These ideas are so bold that no one can take them into account without some sort of evidence.

[2] We know quite well that an Aryan emigration went westwards to Media and Mesopotamia from Bactria and Sogdiana soon after 2000 B.C., and the invasion of India may well belong to the same period.

ayas is almost certainly, for linguistic and archæological reasons, "copper": but *śyāma* or *śyāmam ayaḥ*, which makes its entry in the later Vedas, means undoubtedly "iron". As the later metal seems to have begun to be used—as a rather precious and expensive material—somewhere about 1300–1200 B.C. and to have come into more common use in India as well as in Mesopotamia about 1000 B.C., it seems possible to conclude that the Yajurvedas which speak of "iron" may have been codified at some period about that same date. That the Gāthās should belong to that same period seems from philological reasons fairly probable.

Until new and *decisive* evidence becomes available—*if* ever it will—I think we had better hold to the opinion that Zoroaster was a religious reformer who preached the religion of Ahura Mazda in Bactria at some time about the beginning of the first millennium B.C. and at the court of a certain princeling called Vīštāspa. At what exact date writing was introduced into Iran escapes me, but that can at any rate scarcely have been later than about 600 B.C., and it came, of course, first to the West of Iran, Media, and Persia. From what has been said above it seems clear that the Mazda religion flourished in Media at least about 700 B.C. Is there anything unnatural in the idea that the worshippers of Mazda may have kept the tradition concerning the founder of their religion and his royal patron and may have begun to preserve it in writing even before the time of the great Achæmenians?

THE INFLUENCE OF "HLONIPA"[1] *ON THE ZULU CLICKS*

By C. U. Faye

1. Oertel, in *Lectures on the Study of Language*, writes (in the footnote on p. 304): "The effect of taboo on the lexicon of savage tribes deserves further investigation."

Bryant, p. 9 of the preface: ". . . it will be found that the *hlonipa* speech of the Zulu women has preserved words of the ancient Zulu language now quite obsolete, as well as many other words brought along by them from alien tribes from whom the men in remoter times had taken wives, and which words will now provide much elucidation for the ethnologist when tracing the origin and ancient history of these Zulu people."

2. When a Zulu word has to be *hlonipa'ed*, this can be done in three ways (Wg. *KG.*, pp. 143–4):—

3. A synonym may be substituted for the word to be *hlonipa'ed*. If a man's name is *U-Phepha* (from Z. *ili-Phepha*, "paper," from English "paper"), his wife may use, to indicate "paper", the word *ili-Khasi*, "a leaf," instead of *ili-Phepha*.

4. A word may be made up to take the place of the word to be *hlonipa'ed*. For *is-Andhla*, "hand," may be substituted *is-Amu'kelo*, literally "that which receives", from *Amu'kela*, "to receive."

In this category of *hlonipa* words may be put the argot of crime and sorcery. *I-nQola yom-Lilo*, "fire wagon," is used for "revolver"; cf. English, or, rather, American "smoke wagon."[2] *Ili-Phumalimi* (*ili*, prefix; *phuma*, "go out"; *li*, prefix; *mi* from *ma*, verb, "stand") = ("the beast" or "game") "that goes out standing up" is used in the language of sorcerers to denote Europeans, because the houses of white men have doors which enable one to go out upright, while one must go in and out of native huts on all fours.

5. The word to be *hlonipa'ed*, after having suffered a phonetic change, may be used for its unchanged form—generally another

[1] The spelling used throughout this paper is that adopted by Bryant in his *Zulu Dictionary*. *Hlonipa* should properly be written *hlonipha* (the *p* being aspirated), but the word being already in some degree familiar to English readers, I have thought it better to retain the more usual form.

[2] See the *Literary Digest*, 19th August, 1916, p. 424, under the heading "Do you speak 'Yeg'?"

consonant is substituted for the first consonant of the stem, for instance : *tshona* may be used as the *hlonipa* variant of *bona*.

6. As it seemed that the *hlonipa* words of this third category might throw some light on certain click words in the Zulu language, I have picked out the words of this category [1] from the " Vocabulary of the Hlonipa Language of the Zulu Women ", in Bt *D.*, p. 738 f., and arranged them as follows :—

(*a*) A non-click for a non-click.

(*b*) A click for a non-click (for the inclusion of *rr* among the clicks, see below, § 27).

(*c*) A click for a click.

(*d*) A non-click for a click.

In each case the word, together with its *hlonipa* variant (or variants), is separated from the next one by a semi-colon. The first word given is the word used in the general language, and the following word (or words) the *hlonipa* variant (or variants).

For the (?) after some words, see below, § 12.

7. *Non-click for non-click*

b for non-click :—

hla'kanipha : ba'kanipha ; um-Lotha, iNgqumathi, i-Ngqubathi ; um-Ntwana : um-Bana.

b plus another change (or other changes) for non-click :—

i-nDhlela : i-Nyatu'ko, i-mBhanu'ko.

p or *ph* plus another change (or other changes) for non-click :—

Dhlula : Phunda ; Name'ka : Phaqe'ka.

[1] Bryant (p. 738) explicitly states that his vocabulary of *hlonipa* words is not complete. It is, however, quite complete enough to exhibit the characteristics of the three categories of *hlonipa* words. In the lists, herewith appended, it has been attempted to include all words of the third category to be found in Bt's vocabulary. Some I may have omitted, because the phonetic change in the *hlonipa* form may have so modified it that I did not recognize it as being a mere phonetic variant of the word to be tabooed ; an example of a disguised form is *Qeda*, which is etymologically identical with *Feza* (§ 15). Again, it is possible that I have included in my lists synonyms (§ 3) whose form, happening to be similar to that of the tabooed word, has deluded me into thinking that they were formed according to the third method (§ 5). The word *i-nDali*, for instance, sometimes used as the *hlonipa* variant of *i-Mali*, is not formed from *i-Mali*, but is derived from Du. *vendutie* (or *vendusie*), see under *i-nDali*. The proportion of error, however, should not be so great as to prevent the lists from correctly exhibiting the general characteristics of the third category of *hlonipa* words ; hence, such errors as there may be, should not vitiate the value of the lists as being, on the whole, a tolerably stable foundation for the conclusions drawn at the end of this paper.

t or *th* for non-click :—

Khulu : Thulu : i-nKunzi : i-nZe'ka. i-nZetha : 'kwakhe : 'kwate ; 'kwakho : 'kwato ; 'kwami : 'kwati : shona : tona.

nt for non-click :—

Fa : Nta.

g for *z* :—

Azi : Agi ; Ozela : Ogela ; Za : Ga ; Zama : Gama ; ili-Zambhane : ili-Gambhane ; Zamula : Gamula ; ezantsi : egantsi ; ili-Ze : ili-Ge ; Ze'ka : Ge'ka ; ili-Zeze : ili-Geze ; um-Zimbha : um-Gimbha ; ili-Zinyane : ili-Ginyane ; Zwa : Gwa.

g plus another change (or other changes) for non-click, generally *z* :—

isi-Nene : isi-Gege : izolo : igoco ; ama-Zolo : ama-Goco (igoco and ama-Goco have *c* instead of *l* to avoid confusion with igolo (=ili-Golo) and its pl. ama-Golo).

k and *kh* for non-click (owing to Bt's spelling there may be some instances of *'k* here, which have escaped my attention—I am not certain of the pronunciation of *all* the words given. Bt uses *k* for both *k* and *'k*) :—

phezu : ekhezo ; ili-Sela : ili-Kela : um-Sebe : um-Kebe : um-Sipha : um-Kipha : ubu-So : ubu-Ko : Um-Thimbha : um-Kimbha.

k and *kh* plus another change (or other changes) for non-click:—

Bulala : Khilala (*i* substituted for *u*, probably to prevent confusion with Khulula) ; Buya : Khiya : Diliza : Khithiza ; Fumana : Khaphana ; Hosha : Khokha ; Lila : Khica ; um-Sizi : um-Kigi.

nk for non-click, often *s* or *nts* :—

i-nDhlu : i-Matshe'ko, i-nKatshe'ko ; Esaba : Enkaba : hle : nke ; 'kithi : 'kinki ; 'kwenu : 'kwenku : Sala : Nkala ; ulu-Sebe : ulu-Nkebe ; ili-Sela : ili-Nkela : ili-Sele : ili-Nkele ; Senga : Nkenga ; ubu-Senge : ubu-Nkenge : ulu-Si : ulu-Nki : sibe'kela : Nkibe'kela ; Si'ka : Nki'ka ; isi-Sila : isi-Nkila ; Sina : Nkina ; Sinda : Nkinda ; ulu-Singa : ulu-Nkinga : Sitha : Nkitha ; Sombhulu'ka : Nkombhulu'ka ; Sondela : Nkondela : ili-Su : ili-Nku ; ili-Sundu : ili-Nkundu ; Thi : Nki ; Thwasa : Entshesa, Enkesa ; i-nTsele : i-nKele ; i-nTsimbhi : i-nKimbhi ; i-nTsumpa : i-nKumpa ; u-Yise : u-Yinke.

nk plus another change (or other changes) for non-click :—

Hle'ka : Netsha, Nkesha ; ntambhama : nkazama ; Siza : Nki'ka ; ulu-Sizi : ulu-Nku'ki.

v for non-click :—

ili-Va : ili-Bangulo, ili-Vangulo.

f for non-click :—

um-Hla'kuva : um-Hlafuthwa.

h for non-click :—

Banga : Hanga ; Duma : Huma ; Fa'ka : Ha'ka ; Fana : Hana ; Khanu'ka : Hanu'ka.

h plus another change (or other changes) for non-click :—

Dabu'ka : Hantsu'ka ; Fudumeza : Hadameza ; Funa : Hana : Kaka : Haqa ; i-mVu'kuzi : ili-Hunguzi.

j for *bh* :—

Bhala : Jala ; ili-Bhamuza : ili-Jamuza ; um-Bhaqanga : um-Jaqanga ; Bheda : Jeda ; ili-Bheshu : ili-Jeshu ; Bhidhli'ka : Jidhli'ka ; Bhina : Jina ; Bhoboza : Joboza ; ili-Bhodhlela : ili-Jodhlela ; ulu-Bho'ko : ulu-Jo'ko ; ili-Bhulu'kwe : ili-Julu'kwe ; Bhuqa : Juqa.

j plus another change (or other changes) for *bh* :—

Bhebha : Jeja ; ulu-Bhici : ulu-Jixhi ; Bhobhoza : Jojoza ; Bhubha : Juja ; isi-Bhumbe : isi-Junge.

tsh for *b* :—

ili-Bandhla : ili-Tshandhla : um-Bani : um-Tshani ; banzi : tshanzi ; Bingelela : Tshingelela ; Bona : Tshona ; Bona'kala : Tshona'kala ; Bonga : Tshonga : isi-Bongo : isi-Tshongo ; ub-Oya : utsh-Oya : Bu'ka : Tshu'ka ; Buna : Tshuna : Bunga : Tshunga ; Busa : Tshusa ; Butha : Tshutha ; ili-Butho : ili-Tshutho ; obula : otshula : 'kwabo : 'kwatsho ; yebo : yetsho.

tsh plus another change for *b* :—

u-Baba : u-Tshatsha.

ntsh for *b* :—

ama-Bomu : ama-Ntshomu.

nj for *mbh* :—

Ambhula : Anjula : i-mBhabala : i-nJabala ; i-mBhobo : i-nJobo ; i-mbhongolo : i-nJongolo : i-mBhube : i-nJube ; i-Mbho : i-Njo ; Mbhoza : Njoza.

sh for *ph* :—

Aphula : Ashula ; lapha-ya : lasha-ya : Ophula : Oshula ; Pha : Sha : ulu-Phahla : ulu-Shahla ; Pha'ka : Sha'ka ; Pha'kama : Sha'kama ; phandhle : shandhle : Phanye'ka : Shanye'ka ; Phela : Shela ; Pheza : Sheza ; Phila : Shila : Phoqa : Shoqa ; Phosa : Shosa.

sh plus another change (or other changes) for *ph* :—

Phambhana : Shanjana ; phambhili : shanjili ; Phaphama : Shashama ; ulu-Phaphe : ulu-Shashe ; Phinda : Shinga.

tsh for *ph* :—

pha'kathi : tsha'kathi ; Phehla : Tshehla.

ntsh for *ph* :—

Opha : Ontsha.

ntsh for *mp* :—

impela : intshela ; i-mPahla : i-ntShahla ; i-mPandhla : i-ntShandhla ; i-mPethu : i-ntShethu.

j for *g* :—

ili-Gade : ili-Jade : ili-Goda : ili-Joda ; Godhla : Jodhla ; Godu'ka : Jogu'ka ; ili-Golo : ili-Jolo.

j plus another change for *h* :—

Hambha : Janga.

nj for non-click :—

i-nGozi : i-nJozi : ubu-Longwe : ubu-Name'ko, ubu-Njame'ko.

nj plus another change for non-click :—

i-nDoda : i-nJonga ; i-nKonkoni : i-nJongoni.

sh for *kh* :—

Khalima : Shalima : isi-Khathi : isi-Shathi ; Khwehlela : Shwehlela : um-Khomo : um-Shomo : um-Khondo : um-Shondo ; Khonza : Shonza : Khothama : Shothama ; um-Khuba : um-Shuba ; Khuhla : Shuhla : Khuluma : Shuluma : isi-Khumbha : isi-Shumbha : um-Khumbhi : um-Shumbhi : Khumu'ka : Shumu'ka ; isi-Khundhla : isi-Shundhla : Khuza : Shuza : ili-Khwapha : ili-Shwapha ; ubu-Khwe : ubu-Shwe : Khweza : Shweza.

sh for *th* :—

'kwethu : 'kweshu : Phuza : Matha, Masha : Thembha : Eshembha : isi-Thembhu : isi-Shembhu : Thola : Shola : Thuma : Shuma ; ulu-Thuthu : ulu-Shushu.

sh plus another change (or other changes) for non-click :—

Amu'ka : Ashuxa (?) : ili-Khanka : ili-Shantsha : Khipha : Shisha ; Khokha : Shosha : Lingana : Shi'kana.

tsh for *kh* :—

ili-Khala : ili-Tshala : Khawu'ka : Tshawu'ka : Khononda : Tshononda : um-Khosi : um-Tshosi : isi-Khwama : isi-Tshwama ; Khwela : Tshwela.

tsh for *k* :—

u-Makoti : u-Matshoti.

tsh for *th* :—

thina : tshina ; Thu'ka : Tshu'ka ; Thula : Tshula.

tsh for non-click :—

is-Adhla : is-Atsha ; Hleba : Tsheba ; ili-Liba : ili-Tshiba.

ntsh for non-click :—

de : ntshwe ; edwa : entshwa ; Hila : Hintsha ; i-nKala : i-nTshala ; Khalipha : Ntshalipha ; Khokha : Ntshokha ; Kholwa : Ntsholwa ; Khule'ka : Ntshule'ka ; Khumbhula : Ntshumbhula ; 'kodwa : 'kontshwa ; i-nKosana : i-nTshosana ; i-nKosi : i-nTshosi ; lodwa : lontshwa ; mpofu : ntshofu ; ngedwa : ngentshwa ; odwa : ontshwa ; The'kela : Entshe'kela ; Thena : Ntshena ; Tho'koza : Ntsho'koza ; Thusa : Ntshusa ; i-nTo : i-nTsho ; wedwa : wentshwa ; Xabana : Hingana, Hintshana ; yedwa : yentshwa.

ntsh plus another change (or other changes) for non-click :—

u-Khokho : u-Ntshotsho ; i-nKonkoni : i-nTshontshoni ; u-Nkonka : u-Ntshontsha ; i-nTethe : i-nTsheshe ; isi-Thwathwa : isi-Ntshwantshwa.

m for *ng* :—

i-nGane : i-Mane ; 'kanga'ka : 'kama'ka ; um-Ngoma : um-Moma.

m plus another change for non-click :—

i-nKonkoni : i-Moboni ; nga'ka : masha.

n for non-click :—

Akha : Ana ; Bala : Nala ; Bonga : Nonga ; Fa'kaza : Na'kaza ; um-Fazi : um-Nazi ; isi-Gaba : isi-Naba ; ili-Gatsha : ili-Natsha ; um-Hawu : um-Nawu ; Hawu'kela : Nawu'kela : Hlela : Nela ; Hlephu'ka : Nephu'ka ; um-Hlola : um-Nola ; Jabha : Nabha ; Jabula : Nabula ; Jiya : Niya ; i-nJobo : i-Nobo ; ulu-Jovela : ulu-Novela ; ili-Juba : ili-Nuba ; ili-Jwabu : ili-Nwabu ; Kholwa : Nolwa ; Khombha : Nombha ; um-Khuba : um-Nuba ; Khule'ka : Nule'ka ; Khuluma : Nuluma ; Khwela : Nwela ; i-nKonjane : i-Nonjane ; njalo : nalo ; njani : nani ; njenga : nenga ; Ntshinga : Ninga ; ili-Shiyi : ili-Niyi ; Sho : No ; ili-Shoba : ili-Noba ; Sola : Nola ; ulu-Thango : ulu-Nango ; Tho'koza : No'koza ; Tshele'ka : Enele'ka ; Ya : Na.

n with another change (or other changes) for non-click :—

i-mBabala : i-Nantshala ; Bambha : Nanga ; ulu-Bambho : ulu-Nango ; Hle'ka : Netsha ; Joja : Nona ; u-Khokho : u-Nono ; Mamathe'ka : Nanashe'ka ; Sebenza : Nebenda ; Shesha : Nena ; i-nTliziyo : i-Ningiyo ; ili-Tshe'ketshe : ili-Ne'kene ; ili-Vezamanzi : ili-Nezimada ; Zuza : Nuna.

nw for non-click :—

ulu-Andhle : ulu-Nwange ; Hlwabusa : Nwabusa.

ny for non-click :—

i-nDebe : i-nTshezo, i-Nyezo ; isi-Godhlo : isi-Nyodhlo ; Hambha : Nyambha ; ulu-Khambha : ulu-Nyambha ; i-Mambha : i-Nyambha.

ny with another change (or other changes) for non-click :—

u-Dade : u-Nyaze : Hlabelela : Nyibelela.

y for non-click :—

Bona : Yona : Bona'kala : Yona'kala ; um-Fazi : um-Yazi ; Funda : Yunda ; Thezu'ka : Yezu'ka ; um-Thezu'ka : um-Yezu'ka.

y with another change for *hl* :—

isi-Hlobo : isi-Yoco.

8. *Click for non-click*

c and *ch* for non-click :—

Ahlu'kana : Acu'kana ; Ahlula : Acula : Ala : Aca ; Alu'ka : Acu'ka ; Alusa : Aluca ; ili-Bhantshi : ili-Cantshi ; Bingelela : Cingelela ; Bonda : Conda ; Elama : Ecama ; Elapha : Ecapha ; Ele'ka : Ece'ka : Ena : Echa : Ene'ka : Ece'ka ; Eyisa : Ecisa ; Fa'kaza : Ca'kaza ; Fe'ketha : Ce'ketha ; Fisa : Cisa ; ili-Fu : ili-Cu ; Fudumeza : Hadameza, Chadameza ; Fu'kamela : Cu'kamela ; Fulathela : Culathela ; Fulela : Culela ; Funda : Cunda ; Funga : Cunga ; Fuphi : Cuphi ; Futhi : Chuthi, Cuthi ; Fuya : Cuya ; ili-Catsha : ili-Natsha, ili-Naca ; Gijima : Gicima ; Hlafuna : Cafuna : Hla'kaza : Ca'kaza ; um-Hla'kuva : um-Ca'kuva ; ulu-Hlangothi : ulu-Cangothi ; isi-Hlava : isi-Cava ; Hlawula : Cawula ; Hleba : Ceba ; ili-Hlobo : ili-Cobo ; isi-Hlobo : isi-Cobo ; Hlola : Cola ; Hloma : Choma ; ulu-Hlomo : ulu-Chomo ; Hlubu'ka : Cubu'ka ; Hluma : Cuma : ubu-Hlungu : ubu-Cungu ; Hlupha : Cupha : Hluphe'ka : Cuphe'ka : ulu-Hlupho : ulu-Cupho ; Huba : Cuba ; hlwa : cwa : ulu-Hlwayi : ulu-Cwayi : kusihlwa : kusicwa ; ulu-La'ka : ulu-Ca'ka : Lala : Giyama, Ciyama ; isi-Lalo : isi-Giyamo, isi-Ciyamo : um-Lamu : um-Camu ; Landela : Candela ; Lawula : Cawula : ulu-Lembhu : ulu-Cembhu ; Lenga : Cenga ; Letha : Cetha : Libala : Cibala : Linga : Cinga ; um-Lobo'kazi : um-Cobo'kazi ; um-Lozi : um-Cozi ; Lunga : Cunga ; ili-Lunga : ili-Cunga ; Lwa : Cwa : isi-Lwana'kazana : isi-Cana-'kazana ; Mangala : Cangala : mnene : mchene : u-Mona : u-Moca : Na'ka : Cha'ka : i-Nala : i-Chala ; Namathela : Chamathela ; i-Nanzi : i-Canzi ; isi-Nene : isi-Chene : Nenga : Cenga ; Netha :

Chetha ; Ni'ka : Chi'ka ; u-Nina : u-China ; i-Ningizimu : i-Chingizimu ; um-Nini : um-Chini ; Nona : Chona : ili-Noni : ili-Choni ; ili-Nono : ili-Chono ; Notha : Chotha ; Ntula : Chula ; um-Numzana : um-Chumzana ; umu-Nwe : umu-Chwe ; ulu-Nya : ula-Cha ; i-Nya'katho : i-Cha'katho : u-Nyawothi : u-Chawothi ; nye : chwe ; isi-Nye : isi-Che ; Ona : Ocha ; Ozela : Ocela ; pha'kathi : cha'kathi ; Phela : Chela ; Pheza : Cheza ; ili-Sela : ili-Cela ; ulu-Selwa : ulu-Celwa ; Shu'ka : Cu'ka : ili-So'ka : ili-Co'ka ; ulu-Su : ulu-Cu ; Sula : Cula ; Sutha : Cutha ; Swela : Cwela ; Thoba : Choba ; ili-Thwabi : ili-Chwabi ; Tshela : Cela ; Vuma : Chuma ; Ye'ka : Che'ka ; um-Yeni : um-Cheni ; Yovula : Chovula ; Zuza : Cuca.

c and *ch* plus another change (or other changes) for a non-click :—

u-Baba : u-Caca ; isi-Hlabathi : isi-Cangathi ; ili-Hlahla : ili-Caca ; Hla'kanipha : Cha'kanisha ; um-Hlandhla : um-Cangca ; ulu-Hlaza : ulu-Cwambha ; Mema : Ceca ; Minyana : Cinana ; mnandi : mncayi ; Phendula : Chengula ; ili-Sango : ili-Cha'ko ; Senga : Che'ka ; ulu-Swazi : ili-Thambho, ili-Cabo ; Thethelela : Cecelela ; ili-Thumbha : ili-Chusha ; Vambhulula : Cunulula ; Yala : Caya.

gc for non-click :—

ulu-Bhishi : ulu-Gcishi ; Du'ka : Gcu'ka ; endhle : egce ; umu-Hla : umu-Gca ; um-Hlola : um-Gcola ; umu-Nga : umu-Gca ; Vama : Gcama ; Veza : Gceza ; Vunda : Gcunda ; Vuthwa : Gcuthwa ; Zonda : Gconda.

gc plus another change for non-click :—

Donda : Gcongca ; u-Zagiga : u-Zagcigca.

nc for non-click :—

Biza : Longa, Nconga ; Enda : Enca ; im-Fene : i-Ncene ; ili-Fu : ili-Ncu ; i-mFuyo : i-Ncuyo ; Fuza : Ncuza ; isi-Ga : isi-Nca ; isi-Khathi : isi-Ncathi : Khononda : Ncononda ; Khonza : Nconza ; um-Khovu : um-Ncovu ; um-Khumbhi : um-Ncumbhi ; isi-Khwama : isi-Ncwama ; Shona : Ncona : Shumayela : Ncumayela ; ili-Thumbhu : ili-Ncumbhu ; i-nTlanzi : i-nCwambhi, i-nCanzi ; i-nTloni : i-nConi ; i-nTlonze : i-nConze ; i-nTlunu : i-nCunu ; i-mVubu : i-nCubu.

nc plus another change (or other changes) for non-click :—

Babaza : Ncamaza ; isi-Dwaba : isi-Ncwasha ; ili-Dwala : ili-Ncwasha ; i-mFene : i-nDangala, i-nCa'kala ; i-nTothoviyane : i-nCocoviyane.

ngc for non-click :—

Anda, Angca ; Azi : Angci ; Dhla : Ngca ; Dhlala : Ngcala ; Dumaza : Ngcumaza ; u'kw-Indhla : u'kw-Ingca ; i-mPi : i-Ngci ; Shaya : Ngcaya ; um-Shayo : um-Ngcayo ; Shinga : Ngcinga ; Vutha : Ngcutha ; i-mVuzi : i-nGcuzi.

ngc plus another change (or other changes) for non-click :—

Da'kwa : Ngcashwa ; Dela : Ngcesha : um-Khuhlane : um-Nyimbhane, um-Ngcishane ; i-nTlahla : i-nGcagca.

q, *qh*, *nq*, and *ngq* for non-click :—

Dhlula : Ngqula ; Du'ka : Nqu'ka ; Hlangana : Qingana ; Pha'kama : Qo'kama ; Phe'ka : Nitha, Qitha ; Thimula : Qhimula ; Thinta : Qhinqa ; i-nTuthu : i-nTunqa.

x, *xh*, *gx*, for non-click :—

ili-Bhanga : ili-Xhanga ; um-Bango : um-Xhango ; ili-Bhotwe : ili-Xhotwe ; Hluza : Xuza ; Hona : Xona ; umu-Hlwa : umu-Xwa ; Jabha : Gxabha ; Jabula : Gxabula : Jwayela : Exwayela ; Phezu : Xhezu.

x with another change for *j* :—

Jwayela : xwabela.

nx or *ngx* for *nj* :—

i-nDoda : i-nJeza, i-Nxeza ; njalo : ngxalo ; njani : ngxani ; nje : ngxe ; njenga : ngxenga.

rr for *d* (*rr* is not a click, but see below, § 27) :—

Dweba : Rrrwebha.

9. *Click substituted for non-click in addition to the first substitution*

The words in this section will be found above, in § 7, in the proper place for the first substitution.

c (plus first substitution) for non-click :—

isi-Hlobo : isi-Yoco ; izolo : igoco ; Lila : Khica ; isi-Lilo : isi-Khico ; ama-Zolo : ama-Goco.

q (plus first substitution) for non-click :—

Kaka : Haqa ; Name'ka : Phaqe'ka.

x (plus first substitution) for non-click :—

Amu'ka : Ashuxa.

10. *Click for Click*

c for *q* :—

Bo'ka : Qitha. Citha ; ili-Nqe : ili-Che ; isi-Nqe : isi-Che ; Nqena : Chena ; i-Nqulu : i-Chulu.

xh, *ngx* for *c*, *nc* :—

ulu-Bhici : ulu-Jixhi (see above, § 7, under "*j* plus another change (or other changes) for *bh* ") ; Ncenga : Ngxenga ; Ncinda : Ngxinda ; Ncinza : Ngxinza.

x, *gx*, *xh*, *ngx* for *q*, *gq*, *qh*, *nq*, *ngq* :—

Eqa : Exa ; Gqo'ka : Gxo'ka ; ili-Gqubu : ili-Gxubu ; u-Ngoqo : u-Ngogxa ; i-Ngqa'kala : i-Ngxa'kala ; i-Ngqondo : i-Ngxondo ; Nqaba : Ngxaba ; Nqanda : Ngxanda : isi-Nqe : isi-Ngxe ; Nquma : Ngxuma ; Qabu'ka : Xabu'ka ; Qambha : Xambha ; Qaphela : Xaphela ; Qatha : Xatha ; Qephula : Xephula ; qha : xha ; Qhama : Xhama ; isi-Qhova : isi-Xhova ; Qhuba : Xhuba ; Qina : Xina ; Qinisa : Xinisa.

11. *Non-click for click* (for the words followed by (?) see § 12 below)

b for *q* :—

isi-Qunga : isi-Bunga ; Nqunu : Bhushu.

p for *q* :—

Name'ka : Phaqe'ka (see above, § 7, under "*ph* plus another change (or other changes) for non-click ").

ng for *ngc* :—

i-nGcosana : i-nGoshana.

tsh for *c* :—

Ceba : Tsheba (?) ; Cwe : Tshwe.

n for *c* :—

is-Angco'kolo : is-Ano'kolo ; Chuma : Numa ; ulu-Cingo ; ulu-Ningo (?) ; isi-Chotho : isi-Nontshe ; isi-Coco : isi-Nono ; Cwazimula : Nazimula (?) ; Cweba : Nentsha ; Cwenga : Nwenga (?) ; i-Nce'ku : i-Ne'ku.

n for *q*, *gq*, *qh* :—

isi-Gqo'ko : isi-No'ko ; Qaphela : Naphela ; Qephula : Nephula (?) ; ili-Qhawe : ili-Nawe ; Qholisa : Nothisa ; Qhuba : Nuba ; Qumbha : Numbha.

n for *x* :—

Xe'ka : Ne'ka ; Xhuma : Numa (?) ; Xova : Nova ; um-Xu'ku : um-Nu'ku ; Xwaya : Nwaya.

12. The clicks are foreign elements in Z. The click words in § 11, having a non-click *hlonipa* variant, may, then, be :—

(*a*) Click words borrowed from the Hottentot-Bushman languages, or

(*b*) Click *hlonipa* words which have usurped the place of the original word and then are *hlonipa'ed* by the original non-click word, or by a non-click *hlonipa* variant of the original word, or, possibly, by a non-click *hlonipa* variant of the click word: it is improbable that there would be many cases of the last possibility, for § 10 has shown the prevalence of *click hlonipa* variants for click words. The following may explain some of the forms with a (?) above:—

The original both of *Ceba* and *Tsheba* is *Hleba*.

ulu-Cingo, from "Ur-Bantu" *linga* (Mf *HLW.*, p. 729)—the "Ur-Bantu" form is not now found in Z. *Ulu-Ngingo* may as well be the *hlonipa* variant of the original word as of the click word.

Cwazimula took as a *hlonipa* word the place of *Nyazimula* or *Phazimula*,[1] meaning "to lighten": then its meaning became differentiated from that of *Nyazimula* and changed to "to shine". *Nyazimula*, then, may be the *hlonipa* variant either of the original *Phazimula* or of *Cwazimula* in its present sense. [Cf. Nyanja *ng'azimira* (ŋazimira).]

The original both of *Qephula* and *Nephula* is *Hlephula* (probably from *Dabula*, see *Dabu'ka*, § 15).

Xhuma means "to jump". I do not know whether it has any etymological connexion with *zuma* or *juma*, which means "to take by surprise"—as by springing upon an enemy from an ambush.

13. The *hlonipa* word, as to meaning, is synonymous with the original word, with this reservation: the original word means something, the *hlonipa* word means that same something plus the implication that the speaker has such an attitude to the original word that he dare not, or does not wish, to utter it. Besides such *hlonipa* click words as those given above in § 9, which yield priority to the original word, there are other click words which are like the *hlonipa* click words in that they have substituted a click for a non-click in the original word, but are unlike the *hlonipa* click words in that either they have usurped the place of the non-click word, or they subsist beside it, with a differentiated meaning. Jn (Jn *CS.*, v. ii, p. 90) cannot explain how the clicks came into the Z. language. Mf gives on p. 729 of Mf *HLW.* instances of words whose clicks he cannot account for. (See also Wr *LF.*, p. 129.) Nearly all the Kafir (Xosa) words whose clicks Mf cannot explain, are also found in Z. I think that the clicks

[1] In "Ur-Bantu" the form, denuded of prefix and suffixes, is given in Mf *L.*, p. 222, as *-ali* or *ngali*. B. *ng* became Z. *ny* (Mf *HLW.*, p. 739), and B. *li* became Z. *zi* (Mf *HLW.*, p. 744).

came into these particular words for *hlonipa* purposes (§ 21). In the following, instances of click words, which have come into the language as *hlonipa variants* of the third category (§ 5), are given. All those given by Mf (Mf *HLW*., p. 729), which I have recognized as being also Z. words, I have included, putting (Mf) before them. I have divided them into the two classes indicated above: those which have usurped the place of the non-click word, and those which persist beside the non-click word with a differentiated meaning.

14. *Click words which have usurped the place of the non-click word*

With the click *c* :—

(Mf) *Cima*, same as " Ur-Bantu " *lima* (*ndima*), Mf *HLW*., p. 729.

(Mf) *Consa* from *Thonsa* (Mf *HLW*., p. 729). The verb *Thonsa* is now obsolete in Z., but the stem is found in the noun *ili-Thonsi*.

(Mf) *Cwazimula*, see above, § 12.

(Mf) *Cafuna*, see above, § 8.

(Mf) *ulu-Cingo*, see above, § 12.

(Mf) *um-Cebi*, noun from *Ceba*, see § 12.

(Mf) *Cwila* has supplanted *Gwila* (Mf *HLW*., p. 729). *Gwila* is not found in Z. now.

isi-Catulo, " shoe," connected with *Nyathela*, " to tread." Found also in Xosa as (Mf) *isi-Qathulo*.

With the click *q* :—

(Mf) *ili-Qanda*, same as Swahili *ganda* (Mf *HLW*., p. 729).

(Mf) *Nqa'ka*, same as Swahili *nyaka* (Mf *HLW*., p. 729).

(Mf) *Qongqotha*, same as Swahili *gogota* (Mf *HLW*., p. 729).

Qhotha, same as Herero *kota* (Bt *D*.), found also in Xosa with suffix: (Mf) *qotama*, same as Herero *kotama* (Mf *HLW*., p. 729) and Z. *Khothama*.

ili-Qiniso, " truth," has supplanted *i-Nyaniso*, now obsolete (but see § 25). *i-Nyaniso* is not found in Bt *D*. and Sa. *D*., but it is given in Co. *D*. and Dh. *D*. The literal meaning of the verb *u'ku-Qina* is " to be hard, fast " ; hence the Z. idea of " truth ", as expressed in *ili-Qiniso*, may be compared with that of the Hebrews, as expressed in " Amen ".

ili-Qhwa, " ice," has supplanted a form which may have been *ili-Khwa*.

With the click *x* :—

(Mf) *Xhophe* connected with *ulu-Khophe* (Mf *HLW*., p. 729).

(Mf) *Xhaphazela*, same as *Kaphaza* plus suffix (Mf *HLW*., p. 729). *Kaphaza* is now obsolete in Zulu.

Xosha, same as Ganda *Goba* (Bt *D.*). *B* often becomes *sh*.

With *rr* :—

Rraya, same as Congo *Kaya* (Bt *D.*).

Rrela, same as the obsolete verb *Hela*, from which the noun *ili-Hele* is formed.

15. *Click words subsisting, with a differentiated meaning, beside the original non-click words.*

(Mf) *Gcwalisa*, "to fill up." *Zalisa*, "to cause to bear children," causative form of *Zala*, "to bear children." [1]

isi-Chuthe, "one whose ear lobes have not been pierced." *Isi-Putha*, "a dull-witted person whose ears are closed to reason." See under *isi-Chuthe*.

Chela, "to pour ceremonially, to asperse." *Thela*, "to pour."

Qala, "to begin." *Da'a*, "to create."

Qeda, "finish." This must be formed from the Lala *feda*. The Z. form of *feda* is *feza* (Wg. *KG.*, p. 643, Z. *z* = Lala *t*). *Feza* means "to complete". *Qeda* may be used of finishing anything: a plate of porridge, a task—anything. *Feza* could be used of completing a task, but not of finishing a plate of porridge. It is clear that the click word, *qeda*, was adopted from the Lala tongue. This word can be used to support the contention that the Zulus got the clicks, not immediately from the H.–B., but mediately through other B.

Qhuma, "to pop, explode." *Duma*, "to thunder, reverberate."

The variants of *Dabu'ka* are interesting :—

Dabu'ka, "to get torn, as a garment; crack, as an earthen vessel; be torn with grief; get broken out into being, spring forth into life, as new grass; originate, as a tribe" (Bt *D.*).

Hlephu'ka, "to be or get chipped, cut; have a portion separated off or otherwise removed, as an earthen pot, piece of cloth, land, herd of cattle, etc." (Bt *D.*).

Gqabu'ka, "get broken, as a string or similar object by pulling; get broken off, as anything like a button, affixed by strings . . . expire, breathe one's last" (the lungs being supposed to get broken off from their place and so breathing to cease) (Bt *D.*).

Gqashu'ka, same as *gqabu'ka*.

[1] These words are possibly connected, but I am inclined to think that *zala*, "bring forth," and *zala*, "be full," are distinct roots. The former is in Swahili *zaa*, the latter *jaa*. Meinhof suggests as the original forms *Tyala* (cf. Mombasa Swahili *tyaa*) and *Yala* respectively. One might be inclined to suppose that the form *gcwala* (the more usual in Zulu) gained currency through a desire to distinguish it from the other *zala*.—A. W.

Qashu'ka, same as *gqabu'ka*.

Gqibu'ka, same as *gqabu'ka*.

Qabu'ka, "have the first experience of anything" (see the last meaning of *Dabu'ka*).

Rrebu'ka, "get torn or rent, as a piece of cloth."

Xebu'ka, "get stripped or peeled off, as plaster from a wall or bark from a tree."

Xephu'ka, same as *Rrebhu'ka*.

The *c* click is also used with the stem of this word :—

isi-Cephu, "a small sitting mat," is formed from *isi-Hlephu* (see *Hlephu'ka* above), meaning "anything from which a portion has been removed". Presumably *isi-Cephu* came to be used of a small sitting mat in the manner as a short man is sometimes vulgarly called "a sawed-off specimen of humanity".

16. *Conclusions relative to "hlonipa" words*

The words cited in the following paragraphs will be found in Bt *D.*, either in the list of *hlonipa* words at the end (p. 738 f.) or in the body of the Dictionary.

17. *General conclusions as to "hlonipa" words.*—In the above lists, *hlonipa* words of the third category (§ 5) only have been treated. Though words of this category are the ones most frequently used, it must be remembered that words of the first (§ 3) and second (§ 4) categories also are regularly used.

A Zulu word may have more than one *hlonipa* variant (see Bt *D.*, p. 738 f.), and the variants may be of the same or different categories. Bt *D.*, p. 744, gives ten *hlonipa* variants for *ama-Nzi*, "water"—these ten do not exhaust the list. *Enda* has the variant *Enca* (§ 8, under *nc*) of the third category, and the synonym, *Gana*, of the first category. *Ili-Khala*, "nose," has the variant *ili-Tshala*, of the third category (§ 7, under *tsh* for *kh*), and also a variant of the second category : *i-mPumulo*, from *Phuma*, "to go out" = "that which sticks out."

18. *Foreign words*, after adoption, are treated like native words : they may be *hlonipa'ed*, or they may be used for *hlonipaing* other words.

Examples of foreign words "hlonipa'ed"

Ili-Bhantshi, "coat," from Du. *baatje*, is *hlonipa'ed* by *ili-Cantshi* (§ 8, under *c* and *ch* for non-click).

ili-Bhulu'kwe, "trousers," from Du. *broek*, is *hlonipa'ed* by *ili-Julu'kwe* (§ 7, under *j* for *bh*).

Examples of foreign words used as "hlonipa" words

i-nDali, from Du. *vendutie*, is used as *hlonipa* variant of *i-Mali*. The natives began to use it thus, probably because it sounded like a third-category variant of *i-Mali*.

um-Miliso, from the South African (Du. and Eng.) word for "maize",[1] spelled "mealies" in Eng. This word is used to *hlonipa* the Z. *u-Mbhila*, "maize." Probably popular etymology connected it with the verb *Mila*, "to grow": hence *um-Miliso* = "that which has been caused to grow, crops." The staple crop is maize. To the best of my knowledge *um-Miliso* is used solely of "maize", and never as an exact equivalent of "crops". A Zulu unacquainted with the Du. or Eng. word would think *um-Miliso* was a *hlonipa* word of the second category.

19. *The form of "hlonipa" words of the third category*

(*a*) A word may be *hlonipa'ed* by more than one non-click word of the third category—this is not usual. *Khuluma* has as variants *Nuluma* and *Shuluma* (§ 7, under "*n* for non-click" and "*sh* for *kh*").

(*b*) A word may be *hlonipa'ed* by a non-click as well as by a click word of the third category—this is not infrequent.

Azi is *hlonipa'ed* by *Agi* (§ 7) and by *Angci* (§ 8).

Jabha is *hlonipa'ed* by *Nabha* (§ 7) and by *Gxabha* (§ 8).

(*c*) A word may be *hlonipa'ed* by more than one click word of the third category. *Du'ka* is *hlonipa'ed* by *Gcu'ka* and *Nqu'ka* (§ 8).

The Zulu negative particle *nga*, "not," was, perhaps, formerly used like the English "No". Old-fashioned Zulus still use the plural of this particle, *ama-Nga*,[2] for "No". The words now in use for "No", *Qha* and *Cha*, came into being, I think, as *hlonipa* variants of *Nga*. *Xha* is now used as the *hlonipa* form. If all these click forms are variants originating from *Nga*, then *Nga* is ultimately responsible for three click variants: *Cha*, *Qha*, and *Xha*.

Bt *D.*, under *Qha*: ". . . *qha* is probably only a variation of the adverb *nga*, 'not.'" Here, among similar forms from other languages, is given the Yao *nga*. Mf *VG.*, p. 79, gives *ka*, *nka* as a negative particle in "Ur-Bantu". Jn *CS.*, v. ii, p. 517: "Negation is indicated . . . by *Ka-(Ga-)* with its variants . . ."

[1] Originally from Portuguese *milho*.

[2] Is the noun *ama-nga*, meaning "a lie", a secondary use of this word?—A. W.

Dabu'ka, with its many click *hlonipa* variants (§ 15), may also be cited as an instance of a word *hlonipa'ed* by several click words of the third category.

20. Concerning the *substitutions in the third category of "hlonipa" words*, Bt *D.*, under *Hlonipa*, has :—

". . . For there are not only a very large number of fixed and distinct *hlonipa* words, but, *by certain universally accepted rules of transmutation*, any word in the language may be so changed in its *prohibited* particle as to lose all identity with the 'respected' name and so become itself a *hlonipa* word. Thus *alusa* may become *axusa* ; or *komba*, *nomba* . . ." (Italics mine.)

According to Mf *HLW.*, p. 743, B. *k* became *hl*, which under certain circumstances became *s* ; this change appears to have been quite regular with B. *ɣ*, which almost always became *z*.[1] (Cf. Jn *CS.*, v. ii, p. 91.) In many *hlonipa* substitutions this is reversed : *z*, *s*, *nts*, in the ordinary word, become *g*, *'k*, *k*, *kh*, *nk*, in the *hlonipa* variants, see § 7. Hence the original B. consonant may be found in the *hlonipa* variant of the ordinary word. In some cases the change might make the *hlonipa* word resemble the B. word more closely than the ordinary word does ; in other cases it might not do so. The point, however, is that there has remained in the linguistic consciousness (or sub-consciousness—if I may so express myself) a feeling that the consonants in question are interchangeable.

The favourite substitutions in present day Z.—or to be quite accurate, during the period of more than twelve years during which Bt collected the material for his Dictionary (Bt *D.*, p. 5 of preface), published in 1905—are :—

g, *'k*, *kh*, *k*, *nk*, for *z*, *s*, *nts*.

j, *tsh*, *nj*, *sh*, *ntsh* for *bh*, *b*, *mb(h)*, *ph*, *mp(h)*, *d*, *th*, *'k*, *kh*.

n seemingly for any consonant.

Clicks :—

c, in various combinations, seemingly for any consonant.

q is used less than the other clicks.

rr seems now to have dropped out of the ranks of *hlonipa* substitutes. For its inclusion among the clicks, see § 26.

[1] This seems to be somewhat over-stated, if meant to apply to Zulu, as we have *endhle*, *indhlala*, *indhlela*, *indhlovu* (it is true that *dhl*, which here represents Meinhof's *ɣ*, appears in other Bantu languages as *z*), and also *inyoka*, *anya*, *inyongo*, *inyoni*, etc. See Meinhof, *Lautlehre*, pp. 221–3.—A. W.

x is used generally to *hlonipa* other clicks.

c is used seldom to *hlonipa* other clicks.

q is used not at all to *hlonipa* other clicks.

The use of non-clicks for clicks is negligible except in the case of *n*, of the use of which, as a substitute for a click, there are several instances (§ 11).

Hlonipa words of the third category are usually formed by substituting another consonant for a consonant in the ordinary word. Usually the first consonant of the stem of the word to be tabooed is changed. Sometimes other changes take place as well. If the consonant suffering change is repeated in the following syllable, the change is generally repeated—thus both the *b's* in *u-Baba* become *tsh*, its *hlonipa* variant being *u-Tshatsha*.

21. *The survival of "hlonipa" words.*—What is to be tabooed is the distinctive sound, usually, in the name of a superior, the stem. Inferiors *hlonipa* the name of a superior by avoiding the utterance of this sound. and sometimes even of sounds like it (see below, § 23, in the discussion of the name *Shaka*). As generally women are the inferiors, the custom affects them most, particularly the married women, who have to *hlonipa* also their husbands and certain of their husbands' relatives. ". . . Among the Zulus" the *hlonipa* custom "touches mainly the married women, although as exceptional cases, the men, or indeed the whole tribe indiscriminately, may *hlonipa* the name of a renowned chief or ancestor . . ." (Bt *D.*, under *Hlonipa*).

The position, with regard to the survival of *hlonipa* words, is succinctly stated in J. *L.*, p. 431 :—

". . . There was another reason for the richness of the vocabulary of primitive man: his superstition about words, which made him avoid the use of certain words under certain circumstances . . . Accordingly, in many cases he had two or more sets of words for exactly the same notions, *of which later generations as a rule preserved only one, unless they differentiated these words by utilizing them to discriminate objects that were similar but not identical.*" (Italics mine.)

That is to say, a *hlonipa* word may survive in two ways :—

(1) It may take the place of the original word—that is if it survives as an exact synonym ; or

(2) It may survive beside the original word, in which case the meanings will be differentiated.

As *hlonipa* words of the first two categories already have their own meanings—which they are not likely to exchange for that of the word

they are variants of—this discussion applies chiefly to words of the third category.

22. The *hlonipa* variants themselves may become taboo, then they, too, are *hlonipa'ed*. It sometimes happens that those *hlonipaing* a *hlonipa* variant will use the original word—thus bringing it to life again. See quotation from Bt *D.*, above, § 1.

23. "*Hlonipa*" *words that supersede the original words.*—These are of two kinds: (*a*) such as supersede the original word, because the original word is universally taboo: (*b*) such as supersede the original word presumably because they are more convenient.

(*a*) *A universally taboo word superseded.*—A good example of a universally taboo word is *Shaka* (pronounced *Sha'ka*), the name of the great Z. conqueror. The B. all over south-eastern Africa dared not utter words similar in sound to *Shaka's* name. Until about a generation ago, a Zulu would not say *Shaya*, "hit," but used the Xosa *Beta* instead. *Shaka* has been so *hlonipa'ed* that it has apparently been impossible to be sure of its etymology—to-day it is not certainly known what it means, nor which word or words are the *hlonipa* variants which took its place in the language.

Words *hlonipa'ed* by the Z. nation alone were the names: *Dingana*, *Shaka's* brother and successor; *Mpande*, another brother of *Shaka* and *Dingana's* successor; and, to a less extent, *Nandi*, *Shaka's* mother; *Ndhlela*, a councillor of both *Dingana* and *Mpande*; and *Nkobe*, *Ndhlela's* father. The *hlonipa* variants are: *Swela* or *Ntula* (first category) for *Dinga*, "to need, be in lack of": *i-nGxabo* (first category) for *i-mPande*, "root": *mToti* (first category) for *mNandi*, "sweet, agreeable to the taste": *i-Nyatu'ko* (second category) for *i-nDhlela*, "path"; *izi-mPothulo*, pl. (probably of the second category), for the pl. *izi-nKobe*, "boiled maize." I grew up in Zululand. I remember that when I, for the first time, heard *Dinga* for "to need" and *i-mPande* for "root", these words sounded foreign to me—I was accustomed to the *hlonipa* variants. The names of the two kings, *Dingana* and *Mpande*, were not, like *Shaka's* name, *hlonipa'ed* all over south-eastern Africa. The whites already had a foothold in Natal: only those living north of the Tukela owed allegiance to the Zulu kings, and their names were *hlonipa'ed* only by the Zulus proper. *Nandi*, *Ndhlela*, and *Nkobe* also were *hlonipa'ed* in Zululand, but not so much as the names of the kings. In my childhood I was familiar both with words formed from the stems *-Nandi*, *-Dhlela*, and *-Kobe*, and with their *hlonipa* variants. To-day, even in Zululand, they are being *hlonipa'ed* less and less (§ 29, below).

Cetshwayo, conquered by the British in 1879, seems to have inspired the least terror. As far as I know, he is *hlonipa'ed* only by his own clan, and by certain royalists, who, in spite of everything, have, in their hearts, remained faithful to the old regime. The word *ili-Khwatha* was used to *hlonipa ili-Cebo*, but "it has already fallen into disuse" (Bt *D.*, under *ili-Kwata*).

(*b*) "*Hlonipa*" *words superseding the original word because more convenient.*—I cannot prove that the *hlonipa* forms are more convenient, but, unless they should belong to the (*a*) class above, the only reason I can offer for their survival is that they are more convenient than the word they have superseded. Among these may be instanced (see § 13):—

Cha and *Qha* for *Nga* (§ 19 (*c*)).

ili-Qiniso for *i-Nyaniso*, which seems obsolescent.

Xhopha, "to hurt the eye" (for more exact definition see Bt *D.*), is probably the *hlonipa* variant of an obsolete verb *Khopha*—the Zulu for "eyelash" is *ulu-Khophe* (§ 14).

There may be click variants of words, where the click form has survived on account of being onomatopoeic. The following appear to be such cases:—

Qhuma, "to pop, explode," from *Duma*, see § 15.

Rrebula, "to tear, as cloth," and *Rrebu'ka*, "to become torn," see under *Dabu'ka*, § 15.

Rrwebha, "scratch," from *Dweba*, "draw, as a line" (see Bt *D.*).

Xhapha, "to boil," from the obsolete *Kapha*, surviving in the form with the suffix, *Kaphaza*, see § 14 and Bt *D.* under *Kapaza*.

If the original of the surviving *hlonipa* variant has become obsolete, it is hard to trace it, unless it is found in related languages or in cognate words in the same language.

24. "*Hlonipa*" *words surviving, with a differentiated meaning, beside the original words.*—In § 15 there is a list of such click words. Non-click words of this kind (the third category) do not seem common. I cannot think of any. *Dabu'ka*, with its many variants, is interesting. The original word, *Dabu'ka*, appears to have a general signification, including most of the special meanings, while the variants have special meanings only.

25. *Conclusions as to the survival of* "*hlonipa*" *words.*—It is clear that the chances are against a *hlonipa* word entirely usurping the place of the original word, and surviving alone. In the first place, either it must be a *hlonipa* variant of a universally tabooed word—such words

are very few (to the best of my knowledge there has been only one such, *Shaka*, during the last hundred years)—or it must, for some reason or other, be more convenient than the original word. In the second place, besides ousting the original word, it has also to drive off the field all other competing *hlonipa* variants. Again, though a *hlonipa* word may be easy for the speaker to pronounce, it may be hard for the hearer to understand: it may be understood only in a certain locality; the original word is understood everywhere by everybody. The only *hlonipa* words, which, as it were, carry their meaning with them, are onomatopoeic ones (§ 23 (*b*)) and words which, owing to an accidental resemblance, are connected with a stem of a similar meaning, of *i-nDali* and *um-Miliso* (§ 18). It must also be remembered that the *hlonipa* variant, besides being confined to certain persons (to a sex, a family, or a tribe), is also confined in time: the married daughter's set of *hlonipa* words only partially coincides with her mother's set. For every generation there is a new adjustment of the *hlonipa* vocabulary. While the *hlonipa* vocabularies undergo changes from generation to generation, the original words stand relatively firm. Finally, *the "hlonipa" word itself* may have to be *hlonipa'ed*, then, if the original word has not entirely disappeared, it is very often resuscitated as a *hlonipa* word, and from the *hlonipa* vocabulary steps into its original place (§ 22). Bt, in his list of *hlonipa* words, has marked several with a star to indicate that they are "genuine Zulu words" (Bt *D.*, p. 738). *Ili-Qiniso* appears to have superseded *i-Nyaniso*, which seems to be coming to life again.

It is reasonable, then, to assume that the *hlonipa* custom is responsible for the death of no words in the Z. language, or very few. The probabilities for the survival of *hlonipa* words with differentiated meanings are greater.

While not exaggerating the importance of the *hlonipa* custom (for it is unlikely to have caused the death of more than an extremely small number of Z. words), still we must not ignore its influence in increasing the vocabulary, for it is responsible for the formation of new words, some of which survive, with differentiated meanings, in the language.

26. *Was the contact of the Zulus with the H.-B. direct or indirect?*—It is generally assumed that the clicks came into the Hottentot language by being borrowed from the Bushmen,[1] and that the Bantu languages which have the clicks got them from the Hottentot—and perhaps a

[1] See Pettman, *Africanderisms*, p. 5; Meinhof, *HLW.*, p. 727; Theal, *South Africa (Story of the Nations Series)*, p. 7.

few Bushman—women captured in war. It may be that other Bantu, not Zulus, came first into contact with the H.–B. and passed the clicks on to the Zulus, without the Zulus coming into direct contact with the H.–B. Several facts support this idea. The Tekeza inhabited Zululand before the Zulus. Since the Bantu drove the H.–B. southward and westward, it seems reasonable to assume that the Tekeza, who were in Zululand before the Zulus, got into closer contact with the H.–B. than the Zulus did. It has been shown that the clicks must have been in the Zulu language certainly before 1560,[1] and that direct H.–B. influence on Zulu must have ceased not later than 1650. It would then, at the present time, be hard or impossible to prove anything from click words, borrowed by Zulu from other Bantu languages. It could not be shown that the clicks were brought into the language through the adoption of these words, for the clicks have been in the language for centuries, and it is not easy to determine the date of the adoption of the click words in question. When the Tekeza click word, *Qeda*, for instance, came into the Zulu language, is not known (§ 15). Several click words have been adopted from Xosa in modern times. *i-nQola*, "wagon," a corruption of the Xosa *i-nQwelo*, is an instance.

The geographical position of the Z. language to-day is that it is surrounded by other B. languages, and it has been so surrounded since 1650 at the latest. It may well be that the Zulus have never been in the van of the B. who drove the H.–B. before them, it may be that they have always had some other B. between them and the H.–B.

It is remarkable that there is no Z. word for Hottentot—I have found none. If the Zulus had come into direct contact with the Hottentots, one would expect that they would at least have had a word in their language to designate them. *Ili-Lawu*, which is not a Zulu word, but borrowed from the Xosa, is used to denote "Hottentot, or similar yellow coloured half-breed, as Griquas" (Bt *D.*). The Hottentots in the Cape Province, whether of mixed or of pure blood—if there are any of pure blood left—now speak Dutch, and are separated from the Zulus by other B. The Nama Hottentots in what used to be German South-West Africa are too far away to have any influence on Z. The word *ili-Hhotentoti* (from Du. *Hottentot*) is now coming into the Z. language through being used in the schools, that is through the use of English textbooks on history, which mention the Hottentots.

[1] The name of Qwabe (who, according to Zulu tradition, must have been born before 1560) proves that Zulus must already have been able to pronounce clicks. It is also certain that, by 1650, other Bantu tribes occupied the country between the Zulus and the nearest section of the Hottentots.

There is a Z. word for Bushman, *umu-Thwa*, pl. *aba-Thwa*. Of this word Bt *D.* says: " . . . The name aba-Thwa, or its cognates, is the almost universal designation among the Bantu tribes for the Bushmen and Pygmy-Bushmen . . ." Mf *L.*, p. 251, gives as the " Ur-Bantu " form *umu-tua*. The *aba-Thwa* have a place in Z. folk-lore, as presumably they do in the folk-lore of other B. We cannot from the presence of this word, *umu-Thwa*, in Z., argue that the Zulus borrowed the clicks *directly* from the Bushmen. Many B. languages have the word *umu-Twa*, but have no clicks. [The Pokomo use the name Wa-hwa (the phonetic equivalent of *Aba-twa*) for the Wasanye—a people in some respects similar to the Bushmen. Cf. the Batwa in Urundi and Ruanda, who, if not exactly Pygmies, are probably descended from them.]

27. *Which foreign sounds in Z. are to be ascribed to H.–B. influence?* In addition to the clicks, I think the sound *rr* [1] must be ascribed to H.–B. influence, for, as far as I can make out, it is not found in any languages remote from this influence.

Wr *LF.*, p. 126: " . . . three of them "—the clicks—" (the ' dental ', ' cerebral ', and ' lateral ') have passed from either Bushman or Hottentot into Zulu and Xosa . . ."

p. 55: " The ' laterals ' (usually written *hl, dhl, tl, tlh*) are also peculiar to the southern group of languages, and there are a few other sounds of limited range which need not be discussed here . . . "

In this paper I confine myself to a discussion of how the clicks (*c, q, x*) and *rr* came into the language. I have not made any investigations with regard to the laterals.

28. *How did the clicks and rr come into the language?*—The *words* borrowed from H.–B. present little difficulty.[2] The B. who were in direct contact with the H.–B. borrowed them directly, and those who were not in direct contact with them must have got them through the B. between them and the H.–B.

What has been puzzling is to account for the clicks in B. words. I think the examples given above (§ 8 f.) throw some light on the question.

It is reasonable to suppose that, among the B. in direct contact with the H.–B., the first persons to substitute clicks for other consonants in Bantu words were H.–B. women captured in war. If

[1] The " ejective uvular affricate ". See *Bulletin*, II, iv, p. 706.
[2] There is a list of such words in Mf *HLW*.

they were not the first, they must have taught their children H.-B. click words, and then the children, having learned to pronounce the clicks, were the first to use them as substitutes for consonants in B. words. I am inclined to think that *women* first made use of this substitution. Why women? Women are more affected than men by the *hlonipa* custom, see § 21. When it was desirable to *hlonipa* words, the clicks came in handy for the formation of *hlonipa* variants of the third category. A native consonant might change the word into another word already in the language, while the click, being a foreign sound, would not do so. This would apply also to such Bantu as have the clicks without having been in direct contact with the H.-B.—as, perhaps, the Zulus. They would, through intermarriage and other contact with neighbouring click-using B., come to use the clicks as their neighbours did—for *hlonipa* purposes.

Which click (or clicks) would be used for *hlonipa* purposes, and why that particular click (or those particular clicks)? I cannot answer this definitely.

Turning to the examples given above, we find :—

(*a*) That all the clicks have been used as substitutes (§ 20) ;

(*b*) That, in Z., *c* is a common substitute for a non-click, and *x* for another click ; and

(*c*) That, in Lala, we find *c* and *q* substituted respectively for the Z. *q* and *c* (Wg. *KG.*, p. 643). In Xosa the same substitution sometimes takes place, see examples above in § 10, for instance : *isi-Catulo* for Xosa *isi-Qatulo*, and also Mf *HLW.*, p. 729.

To cover these facts I assume the following. At a certain time and in a certain locality a certain click would be the regular *hlonipa* substitute for one or more consonants—at other times and places other clicks might be the regular substitutes. All this would be going on among people who spoke the same language. Finally, in this language, one click would become the regular substitute, but vestiges of the former state of affairs would appear in words surviving with other click substitutes. This is what appears to have happened in Zulu : *c* being the regular substitute for non-clicks, and *x* for clicks. There are to be found words with other click substitutes ; these words may be survivals from a time before the supremacy of the present regular click substitute, or they may be loan words from another B. language or dialect.

Further investigation of B. words containing clicks may necessitate modification of my theory, but I venture to think it might provide

a reasonable explanation of some of the facts; and that, at least, it would not prove fruitless to use it as a working hypothesis.

I have been unable to investigate words with a medial click and onomatopoeic click words. The latter would seem to be self-explanatory in most cases. For onomatopoeic click substitutes, see § 23 *b*.

29. *The present condition of "hlonipa" as it affects the Z. language.*— The influence of Christian civilization is seen in the religious poem *Lilya* by the Icelandic monk Eystein Ásgrimsson (died 1361). In this poem there appear to be no *kenningar*, though they were lavishly employed in earlier Norse poetry. *Heiti* and *Kenningar* may be likened to *hlonipa* variants of the first and second categories. Here may also be mentioned—though not exactly of the same nature—descriptive titles or added names, such as: (John) Lackland, (Frederick) Barbarossa, (Svein) Tjugeskjaeg, (Scipio) Africanus, etc. The chief function of the Zulu bards was to make poems praising their kings and great men. After their death these poems would be used in worshipping these heroes. The praise-poems would be full of substitutions of the same nature as the *Kenningar* were, and would have as their aim to give a poetical picture of the hero's character and great deeds.[1] Often a striking phrase in these praises, separated from its context, would become an added name and be used like Lackland, Barbarossa, etc. Converted Christians have even attempted to make praise-poems in honour of the Saviour, Jesus Christ. Christian sentiment has, however, rightly or wrongly, frowned upon poetic outbursts of this nature—and Christian Zulu poetry is either translation or imitation of European hymns.

The civilization brought by the whites has also had a disintegrating effect upon the *hlonipa* custom proper. Europeans, unwittingly or wittingly, continually break the custom—horses and dogs, for instance, have been given the names of Zulu kings. School teachers demand that lessons shall be repeated *in ipsissimis verbis*, even when this entails a breach of *hlonipa*. The same is sometimes demanded in law courts, in the case of witnesses who have to repeat conversations they have heard. The custom, once broken, steadily loses its peculiar power over the person breaking it.

[1] Wg. *KG.*, pp. 651–2, gives the praise-poems (or praise-names) of Ndaba and Senzangakona, and Sa. *D.*, pp. x–xxii, those of Cetshwayo, Dinuzulu, and Solomon—all members of the Zulu Royal Family; see genealogy in Wg. *KG.*, p. vi. [A number of these are also given in Mr. J. Stuart's Zulu Readers.]

From the summary already given we see that—

(*a*) *rr* seems to have ceased being used as a *hlonipa* substitute;

(*b*) *q* is seldom used as a *hlonipa* substitute:

(*c*) *c* is the regular click substitute for non-click consonants;

(*d*) *x* is the regular click substitute for click consonants.

From this it may be deduced that if the *hlonipa* custom should continue developing unchecked, only two clicks, *c* and *x*, would remain, and ultimately *x* would supersede *c* and be the sole surviving click. Since *n* can be substituted for clicks (§§ 11, 20), it would not be impossible for the clicks eventually to be *hlonipa'ed* out of the language. In Jn *CS.*, i, p. 38, we read: "Zulu-Kafir will become the second language of South Africa if its exponents are wise enough to eliminate the silly clicks which at present mar its phonology . . ." This tempts one to remark that English, which employs, as interjections, the click *c* (usually spelled *tut-tut*) and the click *x* (used in urging a horse), is, nevertheless, probably the most widely used language in the world; and the English *th* (voiced and unvoiced), though a comparatively peculiar sound, has not hindered the spread of English over the earth.

Whether the clicks would be *hlonipa'ed* out of the language if the whites had not come is difficult to decide. Now that they have come, it seems certain that it will not happen. The language is reduced to writing—the written word changes less than the spoken. The influence of the still active *hlonipa* custom, though even to-day great, is steadily decreasing.

The language must find new words for new ideas. New *hlonipa* words (as shown above, § 14) often supplied the desired words. New words can still be made in the same manner as *hlonipa* variants of the first category (synonyms) and of the second category (words formed by derivation and composition), but the number of such words coming into the language, through *hlonipa*, is decreasing. As words of the third category are made for *hlonipa* purposes only, they will cease coming into the language if *hlonipa* dies—this source of new words appears to be gradually drying up. It seems a legitimate conclusion, then, that the influence of European civilization, by decreasing the number of new words of the third category of *hlonipa* variants, is correspondingly increasing the number of new words from other sources: words formed by derivation, composition, onomatopoeia, and words borrowed from other languages. It must be noted that this is happening at a time when the contact with European civilization has produced a great demand for new words.

REFERENCES

For Taboo in general :—

Encyc. Brit., under *Taboo.*

Hasting's *Encyc. of Religion and Ethics*, under *Tabu.*

Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, v. iii. Taboo and the Perils of the Soul; use also the Index for all the volumes. The work is also published in a one volume edition.

For the influence of Taboo on language :—

Max Muller, *The Science of Language*, v. ii: "Te-pi" (= Taboo), p. 38 f.; "ukuhlonipa," p. 43 f.

Gabelentz, *Die Sprachwissenschaft*, look up *Tabuwesen* in the Index.

Oertel, *Lectures on the Study of Language*, p. 304.

J. *L.*, p. 239 f. and p. 431.

Frazer, see above, v. iii, chapter vi. In the one volume edition, chapter xxii.

Portengen, *De Oudgermaansche dichtertaal in haar ethnologisch verband*, p. 78 f.

For the influence of Taboo (or *hlonipa*) on the Bantu languages in general and Zulu in particular :—

Mf *Die moderne Sprachforschung in Afrika*, p. 120.

Jn *CS.*, v. i, p. 29; v. ii, p. 120.

Frazer, see above, v. iii, pp. 376–7. In the one volume edition, pp. 257–8.

Th. *HE.*, v. i, p. 72.

Th. *The Yellow and Dark-skinned People of Africa South of the Zambesi*, pp. 170, 255.

Bt *D.*, pp. 8–9 of the Preface, under *Hlonipa* in the body of the Dictionary. On p. 738 f. there is a "Vocabulary of the Hlonipa Language of the Zulu Women".

Wanger, *Konversations-Grammatik der Zulu-Sprache* (look up "Hlonipa-Wesen" in the Index).

ABBREVIATIONS

B. = Bantu.
Bt *D.* = Bryant, *Zulu Dictionary.*
Du. = Dutch (i.e. "Afrikaans").
H.-B. = Hottentot-Bushman.
J. *L.* = Jespersen, *Language* (1923).
Jn *CS.* = Sir H. H. Johnston, *Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages.*
Mf *HLW.* = Meinhof, *Hottentottische Laute u. Lehnworte im Kafir* (*ZDMG.*, lviii, lix).
Mf *L.* = „ *Lautlehre der Bantusprachen.*
Mf *VG.* = „ *Vergleichende Grammatik der Bantusprachen.*
Sa. *D* = Samuelson, *Zulu Dictionary.*
Th. *SSA.* = Theal, *South Africa* (Story of the Nations Series).
Wg. *KG.* = Wanger, *Konversations-Grammatik der Zulu-Sprache.*
Wr *LF.* = Werner, *Language-Families of Africa.*
Z. = Zulu, Zulus.

A GUJARĀTĪ-ENGLISH VOCABULARY

By W. Doderet

Foreword

THIS vocabulary of over 800 words has been compiled with a view to supplying *some* omissions in Belsare's *Dictionary*, published in 1895. Belsare based his work on the valuable Narmakoṣa of the poet Narmadāśankara, of date 1873. The Gujarātī language has in the latter half of the past and in the present century been enriched by the addition of many Sanskṛt *tatsamas*, and of Persian or Arabic words. On the one hand, eminent modern poets such as Govardhanarāma and Narsinharao, and present century dramatists such as Dolatrāma Kṛparāma Paṇḍya (a Sanskṛt purist), are responsible for the use of many *tatsamas*. On the other hand, the advance of science and the more intimate acquaintance with the writings of English authors and poets have necessitated recourse to the classical language for expressing abstract ideas and terms, in which the vernacular is clearly deficient. This must be the excuse for introducing so many *tatsamas* into this vocabulary. It is unavailing nowadays to reject some as " pressed into service to gratify the vanity of a writer ", which is the reason why Belsare omits them. Yet it is not apparent why he excluded the oft-recurring word ઇંદીવર (blue lotus), while he inserts the rarer મુમુક્ષુ (desirous of salvation).

Again, several Persian and Arabic words, employed by such famous present-day poets as Manilāla Nabhubhāī in his poems modelled on Persian *gajhals*, or Bālāśankara Ullāsarāma, who was engaged in the translation of Persian poetry when death overtook him, take the place of valuable and pleasing synonyms (e.g. આબ્દીરતન for મોતી, pearl).

Provincialisms, poetical corruptions, and anachronisms have been omitted from this vocabulary.

Anusvāra has been written throughout, to the exclusion of the more skilled method of writing such obsolete nasals as ङ and ञ, following in this respect the common practice, sanctioned by correct writers, such as Navalarāma Lakṣmirāma, and others. For the many

words which do not find a place in this vocabulary, and for poetical corruptions and obsolete words, the student is referred to the vocabularies attached to such works as the Kāvya Dohana, Bṛhat Kāvya Dohana, Kāvya Mādhurya, etc.

The numbers enclosed in parentheses before the meanings of words indicate additional significations not found in Belsare.

અ

અગમ્યવાદ (m.) mysticism.
અંગજા (f.) daughter.
અગ્રણી / અગ્રિમ (adj.) chief, foremost, first.
અઘરૂં (adj.) (2) difficult.
અછોછાંયદા (m. pl.) fondling, fuss over.
અજ (m.) (2) Brahmā ("the unborn").
અહેં દુવારકાં કરવાં "to make one's self at home" (અહેં = અત્ર, દુવારકાં Dvārikā in Kāṭhiāvaḍ).
અડગ (adj.) immovable, staunch, brave (ડગવું to totter).
અડદીઓ પત્થર (m.) a big stone for pounding અડદ (a pulse).
અણુરાગ (m.) enmity.
અંત:સ્થિત (adj.) subjective (S. **अन्तर**, inward).
અદ્દાપે (adv.) instantaneously (અદ્દાપ completeness).
અદ્રિસુતા (f.) Pārvatī ("the maid of the mountain").
અધ્યાસ (m.) erroneous idea.
અધ્વા (m.) road, path.
અનંગળ (adj.) innumerable, unlimited.
અનભિજ્ઞ (adj.) ignorant, strange.
અનાભિક (m.) a low-caste, a Ḍheḍa.
અનાહત (adj.) not struck, "divine" (અનાહત વાધ).
અનિદ્રા (f.) sleeplessness.
અનિશમ (adj.) perpetual, continuous.
અનુગ (m.) follower, servant (S. **अनु + गम**, to go).
અનુદાર (adj.) illiberal, ungenerous.
અનુદિન (adj.) daily.
અનુનય (m.) humble entreaty (S. **अनु + नी**, to lead).
અનુન્ય (adj.) complete (S. **अ + न्यून**, less).
અનુમતિ (f.) (2) inference.
અનુમોડવું to consent, support.
અનેરૂં (adj.) different, another.
અપરમા (f.) stepmother.
અફલાતુન (m.) Plato.
અફાટ (adj.) vast, extensive.
અભંગુર (adj.) unbreakable, firm, eternal.
અભિચારિક (m.) sorcerer, magician.
અભિજ્ઞાન (n.) deep knowledge, full particulars.
અભિવ્યક્તિ (f.) full manifestation.
અભિષિક્ત (adj.) anointed, consecrated (S. **अभि + सिच्**, sprinkle).
અભીપ્સિત / અભીષ્ટ (adj.) desired (noun) a lover, dear one.
અભ્યાખ્યાન (n.) false accusation.
અંબાપતિ (m.) Śiva ("husband of the Goddess Ambā").
અમ્રખ (m.) joy.
અમ્લપિત્ત (n.) acidity of the stomach.
અમાનુષ (ષી) (adj.) god-like, divine.
અયિ come here!
અરવિંદ (n.) lotus.
અરૂ (adj.) soft, delicate (અરૂવાર, અરવાર).
અરૂણું (adj.) rosy, beautiful in colour.
અર્થગ્રહન (n.) interpretation (S. **ग्रह**, take, seize).
અર્ભક (n.) child.
અલક્ષ્ય (adj.) inconceivable (the

Deity); *also* the beggar's cry અલખ નિરંજન.
અલખમત (f.) untold wealth, goods and possessions (અ + લેખવું).
અલેખ (m.) the unfathomable Deity.
અવગાહન (n.) ablution, immersion, swimming.
અવગાહી (adj.) "expert", "experienced".
અવતંસ (m.) ear-ring.
અવંતી (f.) Ujjen City.
અવનતિ (f.) fallen state. (partic. adj.) falling (S. **नत**, bent).
અવભૂતત (adj.) miraculous.
અવમાન (m.) dishonour, insult.
અવિકૃત (adj.) unchanged.
અવિગતિ (adj.) void of form (noun f.) formlessness.
અવિછિન્ન (adj.) undivided, unbroken.
અવિધાર (m.) certainty (adv.) certainly (used also as an expletive).
અવિરત (adj.) unrestrained (S. **विरत**, stopped, ceased).
અવ્વડ (adj.) disused, ruined.
અશન (n.) eating.
અંશુનાથ (m.) the Sun (2) the Moon ("lord of rays").
અશ્મા (m.) a stone (especially the funeral-stone on which water is poured).
અશ્લીલ (adj.) obscene, vulgar (S. **अ + सलिल**, water, lustre).
અસમવાયિ (adj.) indirect.
અસિપદ (m.) knowledge of union with the Deity.
અસિમ (adj.) boundless (S. **सीमा**, boundary).
અસુ (m.) life.
અસું (adj.) such.
અસુયા (f.) envy.
અસ્ખલિત (adj.) firm, stable.
અસ્તવ્યસ્ત (adj.) disordered, ruined.
અસ્વસ્થ (adj.) ill-at-ease, troubled, unwell.
અસ્તિ (f.) existence, life.
અહુરમઝદ Ormazd, the spirit of goodness (Zoroaster).
અહિ (m.) serpent.
અહરપતિ (m.) the Sun ("lord of the day").
અળવ (adj.) mischievous.
અક્ષત (m.) husked rice (adj.) unbroken, whole.
અક્ષુબ્ધ (adj.) free from anger, calm (S. **क्षुभित**, angered).

આ

આખંડલ Indra ("destroyer of enemies", **आ + खण्ड्** to break).
આગળો (m.) (2) an iron door-bolt.
આજ્ય (n.) clarified butter.
આડચ (f.) obstruction, enclosure.
આતપ (m.) sunshine, fierce heat.
આત્મીય (adj.) one's own.
આથીપોથી (f.) capital, stock in hand.
આદર્શ (m.) mirror (2) pattern, example.
આર્દ્ર (adj.) wet.
આપું (n.) (2) the soul's form, the soul.
આપોપું (n.) individuality.
આપ્તવાક્ય (adj.) authorized, accepted.
આફ્રિયે (adv.) spontaneously.
આબીરતન (n.) pearl (P. આબ, water, lustre).
આબેહ્યાતી (f.) nectar, elixir of life (P. આબ + હ્યાતી).
આભિજાત્ય (n.) noble birth, nobility.
આભોગ (m.) expansion, extent.
આભો (adj.) bewildered, surprised.
આમિષ (n.) meat, flesh.
આમ્ર (m.) mango, mango-tree.
આયના (f.) strength, endurance (2) regard, consideration for.
આયુ (n.) life-span.

આલીશાં (adj.) very big, magnificent (P).
આલેખવું to draw a picture.
આવકારક (adj.) welcome.
આશ્લેષ (m.) embrace.
આસ્ય (n.) face.
આળવાળ (n.) basin for water round a tree's roots.

ઇ

ઇડા (f.) one of the main arteries of the human body.
ઇતરેત (adj.) mutual, reciprocal.
ઇંદીવર (n.) the blue lotus.
ઇયળ (f.) a chrysalis, larva.
ઇપણા (f.) wish, desire.
ઇષત (adv.) a little, slightly.

ઉ

ઉખેલવું to unravel, to disentangle. to unwind.
ઉછરંગ (m.) joy, fervour.
ઉચ્ચૈઃશ્રવા (m. pl.) the Sun's horses (" long-eared ").
ઉજવું to run.
ઉદિયા વાઘ a tiger as big as a camel, (2) a tiger preying on camels.
ઉટજ (m. n.) a cottage.
ઉદાણી (f.) the pad placed on the head by water-carriers.
ઉત્સર્ગ (m.) (2) law, rule, (3) dedication, consecration.
ઉત્તુંગ (adj.) lofty.
ઉત્પલ (n.) lotus.
ઉથલપાથલ (f.) (2) turn-over (in business).
ઉદગ્ર (adj.) high, hard, firm.
ઉદ્દામ (adj.) powerful, fierce, bold.
ઉદ્રિક્ત (adj.) staunch, manly.
ઉદવસ્ત (adj.) desolate, barren.
ઉદંબર (m.) the *Umbara* tree, *ficus glomerata*.
ઉધામો (m.) endeavour.
ઉન્મનિ (f.) religious trance (emancipation from *Māyā* and absorption in the Divinity).
ઉપકાંઠ (m.) river-bank, shore.
ઉપઘાત (m.) destruction, accident.
ઉપપાદન (n.) establishing, proving.
ઉપવાસણ (n.) fasting.
ઉપરંગ (m.) bye-play.
ઉપરામ (m.) rest (especially by renouncing worldly cares).
ઉપશબ્દ (m.) synonym.
ઉપશમ (m.) tranquillity (S. शम, to be calm).
ઉપસ્કર (m.) goods and chattels.
ઉપહાર (m.) present, gift.
ઉભું કરવું to indicate, suggest.
ઉમટવું to arise.
ઉજ્જૈસ્વી (adj.) prosperous.
ઉરદેશ (m.) breast.
ઉરઝવું to hang, droop.
ઉલૂખલ (n.) mortar, pestle.

એ

એકમયતા (f.) agreement, concord.
એડવવું to supply, join, establish.

ઐ

ઐહિક mundane.

ઓ

ઓગણુપડાયો (m.) uttering the mystic syllable *Om*.
ઓગનિયાં (n. pl.) earrings.
ઓછંગ (m.) lap (ઉછંગ).
ઓજ (f.) (2) power, strength.
ઓટલો (m.) (3) a stoop.
ઓસાર (m.) (3) way, passage.
ઓળગ (f.) (3) safeguarding.

ક

કચ (S.) (m.) hair (કેશ).
કંજ (કંજક) (m.) a bird (*Gracula religiosa*).

કથની (f.) slander, idle gossip (S. **कथ्**, to tell).
કપિધ્વજ Arjun (who bears "Hanuman on his banner").
કબ્જુ (m.) a couch.
કમનીય (adj.) attractive, beautiful.
કમલાસન (m.) *Brahmā* ("seated on a lotus").
કમળભૂ (m.) *Brahmā* ("born from a lotus").
કરમદો / કરમળો (m.) a sweetmeat made of *bājrī* flour.
કરાકર (m.) collected rays of light (**किरण + आकर**).
કલાંતિ (f.) restlessness, sadness.
કવાસવા (m.) adverse and favourable winds (કુ + વા + સુ + વા).
કસાવું (1) to rust (2) to be tried by sorrow, to undergo a difficult task, to endure.
કળાપ (m.) assemblage, multitude.
કળાકર (m.) peacock (કળા peacock's expanded tail).
કૃમી (m. n.) worm.
કૃસ (m.) the Cross of Christ.
કાકડો (m.) (3) swelling in the throat.
કાકિની (f.) a cowrie.
કાંગરી (2) (f.) indentation.
કાજુ (adj.) beautiful.
કાતિલ (adj.) cruel.
કાપડી (m.) beggar.
કારણશક્તિ (f.) reasoning power.
કાસાર (m.) a lake.
કાળવ્યુત્ક્રમ (m.) anachronism.
કાળાપાણી (n.) banishment, transportation.
કિકલાવું to be very pleased.
કિંતુ (S.) but (conjunction).
કિરીટી Arjun (S. **किरिट**, a diadem, a crest).
કિલ્બિશ (n.) sin, foulness.
કીશ (m. n.) monkey.
કુચો (m.) (3) pulp (કચડવું, કચરવું).
કુણું (adj.) soft, delicate.
કુંતલ (m.) curl of hair.
કુનિસ (f.) profound obeisance (કુરનિસ, કુરનિસાન) (P.).
કુનેહ (f.) cleverness (P.).
કુલફ (m.) (Ar.) a hair-dye (કલફ).
કૂજવું (n.) the cuckoo's note.
કૂહર (n.) a cave.
કૂકડ (m.) a cock.
કૃપાણ (m.) sword.
કૃષ્ણા (f.) the Goddess *Kāḷī*.
કેકી (m.) peacock (S. **केका**, the peacock's cry).
કેશવ (m.) Śrī Kṛṣna ("having long hair", કેશ).
કેળ (f.) (2) play, mirth.
કોપિત (adj.) angry, enraged.
કૌશેય silken (S. **कोश**, a cocoon).

ખ

ખણખોતર (f.) (2) persistent fault-finding.
ખડો (m.) (3) a fowl-house.
ખદવું (2) to walk like a camel.
ખાંડું (n.) a herd of camels.
ખાલીખમ (adj.) deserted, empty (ખમ, an affix; cf. ભારેખમ).
ખે (n.) the sky (S. **ख**).
ખેડવું (3) to drive (a chariot) (મને મારીને રથડા ખેડ આળા રાજરે— Lajjārāma).
ખેરડી (m.) relations.
ખોભણ (f.) (2) a puncture.
ખૌફ (m.) fear (ખોફ) (Ar.).

ગ

ગંગાધર (m.) Śiva ("bearing the Ganges on his head").
ગજવદન Gaṇapati ("elephant-faced").
ગણક (m.) an astrologer.
ગયંદ (m.) elephant.
ગરલ (n.) poison.
ગરીડો (m.) a ditch (ગરાડો).

ગરીયસ great.
ગરૂડારૂઢ (m.) Viṣṇu (" seated on the eagle ").
ગલ્લસ્થળ (n.) the neck.
ગાડલી (f.) a small cart.
ગાંડીવ (m.) Arjun's bow.
ગાળોડાં (n. pl.) hollow cheeks.
ગિરિન્દવલ્લભ Śiva (" lover of the mountain-born maid ").
ગિરિધર (m.) Śrī Kṛṣṇa (who lifted up Mount Govardhana).
ગુણગ્રામ (m.) praise of virtue.
ગુણદર્શન (n.) abstraction.
ગુલ્યાન (n.) row, noise (P.).
ગુલ્મ (n.) a thicket (S.).
ગેલ (adv.) (3) behind, after.
ગો (f.) (2) the earth.
ગોકુળિયો રોગ (m.) love-sickness (ગોકુળ, Śrī Kṛṣṇa's village).
ગોપ્તા (m.) a protector (**गो**+**पा** protect).
ગોવિંદ (m.) a cowherd (2) Śrī Kṛṣṇa (S. **गो** cow; **विंद्** to find).
ગૌરીપુત્ર Gaṇapati (" son of ગૌરી or પાર્વતી ").

ઘ

ઘઘણવું to murmur, complain (ગણગણવું).
ઘંટાપથ (m.) high road (traversed by cattle with bells).
ઘનરાજી (f.) a line of clouds (**राशी**, a heap).
ઘાણણા (f.) loud speaking.
ઘેહ (n.) house (S. **गेह**).
ઘોડિઆટ (m.) supporting beam for roof or floor.
ઘોપ (m.) loud and continuous noise.

ચ

ચતરંગ (m.) (2) a musical instrument.
ચતુર્પદી (m.) quadruped.
ચક્ષુહીન (adj.) blind (**चक्षु** eye, **हीन** bereft of).
ચામિકર (n.) pure gold.
ચામુંડા (f.) the Goddess Bhavānī, who slew the Asuras Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa.
ચાષ (m.) the blue jay.
ચિત્તળ (m. n.) the spotted deer.
ચૌદ ચોકડી (f.) fourteen periods, each comprising the four ages, કૃત, ત્રેતા, દ્વાપારા, કલિ.
ચૌલકર્મ (n.) tonsure.

છ

છઠીના લેખ (m. pl.) the decrees of Fate (written by Brahmā on the child's forehead on the sixth day after birth).
છદ (m.) a leaf.
છાત્ર (m.) disciple.
છિદ્રાળુ (adj.) porous.

જ

જકિલું (adj.) stubborn.
જંગોટો (m.) loin-cloth (2) a thick girdle.
જડમણિ (n.) the moonstone (ચંદ્રકાંતમણિ).
જદુવીર (m.) Śrī Kṛṣṇa (" hero of the Yādavas ").
જનાર્દન (m.) Viṣṇu (" punisher of mankind ").
જલદીર્ઘિકા (f.) a sheet of water, a lake (S. **जल**+**दीर्घ**).
જલધર (m.) ocean (water holder).
જલાદ (m.) courier (P. જલદ, quick).
જલ્પવું to prattle.
જવનિકા (f.) a curtain (S. **यवनिका**).
જવાંમરદ (m.) a valiant man, a young man (P.).
જશના (f.) fame, glory (S. **यश**).
જાતિદર્શન (n.) classification.

જાદવાસ્થલી (f.) "complete havoc" (જાદવ the Yādavas + અસ્થલી, rooting up, ruin, in allusion to the slaughter of the clan).
જાન્હવી (f.) the Ganges (daughter of જાન્હુ).
ઝરાળો (m.) a hillock, a hill.
જીવનસૂત્ર (n.) motto.
જોષિતા (f.) a woman (S. **योषिता**).
જ્વરનાશક પદાર્થ (m.) febrifuge (જ્વર, fever).

ઝ

ઝંઝ ¼ of an anna, money (ઝૅ).
ઝઘર (f.) contest, strife (ઝગરણ).
ઝરડકા (m. pl.) (2) churning ropes (3) the sound thereof when worked. *Proverb* ભેંસ ભાગોળે ને ઘેર ઝરડકા "counting one's chickens" etc. (4) a row of pots.
ઝષ (m.) a fish.

ટ

ટીચકાવવું to eat greedily.
ટાકેચા (m. pl.) threads, connecting links.
ટોડલો (ટોલ્લો) (m.) one leaf of a door opening out from the બારશાખા or door-frame.

ઠ

ઠઠવું to strut, make a fine show (ઠાઠ કરવો).

ડ

ડસકલાં (n. pl.) (2) fetters.
ડાચાકુટ (f.) nonsense (ડાચું jaw, jawbone કુટવું, to pound).
ડાબલો (m.) thud of a horse's hoof.

ત

તડાગ (n.) a tank.
તત (adj.) extended.
તત્પદ (m.) God's nature.
તંત્રી (m.) editor, manager (2) (f.) a lute (મદન તંત્રી, Cupid's lute).
તનહા (adj.) alone.
તબડકી (f.) thud of a horse's hoof.
તમરાજ (n.) deep darkness (તમ + રાજ્ય).
તમિસ્ર (adj.) dark.
તમિસ્રા (f.) night.
તરણીતનયા the river Yamunā ("daughter of the Sun").
તરલ (adj.) fickle, unstable.
તર્જવું to upbraid.
તરેવડ (f.) economy, good arrangement (cf. ત્રેવડ).
તરપવું to please, satisfy (S. **तृप्ति**).
તરવરવું to be joyful.
તલસવું to be anxious, brood over.
તાજ (m.) (4) renunciation (ત્યાજ, ત્યાગ; S. **त्यज्**).
તાટંક (n.) an earring.
તામસીવિદ્યા (f.) the art of inducing sleep.
તાર્કિક (adj.) discerning (S. **तर्क**).
તાલમેલિયું (adj.) artificial.
તાસ (m.) (5) understanding (આખા તેજ દિસે આત્મા જે નાવે રસના તાસમાં Akho) (6) brilliance, fame, lustre.
તિરોભૂત (adj.) restrained, hidden (તીર a bank, shore).
તિરોહિત થવું to vanish.
તિર્યક (n.) a bird.
તિષ્ટ (adj.) upright, standing.
તુષ્ટમાન (adj.) pleased, satisfied.
તુહિન (n.) ice.
તૃપિત (adj.) thirsty (S. **तृष्णा**).
તેજનવરણ (n.) photosphere.
તેજી (2) a horse.
તોતો (m.) bread.
ત્રંબાળું (n.) a copper drum.
ત્રંબક (m.) Śiva (2) Śiva's bow.
ત્રી (f.) an aggregate of three.

ત્રુટવુ to sever, cut.
ત્રેલવું to yoke animals in front of the "wheelers".
ત્વંપદ (m.) man's individuality.

થ

થડકારો (m.) stress, accent.

દ

દમ'દમ (m.) in and out breathing (P.)
દશગ્રીવ (m.) Rāvaṇa ("ten-necked").
દશન (m.) tooth.
દશસ્કંધ (m.) Rāvaṇa ("ten-shouldered").
દસ્તબસ્તો with hands joined in token of supplication or respect (P.).
દસ્યુ (m.) a non-Aryan, a demon, a robber.
દાણી (m.) a tax-collector.
દાન્ત (adj.) subdued, subjected.
દાક્ષિણ્ય (n.) discreetness, politeness.
દિક્પ્રાંત (m.) the horizon.
દિનનાથ the Sun, as "lord of the day".
દિનમણિ the Sun, as "jewel of the day".
દિનેશ the Sun, as "supreme of the day".
દીર્ઘસૂત્રી (f.) procrastination.
દીવાદાંડી (f.) light-house.
દુરિત (n.) sin.
દુહાગણ (f.) a queen out of favour (દુ+**भाग्य**).
દૂરકર્ણક (n.) a telephone (S. **कर्ण**, the ear).
દૃષ્ટવ્ય (adj.) visible.
દૃષ્ટારો (m.) a seer, prophet.
દેવકી (f.) Kṛṣṇa's mother.
દેહવટ (adj.) barren, desolate.
દૈનિક (adj.) daily.
દ્યૌ (f.) the sky.
દ્રગ (f.) the eye, sight (S. **दृग**).
દ્રાવ્યતા (f.) liquefaction.
દ્રોહ (m.) water-hole (ધરો).
દ્વંદ્વી (m). an opponent.
દ્વિદળ (adj.) bipetalous.
દ્વિરદ (m.) elephant (રદ = **रदन** tooth).

ધ

ધડમૂળથી from the beginning (ધરમૂળથી).
ધનવંતરી m. the physician of the Gods.
ધપવું to take up a position.
ધરથી from the outset.
ધર્વ (m). satisfaction, joy (S. **द्रव**).
ધાવન (n.) running.
ધીડી (f.) daughter.
ધીમહિ (S.) we please, honour, pray to.
ધુપવું (3) to be hot, fiery.
ધુમ્રપાન (n.) inhaling smoke.
ધુસર (adj.) dusty (ધૂળ+સર).
ધૂર્તશાસ્ત્ર (n.) treatise on love.
ધ્યાવું to ponder, meditate.
ધ્રુવ (3) South Pole (4) Pole of any planet.
ધ્વાંત (n.) dense darkness.

ન

નખ્ખી (f.) plectrum, pick (for playing the zither, etc.).
નટવર (m.) Śrī Kṛṣṇa ("the excellent dancer").
નત (adj.) bent, low.
નંદકુવર (m.) Śrī Kṛṣṇa ("son of Nanda", his foster father).
નભ (3) the month of Śrāvaṇa (August–September).
નભગંગા (f.) the milky way (Ganges of the sky).
નમાયું (adj.) beautiful.
નમુલતી (adj.) priceless, precious (મૂલ price).
નરડી (f.) Adam's apple.
નરૂ (adj.) (3) naked (નરી આંખ).

નવપલ્લવ (m.) new verdure.
નસકોરાંમાં ઉંટ જવું "to be very proud" (નસકોરાં nostrils).
નહુષ (m.) a Ṛṣi, who usurped Indra's throne.
નળ (3) a King (husband of Damayantī).
નાટ્ય (n.) an actor's dress (5) an actor's tricks and gestures.
નાંગળવું (n.) swallowing up, storing up.
નામણદીવો (m.) wedding-lamp.
નિકુંજ (f.) an arbour.
નિખિલ (adj.) all, total.
નિખાર (m.) low tide.
નિડર (adj.) fearless (નિ + ડરવું).
નિદ્રસ્થ
નિદ્રિત (adj.) overpowered by sleep.
નિબિડ (adj.) crowded, thick, deep.
નિભૃત (adj.) secret, solitary.
નિરીશ્વર (adj.) godless.
નિરીક્ષક (m.) observer.
નિર્વેદ (m.) renunciation of, or detachment from, worldly cares. Also used as a pillow-word, like નિર્વાણ.
નિરવધિ (adj.) unlimited.
નિર્દળવું to strike, beat, uproot.
નિર્બાધ (adj.) unobstructed, unhindered.
નિર્વર્ત્તન (n.) stoppage, obstruction, retrogression.
નિલય (n.) house, abode.
નીલોત્પલ (n.) the blue lotus.
નિવેશ (m.) dwelling place, encampment (નિવાસ).
નિશાકુસુમ (n.) dew ("flower of the night").
નિશાપતિ (m.) moon ("lord of the night").
નિશાત (adj.) edged, indented.
નિશીથ (adj.) born of the night (**નિશી** + **ભુ**).
નિષ્પાપ (adj.) sinless.
નિસર્ગશક્તિ (f.) originality.
નિસ્તી (f.) destruction, extinction (opposed to હસ્તી).
નીલગ્રીવ (m.) peacock ("blue neck").
નીરજ (n.) the lotus ("water-born").
નીરવ (adj.) silent, peaceful.
નૃસિંહ (નરસિંહ) (m.) (3) an incarnation of Viṣṇu (half-man, half-lion).
નેત not only, so much (**ન** + **ઇતિ**), endless, boundless (the Creator).
નેહડી (f.) hair oil (2) anklet. કેડુ, કાજળ, નાડું and નેહડી (નેહરી) are the distinguishing marks of a woman whose husband is still alive સૌભાગ્યવતી.
નેજો (m.) (4) flag of a merchant-vessel.
નૈર્ઘૃણ્ય (n.) pitilessness (**નિર** + **ઘૃણા** compassion).
નૈક (adj.) several, many (ન + એક).
નોહરીયાં (n. pl.) (લોહરીઆં) scratches on the body with the nail or claw.

પ

પંચાનન (m.) Śiva (2) lion, tiger ("five-faced").
પંચવદન (m.) Śiva ("five-faced").
પટંતર (m.) (2) difference.
પડભાગ (m.) stumbling while running.
પદભ્રષ્ટ (adj.) dethroned.
પદ્માકર (m.) a tank (S. પદ્મ a lotus, **આકર** abode).
પદ્માપતિ (m.) Viṣṇu ("lord of Padmā", the lotus-born Lakṣmī).
પમરવું to be fragrant.
પયોદ (n.) cloud (**પય** water, **દા** to give).
પરકાર (m.) mariner's compass.
પરભો (m.) wonder.

પરભૃતિકા (f.) the cuckoo (પર another, a stranger; S. **भृत्य**, servant).
પરવદીગાર (m.) King (2) the Almighty (પરવા care + P. *dīdan* to give).
પરવાનો (m.) (2) a butterfly.
પરશુરામ (m.) Rāma with the axe (an incarnation of Viṣṇu).
પરાગત (adj.) gone far (પરૂં distant; S. **गम**, to go).
પરામર્ષ (m.) solicitude, kind attention (2) deduction, inference (in logic).
પરિખા (f.) moat.
પરિચર્યા (f.) service, attendance on.
પરિજન (m.) retainer, servant.
પરિરંભ (m.) embrace.
પરિવેષ (m.) halo.
પરિષ્વજવું to embrace.
પરિષદ (m.) deputy, delegate, member of an assembly (**सद्**, to sit).
પરિસ્વેદ (m.) perspiration.
પરિહરવું to remove, abandon, give up.
પરીક્ષિત (m.) Arjuna's grandson.
પલ્લવટ (m.) (2) knot tied in the end of a woman's garment.
પલ્વલ (m.) a tank, small lake, water-hole (S.).
પહેલ (n.) covering layer (metals) (2) a strip of cloth for a bandage.
પક્ષ્મ (n.) eyelash (S.).
પાકાંગળા (adj.) fully ripe (પાક ripe, + આંગળી a finger).
પાગ (m.) (3) a bridge.
પાંચાળી (f.) Draupadī, daughter of Drupad, King of Pañcāladeś.
પાઠવવું to send (cf. Marāṭhī **पाठविणें**).
પાતા (m.) protector (S. **पा** to protect).
પાંથ (m.) traveller.
પારથ (m.) Arjuna (પાર્થ).
પાર્ષદ (m.) attendant, servant (**सद्**, to sit).
પારાવત (n.) dove, pigeon.
પારાવાર (m.) ocean.
પાલવ (m.) (4) ice.
પાવટ (f.) footpath (પાય + વાટ).
પિંડી (2) phallus (શિવલિંગ).
પિતંદર (m.) great ancestor (2) great lord.
પિતૃવ્ય (m.) uncle.
પિપિલિકા (f.) the ant (S.).
પિપાસિત (adj.) thirsty (S.).
પિષ્ટપેષણ (n.) fruitless reiteration (પિષ્ટ ground, pounded; પેષણ the act of grinding in a mill).
પુંકેસર (n.) stamen.
પુરા (adv.) formerly.
પુરુષોત્તમ (3) Śrī Kṛṣṇa (4) the Supreme Deity.
પુરુહુત (m.) Indra (S. "invoked by many").
પૂર્ણાનંદ (m.) God.
પુલિન (n.) a sandy shore or bank.
પોત (n.) a child (પુત).
પોહોપ (n.) a flower (S. **पुष्प**).
પૌરુષ (n.) manliness.
પ્રકામી (adj.) very eager, very amorous.
પ્રકોષ્ટ (m.) the forearm.
પ્રખર (adj.) fierce, fiery.
પ્રચંડ (adj.) great, immense.
પ્રણત (part.) fallen, bowing at the feet.
પ્રણય (m.) love, affection.
પ્રતિકાર (m.) opposition, retaliation, remedying.
પ્રતીચી (f.) the west.
પ્રતિધ્વનિ (f.) echo.
પ્રતિફળ (n.) retribution, requital.
પ્રતિભા (f.) prowess (2) great intellect or wisdom (3) lustre.
પ્રદાયિની (f.) giver, benefactress.
પ્રધ્વંસ (m.) utter destruction (S. **ध्वंस्**, to destroy.
પ્રબોધવું to awaken (2) to instruct, advise.

પ્રભવવું to be probable (2) to be born.
પ્રમદવન (n.) the women's garden.
પ્રયાગ (m.) Allāhābād.
પ્રલ્હાદ (m.) a devotee of Viṣṇu and son of the Asura Hiraṇyakaśipu.
પ્રલાયન (n.) escape.
પ્રવચન (n.) speech, speaking.
પ્રવદવું to speak.
પ્રવેષ્ટ (m.) the upper arm.
પ્રસંગાનુકૂળ (adj.) opportune.
પ્રસ્થવું to set out, march.
પ્રહર્ષ (m.) great joy.
પ્રક્ષાલણ (n.) ablution.
પ્રાક્તન (adj.) primitive, former; (2) fate, destiny.
પ્રાંગણ (n.) courtyard.
પ્રાણહર (adj.) dangerous, deadly.
પ્રાયે (adv.) probably, generally.
પ્રાવૃશ (m.) the rainy season.
પ્રાશવું to eat.
પ્રીજ્ઞ (f.) recognition, understanding.
પ્રેષિત (part.) sent.
પ્રેક્ષવું to see.
પ્હળે (પળે) far away there!

ફ

ફગેાટેા (m.) a throw.
ફરંદેા (m.) a gad-about, a "gay dog" (ફરવું) (P.).
ફરાગત (ની ઓરડી) lavatory (P.).
ફલક (m.) facet, smooth side.
ફાલુ (m.) an old jackal, separated from the pack.
ફિરસ્તા (m.) an angel (P.).
ફુર્તી (f.) alertness, wakefulness.
ફોરમ (f.) fragrance (A.).

બ

બંકુ (adj.) foppish, gay, showy.
બડભાગી (adj.) very fortunate (બડ H.. for *barā* મેાટું).
બડી ફજર (f.) (H.) dawn, early morning.
બંધુર (adj.) undulating (2) beautiful.
બપૈયાવન (n.) "lonely" wood (because the બપૈયેા or ચાતક wanders therein, separated from his mate).
બરડી (m.) peacock (S. **बर्हिस**).
બરેાળ (f.) the spleen.
બંસી (f.) a lute pipe, flute.
બહલાવવું to bloom, blossom.
બહુલ (વું) (adj.) excessive, very much.
બળિ (m. King of the nether regions.
બાજ (m.) (2) a horse (વાજ).
બાજીગરી (f.) sport (P.).
બાહ્યસ્થિત (adj.) objective.
બિસતંતુ (m.) lotus-stalk.
બુદ્ધિવાદ (m.) rationalism.
બુંબારેા (m.) gun-embrasure.
બેહયાઈ (f.) shamelessness (P.).
બેાડ (f.) den.
બ્રહ્મતનયા (f.) Sarasvatī, daughter of Brahmā.
બ્રહ્મર્ષિ (m.) a Brāhmaṇa saint.
બ્રહ્મરંધ્ર (n.) aperture in crown of head, through which the soul is said to depart at death.

ભ

ભંગ (m.) (3) a wave.
ભગિરથ (m.) a king of the Solar dynasty (2) (adj.) prodigious, Herculean.
ભગ્નાશ (adj.) despondent, despairing (**भग्न** broken + આશા).
ભર્ગ (m.) the Sun (2) Śiva (3) a Brahmaṇ.
ભલ્લુંકેા (m.) a spear (ભાલેા).
ભાખુબેાલુ = આડું અવળું બેાલનાર "one who beats about the bush".
ભાગવત (n.) one of the *Purāṇas*.
ભાગિરથી (f.) the river Ganges (as daughter of King Bhagiratha, who brought her from "Heaven").

ભાલચંદ્ર (m.) Śiva (with the crescent moon on his forehead).
ભીષણ (adj.) terrible.
ભુસું (adj.) evil, bad.
ભૂતટ (m. f. n.) surface of the earth.
ભૂર (adj.) foolish.
ભૂસ્તરવેત્તા (m.) geologist (**भू**+**स्तृ** to cover +**विद्** to know).
ભૃગુ (m.) Venus.
ભોમ (f.) (3) the earth (ભૂમી).
ભોર (m.) the dawn.
ભ્રૂણ (m.) fœtus (S.).

મ

મખ (m.) sacrifice (S.).
મડાગાંઠ (f.) death embrace (મડદું a corpse).
મઢુલી (f.) a hut.
મંદ્ર (adj.) sedate (2) pleasing, beautiful.
મઘવા (m.) Indra.
મધુસુદન (m.) Śrī Kṛṣṇa (slayer of the demon Madhu).
મનુનેત્ર (n.) the human eye (મનુ, મનુષ્ય).
મમતા (f.) (3) egoism.
મયુખ (m.) ray (S.).
મરજીવો (m.) pearl fisher (મરવું+જીવ).
મરણશય્યા (f.) deathbed.
મરહમ (m. n.) ointment, salve (P.).
મરીચી (m. f.) ray (S.).
મહકવું to be fragrant.
મહતારી (f.) a mother (cf. Marāṭhī **म्हातारी** an old woman).
મહાભારથી (m.) a great warrior.
મહીધર (m.) mountain (મહી the earth+ધરવું).
માખ્યેસાનું (n.) slur, disgrace (માખ a fly).
માતરિશ્વા (m.) the wind (S.).
માતુલ (m.) uncle.
માધવી (f.) a creeper, bearing white, fragrant flowers (*Gœrtnera racemosa*).
માયકાંકરું (adj.) weak, debilitated, pampered.
માર (m.) (7) Cupid.
માર્દવ (n.) softness, gentleness (S. **मृदु**).
માવ (m.) Kṛṣṇa.
માસિક (2) a monthly magazine.
માંસાહારી (adj.) carnivorous.
માહાનિધિ (m.) the ocean.
મિટ (f.) (2) sight, glance.
મિહિર (m.) the Sun.
મુકુટાવરણ (n.) corona.
મુકુર (m.) looking glass (S.).
મુકુલ (m. n.) bud (S.).
મુક્તાનંદ (m.) (2) the Deity.
મુગ્ધ (adj.) bewitching, beautiful (2) stupid (3) sinless.
મુખપૃષ્ઠ (n.) title page.
મુરશિદ (m.) a saint, holy man (Ar.).
મુસ્તાક (adj.) relying on, firm મુસ્તકીન (Ar.).
મૂળભૂત (adj.) fundamental, primary.
મૃગચર્મ (n.) antelope's skin.
મૃગનેણી (adj.) fawn-eyed.
મૃગમદ (m.) musk.
મૃગાંક (m.) the moon ("having the mark of a deer").
મૃગાધિપ (m.) the moon ("the lord of the deer") (2) a lion ("lord of beasts").
મૃગાધીશ (m.) lion ("lord of beasts").
મૃષા (adj.) false.
મેઘનાદ (m.) Indra (as Cloud-Thunderer).
મેધા (f.) acumen, intelligence.
મેન (m.) Cupid.
મેનકા (f.) a famous Apsarā, or heavenly nymph.
મૈથિલસુતા Sītā (daughter of Janaka, King of Mithilā).
મોટ (n.) a load.
મોરદાર married (Ar. મુહર, a seal).

મૌગ્ધ્ય (n.) beauty (2) bashfulness (3) guilelessness.
મૌલિ (f.) the head.

ય

યખ્ય (n.) ice (S.).
યમાનંદ (m.) Yama's delight, i.e. destruction of mankind.
યશાળી (adj.) famous.
યદૃચ્છા (f.) spontaneity, accident, wilfulness.
યાવચ્ચંદ્રદિવાકરૌ "to all eternity" (S. "as long as the moon and sun [endure]", a phrase appearing in title deeds).

ર

રક્તિમા redness.
રંગાવરણ (n.) chromosphere.
રઘુપતિ (m.) Rāma.
રફાઇ (f.) friendship (2) greatness (P.).
રબ્બ (m.) God (Ar.).
રમખાણ (n.) upset, uproar, disorder **રમ** to play, **ખન** to dig, uproot.
રવિનંદન (m.) Yama (son of the Sun).
રસદ (m.) / રસધર (m.) cloud / **રમ+દા** (give), **રમ+ધર્** (hold).
રહિ (f.) delight, satisfaction.
રહસિ (adv.) in secret, secretly.
રાકાપતિ (m.) the moon ("Lord of the full moon night").
રાગવૃત્તિ (f.) worldliness (રાગ worldly pleasure).
રાજરાજ (m.) Kubera, the God of wealth.
રાજ્યદ્રોહ (m.) treason.
રાઘવ (m.) Rāma.
રાધા (f.) wife of Śrī Kṛṣṇa.
રાભો (m.) a villager, a boor.
રામ idiom. તેના રામ રમી ગયા "he died".
રાયકો (m.) shepherd.
રિસ (f.) anger (રીસ).
રૂઆબદાર (adj.) stately, smart, lustrous (P. રૂ face, આબ water, lustre).
રૂડું (adj.) good, pleasing.
રૂતુરાજ Cupid ("Lord of the Spring season").
રૂતું (adj.) useless, to no purpose.
રૂંદ (suffix) e.g. અશ્રુરૂંદ "bathed in tears".
રૂપાંતર (m.) adaptation.
રૂરૂ (m.) a deer.
રૂષ્ટ (adj.) angry.
રૂક્મણિ (f.) Śrī Kṛṣṇa's chief Queen.
રેવા (f.) the Narmadā river.
રેસવું to kill, afflict.
રોફ (m.) beauty, lustre (P.).
રોહિણીનાથ / રોહિણીપતિ (m.) the Moon (lord of the "wain").

લ

લંકેશ (m.) Rāvaṇa ("King of Lankā" or (?) Ceylon).
લફ્ઝ (m.) word (Ar.).
લબ્બવસા (adv.) for a certainty (વસો = 1/16th of a વિઘું, q.v.).
લાસ્ય (n.) dance.
લીડ્રત (f.) enjoyment (3) excellence.
લોકોક્તિ (f.) saying rumour.

વ

વક્રીભવન (n.) refraction.
વઘન (n.) hindrance (વિઘ્ન).
વજ્ર (n.) (7) calyx.
વજ્રપાણિ (m.) Indra ("thunderbolt in hand").
વટક્ય get along! get out!
વણસાવું to stink.
વરતિ (m.) a Jain ascetic.
વર્જ્ય (adj.) fit to be abandoned, or excluded.
વર્ષણ (n.) rain, raining.

વરાંસો (m.) hope (ભરોસો).
વરેણ્ય (adj.) adorable (2) chief (S. **वृ** to choose).
વલય (m. n.) bangle (S.).
વશિષ્ટ (m.) one of the seven chief Ṛṣis of old.
વશેકવશે willy-nilly (કુ bad, વશ subjected).
વસંત (n.) (4) present of clothes, etc.
વસ્લ (m.) connexion, union, meeting (વસલો) (Ar.).
વહિવંસો (m.) a bard, minstrel.
વાગ્ (f.) speech (in compounds, e.g. વાગ્દેવતા = Sarasvatī).
વાચસ્પતિ Bṛhaspati, the preceptor of the Gods.
વાજ આણવું to harass.
વાટ (f.) (3) tyre of a wheel.
વાત્સ્યાયનીય (adj.) pertaining to Vātsyāyana (author of a કામશાસ્ત્ર).
વારસ્ત્રી (f.) concubine (S. વાર recurring point of time).
વારિદ (m.) a cloud (S. **वारि**, water + **दा**, give).
વારિભાષિક (adj.) technical.
વાંરી (m.) robber.
વાસ્તવ (adj.) true, credible.
વિકીર્ણ (adj.) scattered, loosened.
વિક્રમ (3) a step onward.
વિટપ (m.) tree, branch of a tree.
વિતથ (adj.) false, in vain.
વિતનુ (m.) Cupid (cf. અનંગ).
વિતાન (n.) canopy.
વિદય (adj.) merciless (**वि + दया**).
વિદળ (adj.) unpounded, whole.
વિદ્યુત (f.) (2) electricity.
વિનશ્વર (adj.) easily destroyed, transient.
વિનાશન (m.) destroyer.
વિપથ (m.) a bye-path.
વિપર્જય (m.) defeat, destruction.
વિપાક (m.) conclusion, result.
વિબુધ (m.) (2) a scholar (3) (adj.) wise, educated.
વિભિષણ (m.) brother of Rāvaṇa.
વિરત (adj.) (S.) ceased, stopped.
વિલોકવું to gaze at.
વિલોલ (adj.) trembling, unsteady, disordered.
વિવિક્ત (adj.) separate, distinct.
વિશિષ્ટ specific (in વિશિષ્ટ ગુરુત્વ, s. gravity).
વિશ્રંભ (m.) trust, confidence.
વિષ્ણુપદ (m.) the sky ("the seat of Viṣṇu").
વિસર્પિ (adj.) tortuous (**सृप्**, to move, glide).
વીચી (m. f.) a wave.
વેડફી દેવું to squander.
વેાણું (adj.) without, bereft of.
વૈદર્ભી (f.) Damayantī (daughter of King Vidarbha).
વૈપરિત્ય (n.) inversion (વિપરિત).
વૈરોચન (m.) Indra.
વૈશાલ્ય (n.) depth, profundity (વિશાળ).
વૈશેષિક (adj.) appertaining to one of the six Śāstras.
વ્યંજના (f.) allusion, suggestion.
વ્યષ્ટિ (f.) individuality (as opposed to સમષ્ટિ, aggregate).
વ્યસ્ત (adj.) set (as the Sun).
વ્યાસ (m.) (2) a Muni (3) the author of the Mahābhārata epic (4) an expounder of the Vedas.
વ્યુત્ક્રમપણ (n.) inverted order (**वि + उत् + क्रम**).
વ્રણ (m.) wound, scar.

શ

શકલ (n.) a piece, slice (S.).
શકરી (adj.) fickle (2) name of a fish.
શબર (m.) a Bhil.
શબ્દવેધી (m.) a marksman shooting blindfold and guided by sound.
શમા (f.) taper, lamp.

શરીફ (adj.) renowned, populous (Ar.) (મક્કા શરીફ; કલમે શરીફ).
શલભ (m.) locust (2) moth.
શશાંક (m.) the moon ("having the mark of a hare").
શામ (m.) Siam.
શીકર (m.) splash of water (S. **सिच्**, to sprinkle).
શીખ (f.) (2) permission to depart.
શુક્ત (f.) shell, oyster-shell.
શુકરાના (m. pl.) thanks (Ar.).
શુચિ (n.) the hot weather (July–August).
શુદ્ધાચમન (n.) washing the mouth after a meal.
શૂળપાણિ (m.) Śiva ("trident in hand").
શુશ્રુષા (f.) hospitality, attendance on.
શેહમાત (m.) checkmate (શાહ king).
શૈત્ય (n.) cold.
શૈલસુતા (f.) Pārvati ("daughter of the mountain").
શૌશવ (n.) youth (S.).
શ્રાવ્ય (adj.) audible (S. **श्रु**, hear).
શ્રીપતિ (m.) Viṣṇu ("husband of Śrī", or Lakśmī).
શ્વસન (n.) sigh (S. **श्वस्**, to breathe).

ષ

ષડ્રિપુ (m. pl.) the six "enemies" or inimical passions, i.e. કામ (lust), ક્રોધ (anger), લોભ (greed), મોહ (infatuation), મદ (pride), and મત્સર (jealousy).

સ

સકાશમાં close by.
સંદે (m.) doubt (S. સંદેહ).
સનમ (m.) a lover.
સંપાત (m.) the act of felling, a wound.
સભર (m.) high tide.
સંભાવ્યશક્તિ (f.) potential energy.
સમવાયિ (adj.) direct.
સમોષ્ણતાવૃત્ત (n.) isotherm.
સમસમાટ (m.) eerie noise (સણસણાટ).
સમશીતોષ્ણ (adj.) temperate.
સમીચીન (adj.) true, proper, abundant.
સમુલ્લાસ (m.) great joy.
સરણી (f.) progression (2) stream.
સરવું (adj.) sharp, nimble, fickle.
સંવૃત્ત (adj.) hidden, covered up.
સવ્યસાચી (m.) Arjuna (left-handed in grasping the bow).
સંસૃતિ (f.) stream, current, the stream of life, "the world."
સાટોપ (adj.) arrogant.
સાભિપ્રાય (adj.) consistent.
સામ્રાજ્ઞ (m.) an Emperor.
સાશંક (adj.) doubting, suspicious.
સાક્ષરતા (f.) literature.
સિક્ત (adj.) sprinkled.
સીતમ (m.) oppression, tyranny (P.).
સુકર (adj.) easy.
સુખદ (adj.) conferring happiness (સુખ+**दा**, give).
સુધાંશુ (m.) the moon (સુધા nectar +અંશુ ray).
સુપ્ત (adj.) asleep.
સુયુત (adj.) happily combined, well-matched.
સુરતા (f.) (2) divinity (સુર, a God).
સુરનદી (f.) the Ganges ("river of the Gods").
સુહાગણ (f.) the favourite Queen, or wife (સુ+ભાગ્ય).
સૂનકાર (m.) tranquillity, calm, stillness.
સૂક્ષ્મકર્ણક (n.) microphone.
સેંડકા (m. pl.) the ends of a *saree*.
સોરું (adj.) afterwards, latter.
સ્તંભતીર્થ (m.) Cambay.
સ્ત્રીકેસર (n.) pistil.
સ્મય (n.) wonder, pride (**स्मि** to smile).
સ્મર (m.) Cupid.
સ્રોત (m.) flow (S.).
સ્વપચ (m.) a low-caste, a Dhed.

ઙ

ઙબસીમૂઙ (f.) stubbornness ("Abyssinian's fist").
ઙલાહલ (n.) poison churned by the Gods from the ocean (2) any deadly poison.
ઙરડીએો (m.) Adam's apple.
ઙવિ (n.) sacrifice.
ઙસ્તિ (f.) existence.
ઙના (f.) the *mendī* plant (*Lawsonia inermis*).
હિમપ્રવાહ (m.) glacier.
હિરણ્યગર્ભ (m.) Brahmā (હિરણ્ય gold).
હિંસક } (adj.) murderous, cruel.
હિંસ્ર }
હૃષિકેશ (m.) Krṣṇa (S. **हृषिक**, organ of sense; **ईश**, lord).
હેમર (m.) a horse.

ક્ષ

ક્ષંતવ્ય (adj.) pardonable.
ક્ષેત્રજ્ઞ (adj.) "the soul" (ક્ષેત્ર, body + જ્ઞ, knowing).

THE SOUNDS OF SINA

By T. Grahame Bailey, assisted on the Phonetic side by Lilias E. Armstrong and on the Ṣinā side by D. L. R. Lorimer

Chart of Ṣinā Consonantal Phonemes

	Bi-labial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveo-lar	Palato-Alveolar	Retracted	Palatal	Velar
Plosive	p, b, ph		t, d, th			ṭ, ḍ, ṭh		k g kh
Affricate			ʦ, ʦh		c, ɟ, ch	ç j ç̣h		
Nasal	m		(n)	n	ɲ	ɳ	(ŋ)	ŋ
Lateral			(l)	l		(l)		
Tapped				r		ɾ		
Fricative		f, v		s z	ʃ ʒ	ṣ ẓ		χ ɣ
Vowel glide							j	
Aspirate	h, ɦ in any vowel position.							

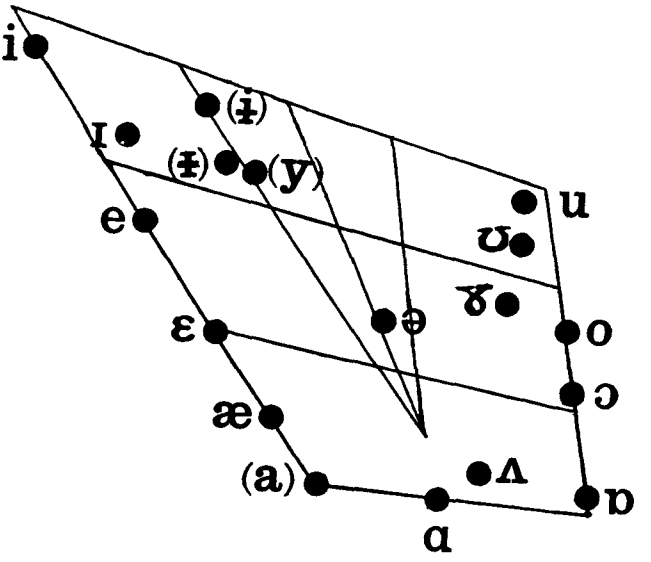
ɲ is strictly speaking dento-alveolo-palatal.

Symbols in brackets indicate subsidiary members of other phonemes.

In my *Shina Grammar* just published there is a popular description of the sounds written eight years ago in India, when it was impossible for me to consult anyone. Now I should like to alter some of it. In phonetics advance is so rapid that one's descriptions are out of date almost as soon as they are written. Happily it is all advance. There is no retrogression.

In order to indicate graphically the sounds of a language one must (i) decide what sounds are found in it, (ii) group them in phonemes, assigning one symbol to each phoneme (not to each speech sound), (iii) show their tongue position or place of articulation by correctly placing them on a sound chart. A phoneme may be *popularly* defined as a distinct, essential, and significant sound of a language, minor variations being disregarded.

CHART OF ṢIṆĀ VOWEL PHONEMES



Most of the above vowels are found nasal as well as non-nasal. I do not remember nasal ə, ɒ, ɔ, ɤ.

Section I gives Col. Lorimer's and my joint views, with such qualifications on his part as are inserted within square brackets followed by the initial " L ". Section II contains a number of minuter details for which I alone am responsible. The sound charts have been prepared by Miss Armstrong and myself. Col. Lorimer is in general agreement with them, but does not wish to commit himself to all the details ["regarding which I do not feel competent to form definite opinions": L.]. No two people speak a language alike; in India, especially in hilly regions, there are differences from village to village. Col. Lorimer and I worked with different men in different years. There are therefore naturally a few minor variations in our estimates of sounds. This holds in particular of vowels.

SECTION I

There are approximately 64 to 68 phonemes in Ṣiṇā, of which 40, including aspirated sounds, are consonantal. [Add " w ": L.] This number may be slightly increased or decreased after further investigation; thus ʐ, ʒ may be varieties of ʝ, ɟ. [I think they are: L.] But for the present it may be accepted as practically correct. Of these phonemes, sixteen consist of pairs of advanced and retracted consonantal sounds, as follows. (The difference is significant.)

Advanced:—**t, d, c, ɟ, n, r, ʃ, ʒ**; retracted: **ʈ, ɖ, ç, ʝ, ɳ, r, ʂ, ʐ.** [The retraction of **ç, ʝ** (**ʐ**), **ʂ, ʐ** is often so considerable as to be obvious to a European ear: L.] There are seven sounds which are found both aspirated and unaspirated, the difference being significant: **p, t, ʦ, c, ʈ, ç, k**; aspirated, **ph, th, ʦh, ch, ʈh, çh, kh** [**ph** being interchangeable with **ᵖf** or **f**: L.] Sonants are not aspirated.

The dental fricatives **θ** and **ð** (English *th* in *think* and *then*) are not heard in Ṣiṇā. The velar fricatives **χ** and **γ** (sometimes interchangeable with **kh** and **g**) are generally found in loan words such as **khʊdɑ** or **χʊdɑ**, God: **jɑγɪstɑn**, Yāgistān. They are faintly pronounced.

There are approximately 24–28 vowel phonemes, 14 non-nasal vowels, 10 or more of these also nasal. [**a** doubtful: L.] **i** and **ɪ** are retracted to **ɨ** and **ɤ** when one of the sounds **ç, ʝ, ʂ, ʐ** immediately follows or precedes. **ʊ** is advanced towards **y** in a few words. Doubtless some law, not yet discovered, governs this fact. In the meantime, we may enter **y** as belonging to the **ʊ** phoneme. [I know the change only as occurring optionally in a few words, when there is an **i** vowel in the next syllable: L.]

Some of the vowels appear in certain cases to be interchanged. Such are **ɑ, ʌ, ə, æ**: **i, ɪ**: **o, ɤ, ə, ʊ**: **e, ɛ.**

c. ɟ, ʃ, ʒ are not unlike English *ch, j, sh, zh*, but are unrounded and more advanced: **c** is unaspirated. **ç, ʝ, ʂ, ʐ** are the corresponding retracted sounds: lips unrounded.

b, m, g, n, s, z do not differ appreciably from the corresponding English sounds; **p** and **k** differ from English *p* and *k* in lacking aspiration.

f and **v** are not unlike English *f* and *v*, but are fainter. The friction is less and the acoustic effect is different. **v** is sometimes weakened to **ʊ** [? L.]

r is a single tap *r* as sometimes heard in Scotland or in English *thrill*.

ŋ is as in English, but when accompanying **-i** is very far forward.

j is less consonantal, i.e. is more like **e** than in English. [T. G. B.'s medial **j** is often omitted by me, or rendered by **i**: L.]

Section II

ɲ is not unlike the Italian and French sound [I agree: L.], but is further forward. It is made with the blade of the tongue against the alveolar ridge behind the upper teeth.

t, d are dental: **ʈ, ɖ** are the corresponding retracted sounds.

Their position is normally the same as in Panjabi and Urdu, but when accompanying high front vowels, they are more advanced.

ṇ is never initial: when medial it is the same as in Panjabi, but is further forward when final or with a high front vowel.

ṛ is as in Urdu and Panjabi. It is never initial, and rarely [if ever, L.] final.

h following a vowel tends to become sonant, but otherwise is as in English.

b, g, d, ḍ are sometimes, and **l, r** always, partly or wholly devocalized when final. [With more phonetic knowledge I should probably agree. I frequently have final **p, k, t,** corresponding to medial **b, g, d**: also sometimes final **s, c, ṣ,** corresponding to medial **z, ɟ, ʐ(j)**: L.]

The numbers in the following paragraphs refer to positions between the cardinal vowels. The nature of the vowels is shown by their position on the chart.

e has a position of about $1\frac{1}{3}$.

ɛ in the diphthong **ɛi** has a range of approximately 3 to $3\frac{1}{2}$.

a is probably a member of the **ɑ** phoneme. "**i**" in a following syllable advances **ɑ** from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to about 4, i.e. to **a**: **ɑ·lɤ** "he came"; **a·li**, "she came."

ɔ is heard chiefly in loan-words: **mɔ·lɑ·**, "Sunni priest," **gɔgɑ·**, "noise."

o is about $6\frac{2}{3}$: an unrounded and advanced variety of it, **ɤ**, is always short. **ɤ**, when final and unstressed, has a range of about $6\frac{2}{3}$ to $7\frac{1}{3}$. In Roman letters therefore one writes it sometimes -o and sometimes -ŭ.

ʌ is very low, not much above **ɑ**: **ʃʌṣ,** "mother-in-law."

Tone.—There is a low rising tone heard in a certain number of words. Its first part occurs always in a stressed syllable: the second part is about a tone higher than the first. The rule for its incidence is not known except to this extent that all abstract nouns ending in **-ɑr** and all conjunctive participles have it. Thus **bʌṛɪɑr,** "greatness": **ʃỹʒi·,** "swollen"; **thɛ·,** "having done."

Words illustrating cerebrals and aspirates: **ɟi·nɛ,** "living"; **ɟi·ṇɛ,** "rows": **tʌm,** "swimming"; **ṭʌm,** "falling," "shutting": **ṭhʌm,** "cleaning," "sweeping": **cʌk,** "pitchfork"; **chʌk,** "day": **bʌṭ,** "stone"; **bʌt,** "rice": **bʌṛi bʌri,** "a big pond": **kheṇ,** "time"; **keṇ,** "rock": **pʌr,** "last year": **phʌr,** "turn": **ɛk dʌm,** "altogether, etc."; **ɛk ḍʌm,** "once": **khɤṇ,** "shawl"; **kɤn,** "ear."

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

QUELLENWERKE DES ISLAMISCHEN SCHRIFTTUMS. I. Band. Suheil und Nevbehâr, romantisches Gedicht des Mes'ûd b. Aḥmed (8. Jhdt. d. H.). Nach der einzig erhaltenen Handschrift in der Preuss. Staatsbibliothek, mit einem Geleitwort von J. H. MORDTMANN. (Hannover, Orient-Buchhandlung Heinz Lafaire, 1925.) M. 25.

The growing cost of printing texts in Oriental type has in recent years been a serious check to the progress of Islamic studies, and every student of Arabic, Persian, or Turkish will welcome the application of the recently-improved method of photographic reproduction to the publication of texts hitherto inaccessible. The German Oriental Society has made use of this method to bring out a new issue of texts that have been long out of print and difficult to obtain, and the enterprising firm of Heinz Lafaire has now undertaken to render available in a similar manner an entirely new series of hitherto unpublished works. It has rightly been recognized that this method of publication is especially suitable in the case of unique manuscripts, of which only one copy is known to exist, so that no collation of other manuscripts is either possible or necessary. Accordingly, we are promised an edition of the early Ottoman chronicle of Bihishtī, to whom his editor, Professor Babinger, assigns a period between 1450 and 1520 (years that were so momentous in the history of the Turks): only one manuscript of this work is known to exist, in the British Museum. Persian scholars will see for the first time the Khwān-i-Ikhwān of that remarkable personage in the eleventh century, Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, a copy of which has survived in the library of Aya Sofia in Constantinople. To students of Arabic, Professor Grohmann will make accessible the Universal History of Ibn Kathīr and two volumes of Hamdānī's Iklīl. These works represent but a small part of this series as at present planned. It will give a fresh impulse to the study of Islam by the materials that it will provide for further investigations into Muslim history, literature and culture, and deserves the support of all Orientalists, as it will provide them with readable texts at a very small cost.

The first volume has just appeared and gives the Turkish text of a romantic poem by the earliest Ottoman poet of whom there is any record—Mes'ūd b. Aḥmed, who completed this poem in the year 1378. Gibb makes mention of it (I, 226), but had never himself been able to find a copy. The text (which is vocalized throughout) is beautifully clear and presents the attractive appearance of a MS. written by an expert calligraphist.

T. W. ARNOLD.

KARAGÖS, TÜRKISCHE SCHATTENSPIELE, HERAUSGEGEBEN, ÜBERSETZT UND ERKLÄRT VON HELLMUT RITTER. (Orient-Buchhandlung, Hannover, 1924.)

To students of modern Turkish, Professor Ritter's publication of the texts of three complete Turkish shadow-plays in the form in which they used to be represented in the imperial palace in Constantinople will be welcome, for hitherto only scanty and fragmentary material has been available for the study of this literature, so significant for the understanding of the workings of the mind of the average Turk. But apart from their psychological interest, these texts are valuable from a linguistic point of view, for examples of dialogue dealing with the common affairs of daily life and written in good Turkish, are not easy to find, and (as the editor explains) the language of these texts is "High-Ottoman" and in no way bears to the language of the cultivated Turk the relation that "Vulgar Arabic" bears to classical Arabic. The Turkish text is given in transliteration, partly on account of the expense of printing in Oriental type, and partly in order to make clear varieties of pronunciation in such dialect forms as occur.

For those students of Islam who do not read Turkish the editor's introduction and translation will direct attention to a branch of study that has received hardly any attention in English literature dealing with the Muhammadan world, namely, the outlook upon life of the Turk apart from orthodox presentations of what his religion bids him think. Particularly, to many readers it will be new to learn that, despite the common prohibition of representations of the human figure, the use of puppets in this shadow-play has received the sanction of high theological authority, on the ground that we have here a symbol of the unreal and transitory world and that the light which casts these shadows on the screen may draw the minds of the spectators to the contemplation of the divine light that is the source of all

existence. The translation is racy and vigorous, and cleverly reproduces many of the comic plays upon words of which the original text is full. The illustrations represent forty-eight of the puppets, which are made of skin, rubbed down to a transparent thinness, and eight of them are reproduced in the original colours.

T. W. ARNOLD.

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND ENGLAND (1601–1757). By BAL KRISHNA. pp. xxii + 370. Routledge, 1924. 14*s*.

We welcome this useful and interesting account of the East India Company's trade from its commencement to 1757. It divides the century and a half with which it deals into three periods of about fifty years each, surveys the general course of trade during each period, and then analyses it into its component parts, tracing in some detail the trade in each of the more important articles, and adding to each chapter appendices of what served the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for statistics. For this purpose Mr. Bal Krishna has drawn upon the records of the Custom-house as well as those at the India Office. It is in all respects a great pity that the information which they appear to contain should have proved so inconclusive. Nevertheless the author has been enabled at several points to supplement the existing information. Notably in the last quarter of the seventeenth century he has been able to correct the current ideas of the volume of the commodities sent out to India by showing to what extent the Company's exports may have been supplemented by those of its interloping rivals. Specially interesting are the accounts he gives of the various imports from the East—in particular indigo, piece-goods, and tea. Although he finds the Customs returns very baffling, and more often than not fails to reconcile his various sources of information, his survey of the trade is more complete than can be found elsewhere. At times we are unable to agree with or follow him. For instance (pp. 160–1) he alleges most brutal methods of repression as used by the Company against its rivals; but he neither specifies the methods nor quotes his authority. As regards the Dutch trade, he relies on the Hague transcripts at the India Office, Valentijn (why does he call the latter *Valentyne* in his text?) and Linschoten. These are not adequate material on which to base a solid account of the Dutch trade; he seems unacquainted with the work of Klerk de Reuss; and he ignores the very large mass of material which the Dutch them-

selves have printed. The Hague transcripts were, we believe, designed to illustrate political rather than economic developments. The account of the Dutch trade we take to be the weakest part of the book. Again the author seems to have missed the interest and importance that would have attached to a connected and detailed account of the re-exports of Oriental produce from England to other European countries. He refers to them occasionally, but has not worked out the matter. Minor points are his use of courtesy titles—it is odd to read of "Mr. Mun" after a lapse of three centuries: his quite mistaken description of the Ostenders as "free merchants" and "clandestine traders"—they were no more clandestine than the Company itself; the repeated error of "toncon" for *jankan* in the footnote on p. 43; and we wonder to what extent the writer could substantiate his view that the European merchants deliberately drove Indian traders off the Indian seas. In very many cases the traders of the two nations worked closely together.

CRIME IN INDIA. By S. M. EDWARDES. pp. viii + 169. Milford, 1924. 8*s*. 6*d*.

As Inspector-General of Police at Bombay, Mr. Edwardes has had plenty of opportunity of studying crime in India. His little book gives a general survey, classified under heads such as offences against the state or against property; and it is limited in time to recent years, so that Thagi and other extraordinarily interesting practices are omitted. Nevertheless the modern Indian criminal can still be very interesting. As Mr. Edwardes points out, and as he illustrates again and again, the peculiarity of the Indian criminal is that he may belong to either the ancient or the modern category. The criminal tribes, along with the methods taken in the hopes of reclaiming them, provides the author with one of his most interesting sections: and these are people whose hereditary duty it is to steal and rob just as much as it is the duty of the Brahman to perform ceremonies or of the Vaisya to buy and sell. Then beside these relics of an immemorial antiquity we find the modern product—railway thieves, insurance-swindlers, and so on. As examples of Indian ingenuity may be quoted one or two cases in which the ingenious took advantage of Mr. Gandhi's Non-co-operation campaign. The Muhammadan butchers of Bilaspur set abroad a rumour that the Mahatma had directed all goats to be set free; and then took advantage of the plentiful supplies that

were offered by alarmed owners to purchase large numbers for a mere song. Other plans were more nefarious. One rogue went about in Assam selling pills to the coolies as an antidote to the poison which he said the English managers were mixing with the well-water: and another pretended to be empowered to make alterations (for a consideration) in the land-registers to enable the ryots to obtain remissions of rent under an order of Mr. Gandhi and Mr. C. R. Das. Altogether this little book is both instructive and entertaining. It may be commended to all interested in Indian affairs, and especially to those about to go to India either as missionaries or as administrators.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN INDIA. By P. PADMANABHA PILLAI. pp. xviii + 330. Routledge, 1925. 12*s*. 6*d*.

This is an excellent and well-balanced book, entirely free from that vicious practice of discussing politics under the guise of economic questions. The historical portion is in places open to criticism. For instance, the author writes as though the Company prosecuted the weaver merely for taking advances from some other employer, whereas that was done only when the weaver took new advances before fulfilling a contract with the Company. But the remainder of the book is well and honestly thought out. Here are no sweeping allegations that India was once a great industrial country, but instead a moderate and reasonable estimate of the extent to which industry entered into her general life. The same candour is displayed in the author's judgment of Lord Curzon's services to Indian agriculture by the formation of the Agricultural Department: and Indians of the present generation seldom give Lord Curzon his due. On occasion we find generalizations which go to the roots of things, as when we are told that whereas in England the economic problem is largely one of distribution, in India it is one of production. The need of revising the railway tariff is emphasized, but the author is no protectionist, considering that India is not yet ready for such a measure. These illustrations show that the author has followed his evidence without seeking to make political capital at every turn; the result is a book that may be confidently recommended to all interested in the economic future of India as a well-thought-out piece of work.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF BENGAL. By F. J. MONAHAN. pp. xii + 248. Milford, 1925. 15*s*.

Though relating to Bihar rather than to Bengal, and more concerned with the Mauryan period in general than with either in particular, this little book will serve a useful purpose. It contains a lengthy abstract and comment on the *Kautiliya Arthasastra*, with long extracts from the classical writers who are believed to have drawn information from Megasthenes, and quotations from the inscriptions of Asoka. The author has therefore brought together within very moderate compass the chief documents on the Mauryan period; and although his conclusions differ little from those of the accepted authorities, he enables the student to survey the period with constant reference to the original writers on whom our knowledge mainly rests. The *Arthasastra* still remains obscure in many passages; and here and there Mr. Monahan was able to suggest improvements on the translation of Mr. Sama Sastri. For instance, the latter translates *sannidātṛ* as "chamberlain"; "treasurer" is proposed as an alternative. Mr. Monahan points out that the "office of the accountants"—*akṣapaṭala*—was in fact much more than that, indeed a record office; and he suggests that the military guilds—*śreṇi*—were probably mercenaries who enlisted in the royal army under their own chiefs, and only described as *śreṇi* by an analogy from the trade guilds. This portion seems to be all that Mr. Monahan left finished at the time of his death; but some of his lectures, carrying the history of Bengal down to the fourteenth century, have been printed in *Bengal Past and Present*.

H. H. DODWELL.

PHŒNICIAN ORIGIN OF BRITONS, SCOTS, AND ANGLO-SAXONS. By L. A. WADDELL, LL.D., C.B., C.I.E. pp. xxvi, 450. London: Williams & Norgate, 1924.

The revival of the top-hat has preserved for science an important proof of the origin of the inhabitants of this country. For it cannot but be considered the national headgear of the rulers of England (we do not speak with such assurance of Scotland), and its adoption by other nations as the ceremonial head-covering of males is only another indication of the way in which our Higher Civilization has imposed itself on less fortunate Gentiles. But to our point. The veriest tyro in Bedlamite Philology must be struck by the absolute identity of the word "top-hat" (at one time a tribal designation

in pre-Roman Britain) with the Tophet mentioned by Jeremiah, who is thus shown to have been true prophet (indeed, are not the words "prophet" and "Jeremiah" often synonymous?). But we must not stop there. *Ph* and *b* are always interchangeable. Hence there is no doubt that Tophet and Tibet are identical, and that Jeremiah (whose name after all is a but slightly variant form of Dalai Lama) by his cryptic reference to a valley was in reality describing the great plateau, or even Mount Everest itself, which as the superlative of "ever" is symbolic of the durability of the top-hat habit. If any further proof could be needed, it is found in this. Tophet was situate in the valley of Ben Hinnom;[1] and only the perversity of Western scholars has hitherto prevented the old Phœnician-Pali (the names are identical) Hīnayāna being known as the source of Tibetan Buddhism. It is to be hoped therefore that the Tibetans, after the publication of this discovery, will submit to peaceful penetration on the part of their blood-brothers, the top-hatted (or Tibetan) Britons.

It is unfortunate that the author of the book under review should have seemingly missed this great truth, especially as he appears on the title-page as "ex-professor of Tibetan, London University", though we believe "ex-professor of Tibetan, University College", would have been the more accurate description.

But anyone who likes may, for 15*s*., enjoy 450 pages of miraculous discoveries, before which the above would pale into insignificance. Every page contains a gem, or many gems. In the Newton Stone found in Scotland the author discovers (no one else ever "discovered" or "disclosed" so much) the word *ka*, to which he gives the meaning *of*. This he identifies straightway with the Hindī adjectival genitive affix *kā*, and is strongly inclined to connect with the Gothic *S* (whatever the Gothic *S* may be!). The Britons are the Bharatas of the Rigveda (or, as the discoverer writes them in kindly thought to sharpen our etymological obtuseness, the Barats). Curiously enough the same name is found in the Latin *Fort(una)*, of which the second part is identical with the word for "one" and the Sumerian *ana*, so that it means "one of the Barats". But the identification of Vedic Indra with the patron saint of Scotland is so obvious that we wonder the writer troubled himself to mention it.

All this may be admirable fooling. But we have an uneasy feeling that the author really believes it; and that, since printing must be true, he will find readers to believe it too. No wonder is there that

[1] *Encyclopædia Britannica*, s.v. Tophet.

our neighbours look upon us Hittite- (for you may be sure the Hittites are not omitted) Aryan-Phœnician-Barat-English as a strange, unaccountable people, and not the less in that such a volume as this can be printed, published, and even sold in our midst, to the extent, we believe, already of a second edition.

R. L. TURNER.

HET BOEK DER DUIZEND VRAGEN. Door GUILLAUME FRÉDÉRIC PIJPER. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xv, 90, 121. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1924.

The average European student of Malay has no stomach for Malay religious literature. He finds it dull, written in a bad and difficult style, full of technical terms which he has to hunt up in Arabic dictionaries, and in fact generally unattractive. It is all of foreign origin or inspiration, and therefore in no way characteristically Malay; and most of it consists of translations from Arabic works of which a good few have been rendered into one or other of the readable European languages. Therefore, and with good reason, the ordinary reader avoids it. But in doing so he leaves a serious gap in his studies; for works of this type, arid and uninspiring as they appear to us, have had a considerable influence on Malay thought and opinion, which, after all, it is part of a student's business to attempt to appreciate and comprehend. Yet I confess that I have much sympathy with his point of view and do not anticipate that this branch of Malay literature will ever appeal greatly to European readers.

Dr. Pijper has laid us under a very considerable obligation in this matter, for he has managed to invest one of these uninviting works with a new interest. The Book of a Thousand Questions, as it has been conventionally styled, is indeed a somewhat miscellaneous theological and cosmological farrago, but is more readable than most others of its class, and it has had a remarkable history. Starting from a tradition of very respectable antiquity that Muhammad, on his arrival at Medinah immediately after the Hejirah, had been met by a learned Jewish Rabbi named 'Abd Allāh ibn Salām who, after questioning the Prophet on various matters connected with religion, had declared himself a convert to the new revelation, it has developed into quite a substantial treatise: the Malay text takes up 121 pages. But what is particularly noteworthy is that the work, no doubt in a much shorter form, was already known in its Arabic original before A.D. 963, and that from the Arabic it was translated into Latin as early as A.D. 1143, being therefore the first work on

Muhammadanism to reach the European world in a language which it could understand. This was not, however, a piece of Islamic propaganda: on the contrary, it was material gathered, at the instigation of a Cluniac Abbot who visited Toledo in 1141, with a view to Christian missionary efforts against Islam.

From an early Arabic original, which in course of time expanded greatly in different recensions, the work was done into a number of other languages, including Persian, Turkish, Hindostani, Javanese, and Malay. Dr. Pijper, in his most valuable historical account of this evolution, as one may call it, points out the remarkable fact that of all the recensions he has examined the Malay one is at present the most faithful representative of the Arabic text done into Latin in 1143, and that it has come through a Persian version which has not yet been identified. The edition of the Malay text which he gives us is based on a MS. from Batavia, but he has added an *apparatus criticus* of variants from more than a dozen other MSS., including one belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society which he was able to consult at our School. It is pleasing to think that we have been, in some small degree, of assistance in the production of such a scholarly piece of work. Like several other doctorate theses by Dutch scholars that I have seen in recent years, Dr. Pijper's work maintains a high level in the technical handling of its subject matter, and is a real contribution to Oriental studies.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

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1. SARVA-DARŚANA-SAṂGRAHA OF SĀYAṆA-MĀDHAVA. Edited with an original commentary in Sanskrit by Mahamahopadhyaya VASUDEV SHASTRI ABHYANKAR. (Government Oriental (Hindu) Series No. 1.) pp. 158, 643. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute: Poona, 1924. 8°.

The *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha* well deserves the place of honour assigned to it in the new Government Oriental Series and the distinction of having a commentary written upon it by one of the most erudite of living Śāstrīs. As an intellectual *tour de force* it is probably unsurpassed, and perhaps unequalled: for it sets forth with perfectly calm objectivity the doctrines of sixteen schools of thought, and it is not until we arrive at the last chapter, the exposition of Śaṃkara's doctrine (which, by the way, is by a different hand from that of the

author of the preceding chapters),[1] that we discover the real sentiments of our author, or authors. Such detachment is as singular as the information is valuable.

Yet the detachment is not absolute: there is an underlying implication, expressed not in words but in arrangement. The systems of thought are set forth in an order determined by their relative degree of intellectual refinement, according to our author's opinion. First and lowest are the atheistic schools, comprising successively the blatantly materialistic Cārvākas, the logical and positive Buddhists, and the equally logical but polylemmatic Jains: then come the various sorts of *āstikas* or believers, the lowest place among them (*quantum religio potuit suadere!*) being assigned to the Rāmānujīyas, while the highest and last rank in the order of spiritual enlightenment is held by the school of Śaṃkara. The whole book is dominated by this conception of the successive ascent of the various systems from the nearest to the most exalted level. Such a method of exposition, however, is not historical; the idea of history was hardly understood by our author, or authors, and the learned Śāstrī, whose commentary most skilfully grasps their mental attitude, has not quite adjusted it to historical reality.

The value of this excellent book is enhanced by the copious indices and classified bibliography. The new series thus starts most auspiciously.

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2. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. New Series. Edited by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar [and] Professor Shaikh Abdul Kadir. Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 191. Bombay, 1925. 8vo.

The number of the *JBBRAS.* before us opens a new series, and calls for our hearty congratulations and good wishes for its future success. *Felix faustum siet!* The new order begins under most happy auspices, under the editorship of two capable and distinguished scholars, who offer us an excellent series of papers, presented in attractive print. The place of honour is worthily held by Dr. Sten Konow, who contributes a paper on the names and designations of the Kaniṣka mentioned in the Ara inscription, in which very plausibly he reads the name of the latter's father as *Vajheṣka* and identifies him with Vāsiṣka. Mr. D. B.

[1] The chapter on *Śāṃkara-darśana* is by Sāyaṇa, the rest of the book by Mādhava, son of Sāyaṇa, as Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar has proved in *Ind. Ant.* xlv, p. 17 ff.

Diskalkar publishes eighteen charters of the Maitraka kings of Valabhī, and Mr. G. V. Acharya gives notes on seven other documents of the same dynasty, while Mr. A. Master discusses stress-accent in modern Gujarati and Mr. P. V. Kane examines the reference to the Dharmaśāstras in Kumārila's *Tantra-vārttika*. Two good papers are from the pen of Dr. Sukthankar. The first, which forms No. 6 of his "Studies in Bhāsa", is a searching criticism of Dr. Printz's *Bhāsa's Prākrit*, which he convicts of error in (*a*) ascribing generally to Bhāsa's age the Prakrit forms found in the MSS. of the plays edited by Gaṇapati Śāstri, (*b*) incorrectly classifying these Prakrits, and (*c*) thence drawing futile chronological conclusions, while admitting that Dr. Printz has made a contribution to the subject in showing that the MSS. have some examples of the acc. plur. masc. in *-āṇi*, "though the instances are not quite as numerous as Printz supposes them to be." The second paper is entitled "The Bhāsa Riddle: a proposed solution", and its main conclusions are stated by the author as follows: "Our Svapnavāsavadatta is a Malayalam recension of Bhāsa's drama of that name: the Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa may be by the same author; but the authorship of the rest of the dramas must be said to be still quite uncertain . . . The only factor which unites these plays into a group is that they form part of the repertoire of a class of hereditary actors. The Cārudatta is the original of the Mṛcchakaṭika." It is peculiarly gratifying and encouraging to me to find a scholar so learned and judicious as Dr. Sukthankar arriving at conclusions so nearly in agreement with my own. Mention is due also of three other papers, notes by Mr. N. B. Divatia on the oblique form and dative suffix in *-s* in Marathi and by the Rev. H. Heras, S.J., on the Portuguese alliance with the Muhammadan kingdoms of the Deccan, and a study of the date of the Bhāgavata by Mr. C. V. Vaidya, who from a consideration of various data in that Purāṇa assigns it to the tenth century, thus coinciding with Dr. Farquhar's view (*ORLI.*, p. 231 f.). The reviews of books are likewise good.

3. THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY. Edited by NARENDRA NATH LAW. Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 198. Calcutta, 1925. 8vo.

As Indian historical studies are rapidly increasing, there is ample scope for a new quarterly dealing with the subject, and Dr. Law is to be commended for his enterprise in launching this journal, which we hope will have a very successful career. Professor Sten Konow contributes to it a judicious introduction, which is followed by an

able reply by Professor A. B. Keith to Dr. Hertel's recently published essay on the date of Zoroaster and the Rgvēda, and the first instalment of an interesting account by Mm. Haraprasad Sastri of the recovery of Northern Buddhist literature from Hodgson's epoch-making researches until the present time. The other papers are mostly short (the longest is a compilation by Dr. B. C. Law of literary references to the Kosalas), and of very various merit, some of the best notes treating of points in literary history. It must be confessed that in spite of the picture of a Harappa seal which decorates its wrapper the journal has not yet made any notable contribution to history.

L. D. BARNETT.

ERGEBNISSE DER KGL. PREUSSISCHEN TURFAN-EXPEDITIONEN. Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien von A. VON LE COQ. Dritter Teil: Die Wandmalereien, Berlin, 1924. Vierter Teil: Atlas zu den Wandmalereien, Berlin, 1924.

With these two brilliantly illustrated volumes Professor von Le Coq has brought to a finish his great work on the Buddhist "Spätantike" in Central Asia and has thus furnished us with further proofs—if such were indeed needed—of his great capacity not only as an explorer of the sand-buried art treasures of Turkestān but also as a profound investigator of the history and development of Asiatic art in general. Everyone who has the slightest interest in the all-important problems connected with the art of Gandhāra and the spread of Hellenistic influence on art throughout Asia will, with great pleasure, give due credit to the speed and skill with which Professor von Le Coq has been able to accomplish his vast and by no means easy work of research.

The present writer, about a year ago, had the pleasure of reviewing at some length the second volume of this work, dealing with the important Manichæan miniatures and also giving, in a very abbreviated form, Professor von Le Coq's general views on the development of Asiatic art.[1] With the greatest diffidence I then ventured to point out that Professor von Le Coq's theories concerning the predominant influence of Hellenistic art on those of India, China, etc., were perhaps of a somewhat too sweeping nature, and that something might perhaps be pleaded in defence of the older national arts of these countries. Closely restricting my own judgment—if so it might be called—to matters connected with India, I still was under the impression

[1] Cf. *Svenska Orientsällskapets Årsbok*, ii (1924), pp. 73–100.

that scholars with altogether higher qualifications would put forward in a strictly scientific and unprepossessed spirit their own views on these subjects and thus help to further our knowledge of these vast, difficult, and most important problems.

Unfortunately, these expectations have so far scarcely been fulfilled. As was to be expected, Professor von Le Coq's work has drawn forth, in different periodicals, quite a number of reviews, some of which may be read with a certain amount of gain to the reader, but several of which do mainly consist of pettifogging and wholly unscientific criticisms of the author's general views on the importance and spread of the Gandhāra art.[1] This peculiar development of Indian subjects clothed in the garb of Hellenism apparently forms as vivid a point of controversy as ever between the protagonists of different sets of European scholars. Unfortunately, the representatives of the anti-Gandhāra line very often seem inclined to put forward arguments of feeling rather than such furnished by research, and so discussion with them does not always turn out to be very fruitful.

That Gandhāra art originated within schools of Hellenistic workmen who settled down in the utmost north-western corner of India and adjoining districts during a period which we can define within certain rather narrow limits is, I might venture to think, a matter of common consensus. But there, curiously enough, agreement seems to cease. While there seems to be little possibility of doubting the fact that from Gandhāra this peculiar art, a mixture of Hellenistic and Indian elements, was imported, at a rather early date, into Central Asia and there continued to develop on its own lines, some scholars seem to hold it that the way was exactly the obverse one, and that it was in fact brought into India from the North with the invasion of the Kushāṇas. This somewhat amazing theory, proofs of which do not seem to be forthcoming, is not only unnecessary but also distinctly harmful, as it appears to be wholly contrary to all the evidence now available.

That the Gandhāra art, and consequently a certain modification of Hellenistic sculpture and painting, gained a footing in Central Asia at an early date, and from there spread further Eastwards, cannot, with reason, be contested. But opinions will diverge heavily as to the extent and importance of this influence of antique art on that of the Far East; for while Professor von Le Coq is inclined to see in the importation of Asiatized Hellenistic art ideals and methods

[1] A typical example of the later sort is furnished by the short review by Dr. Cohn in the *Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst*, 1924, p. 248.

into China the chief impetus towards artistic development in that country, other scholars will, with similar vigour, maintain the existence of a highly developed Chinese art long before the time when Western influence become possible there.

The present writer does not feel in the very least entitled to form an opinion on this very difficult point of controversy. But it undoubtedly forms a strong point in favour of the opinion of Professor von Le Coq that in the earliest remains of Central Asian art Chinese influence seems to be wholly untraceable, and does not set in until some centuries later on. For we know from authentic sources that already the earlier Hans had brought their power to bear upon Turkestān and adjoining provinces, and the inference seems wholly legitimate that China did not at that period possess those highly developed standards of painting and sculpture which would have been able strongly to impress themselves upon the infant and dependent art of Central Asia. After all, it may well be the case that Hellenism, through the agency of Gandhāra and Central Asian art, extended its triumphant progress even as far as the land of the Seres.

Nearly throughout the different periods of this Central Asian art—the very oldest one of course forming an exception—there seems to be a rather marked Sassanian influence. Taking into consideration the predominant position occupied during some four centuries by the glorious empire of the descendants of Ardashīr, this fact should cause only moderate astonishment. Unfortunately, our knowledge of the achievements of the Sassanians is very limited, though quite recently the investigations of Professor Herzfeld promise to shed some light on the rise and growth of that marvellous and highly cultured empire which must have performed a most important task in conveying Western ideas and civilization towards the East. A systematic study of Sassanian influence on Central Asia is perhaps not yet possible, but would certainly be of the very greatest importance; to mention only a detail, scholars interesting themselves in the history of vestments and the wanderings of different patterns, the appearance of heraldic emblems, etc., will find, in the work of Professor von Le Coq, ample evidence of the spread of those standards of fashion created within the empire of Chosroes.

If after these general considerations the present writer ventures upon some scanty detailed remarks it should be understood from the first that these are of a most unpretending nature and put forward only with great diffidence. They simply aim at completing, on

one or two rather unimportant points, the information collected by the learned author.

The plate 19 of volume iii shows us some ladies with a most peculiar sort of head-dress with a horn-like protuberance in front; this may perhaps have some connexion with the horn-like head- and hair-dresses recorded from Ancient India by Graeven, *Jahrbuch des Kais. Deutschen Archäol. Inst.*, xv, p. 195 sq., and from Kāfirīstān, etc., by the late Professor von Schroeder, *Vienna Or. J.*, xiii. p. 397 sq.[1]

On plate 2 of volume iv we see a prince of the gods on his throne surrounded by other divine persons: in front of him a young god is seen kneeling in a praying attitude. The palace in which this scene is enacted is apparently situated on the top of Mount Meru. The identification of this remarkable picture, quoted from Professor Grünwedel,[2] is rather vague though, of course, correct to a certain extent. Still, I venture to think that we may give a more definite identification of this scene. On his way from the heaven of the *Tuṣita*-gods to become incarnated in the womb of Māyā the Bodhisattva visited *Nandanavana* and the palace of the Indra residing there.[3] Now the city of Indra would appropriately be situated on the top of Mount Meru, and so I suggest that what we see before us here is in reality the Bodhisattva taking leave of Indra immediately before his descent upon earth. As an outward sign of his forthcoming departure from heaven his halo ought to have vanished, but these painters do not always seem to be quite strict in matters like that.

As for plate 3 it does not suggest anything very definite. It may, as well as not, represent the Bodhisattva in his harem before the renunciation.

Two very interesting scenes are represented on plate 9, viz. 9*c* and 9*d*. Professor von Le Coq has not seen his way to identify the scene depicted in 9*c*, but that can be done with a fair amount of certainty. No doubt, Professor Grünwedel [4] gave a good indication of the subject when he spoke of the scene where a man is seen "catching *kinnarīs* with a sling". For the picture undoubtedly is meant to represent the *Kinnarījātaka* as we have it in the Mahāvastu, vol. ii,

[1] A quotation in Rockhill, *Journey of Friar William of Rubruck*, p. 73 sq., n. 2, from the Chinese work *Wei Shu* (Book 102, 13), may probably be put in direct connexion with our plate as it speaks of the head-dress of the women of a certain Uigur people. Cf. also Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, ii, p. 185.

[2] Cf. *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*, p. 110.

[3] *Jātaka*, i, p. 49 seq. Cf. also Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 13.

[4] Cf. *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*, p. 138.

p. 94, 19 sq. To make this perfectly clear I shall here quote some short abstracts from that text.

The Jātaka tells us how king Sucandrima in Siṃhapura wanted to perform a sacrifice of all living creatures, and how, in consequence, one specimen of each species was caught and put into a sacrificial enclosure. The officiating Brahmins, however, found that a *kinnarī* was missing, and so an especially clever hunter was dispatched to the Himālaya in order to catch one. "Meanwhile in Himavant he got sight of a holy man's hermitage, pleasant and well stocked with roots, leaves, and fruits. He respectfully drew near to the saint and stood there after having saluted his feet; then the saint spoke to him thus, "Come! welcome to you! Sit down on this seat."[1] And the saint entered into friendly conversation with him and, according to a holy man's duty, offered him fruits and water. So he sat there, having eaten the fruits and drunk the water. And suddenly he heard, in the holy man's neighbourhood, the sounds of a song, sweet and such as was never before heard. Then he asked the saint, "Holy sire, pray, is this lovely song that of divine maidens or of *nāga* maids?" The saint answered, "Neither, but it is the song of *kinnarīs*." So he further asked the saint, "Holy sire, the song is heard but nobody is seen. Where do they sing?" And the saint replied, "On the northern side of this hermitage there is a lotus-pond where at all seasons and all times there are to be found lotuses, blue, red, white, and sweet-scented. Thither comes, from Mount Kailāsa, Manoharā, the daughter of Druma, the *kinnara*-king, with a following of numerous *kinnaras* and *kinnarīs* to sport in this lotus-pond." He said, "Holy sire, was it ever heard that human beings could sport and dally with the *kinnarīs*? How are the *kinnarīs* brought into the power of man?" The saint replied, "They are bound by a spell of truth (*satyavākya*) and cannot disappear." And in the sweetness of his heart and unsuspicious uprightness the saint told him, not knowing that he was in need of a *kinnarī*.

"Then the hunter took leave of the holy man and went to the lotus-pond where that daughter of Druma, the king of the *kinnaras*, was having her sport. And the *kinnarīs* being inebriated with the song and the splashing of the water did not notice the hunter. And amongst them Manoharā was foremost in beauty and power of voice. So the hunter went within hearing of Manoharā and bound her with this spell of truth—

[1] *Śibikā* literally means "a palkee, a litter".

" Thou art the glorious daughter of king Druma, the ruler of the *kinnaras* : stay, O *kinnarī*, thou art bound with this spell of truth.

" As thou art the daughter of king Druma and hast been fostered by king Druma—because of this word of truth, O gracious Manoharā, do not move one step.

" Thus Manoharā, being bound by that hunter with this spell of truth, was not able to disappear. But all the other *kinnaras* and *kinnarīs* disappeared." [1]

The rest of the story does not interest us in this connexion.

These apparently are the scenes enacted in plate 9*c*. There is, of course, one marked difference, but one sprung from sheer necessity ; for it cannot be well imagined how the painter could depict the capture by means of a *satyavākya* and so he had to make the hunter fulfil his task in a more realistic way, viz. by means of a sling.

Plate 9*d* is of a somewhat more ghastly nature, as it shows us a series of scenes from different hells—a favourite topic with Buddhist authors and artists. The fifth one of these scenes represents a man only half visible, because of the surrounding flames, and being squeezed between two rocky mountain-peaks, both of them crowned with a ram's head. Professor von Le Coq suggests a connexion with the Symplegades of classical lore : but this is scarcely necessary, for the hell called *Saṃghāta* is well known to the Buddhists. Looking up the Mahāvastu, i, p. 21 sq., we find that the sinners driven there by the armed servants of Yama take refuge between two mountains : " Then fire appears in front of them, and being frightened they try to turn back. Then again fire appears behind them. And then the mountains clash together. . . and when clashing together they squeeze them like sugar-canes," etc. There is nothing here, or in any other passage known to me, about the ram's heads. But from the Jātaka, the Pañcatantra, etc., it is well known how anybody fares who will venture himself between fighting rams.

The curious red streaks at the bottom of all the hell-scenes probably are intended to depict the streams of blood flowing from the poor tortured victims.

In another remarkable hell-scene, on plate 19, the mountain grown over with sword-blades on which sinners are seen writhing gives a curious variation of the well-known *Asipattravana*, the forest where the dropping leaves are razor-like blades chopping the denizens of hell to pieces.

[1] The final scene undoubtedly reminds us of the old tale of Purūravas and Urvaśī.

On plate 16 we find, on a table in the centre of the picture, three pairs of cymbals, two censers, and a thing described by Professor von Le Coq as being half-destroyed and reddish-brown but of uncertain character. As far as the present writer can judge it must be one of the well-known Indian drums in the shape of an hour-glass known by the name of *ḍamaru* (or, in Tamil, *uḍukkai*) and constantly recurring as an attribute of Śiva.[1]

That the Manichæans should have helped in transmitting to Europe the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat is a suggestion tentatively put forward by Professor von Le Coq (vol. iv, p. 15). That this is the case has already been suggested by M. Alfaric and Professor Günter, and it is, I should venture to think, a perfectly sound theory which can be looked upon as being fairly well proved. Future researches will perhaps shed more light on the activities of the very versatile followers of Manī in this kind of literary work.

With these very modest remarks we must take leave of the extremely interesting and valuable work of Professor von Le Coq. It is so far his greatest contribution towards our knowledge of the all-important finds in Central Asia, but we venture to hope that it will not be the last one. From his great learning and sound judgment every scholar interested in the art and culture of mediaeval Asia will still have to expect great things.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

EARLY JESUIT TRAVELLERS IN CENTRAL ASIA, 1603–1721. By C. WESSELS, S.J. The Hague, 1924.

This voluminous work of Father Wessels, a well-known author on older Jesuit travellers, substantially adds to our knowledge of the history of the exploration of Tibet and Central Asia, the many dubious points of which are familiar to every one who has busied himself, even to the smallest degree, with that fascinating subject. The Father, who has, of course, had unlimited access to the precious archives of the Society of Jesus, has unearthed a vast amount of hitherto unused manuscript materials from which he has been able to ascertain not a few facts of which scholars were until now certainly not aware. He has also availed himself of certain works composed by members of his Order with which the average secular student is, unfortunately, too often unfamiliar; the present writer would like to draw attention in this connexion to works like the modern edition, by Father Tacchi

[1] Cf. e.g. Fox-Strangways, *The Music of Hindostan*, p. 228.

Venturi, of the apparently very important writings of the famous Father Matteo Ricci.

The record of the Jesuit Fathers as explorers of unknown Asia—and of other continents as well—is one which is bound to elicit our unlimited admiration. The self-sacrificing enthusiasm and the truly scientific spirit in which these early travellers carried out, often under the most severe hardships, their important researches deserve any amount of praise: and to whatever degree opinions may vary concerning other achievements of the Society of Jesus there should be no disagreement upon its record in the field of geographical, ethnographical, and linguistic research.

The work of the learned Father deals with the following travellers in Tibet and Central Asia, viz. Bento de Goes (1602–7), Antonio de Andrade (1624), the members of the Tsaparang Mission (1625–40), Francisco de Azevedo (1631–2), Stephen Cacella and John Cabral (1626–32), John Grueber and Albert d'Orville (1661–4), and Hippolyte Desideri (1714–22). Several of these men were already very famous, and every scholar interested in the history of geographical exploration in Asia will always remember, with admiration and reverence, the names of Goes or of Grueber and d'Orville which will for ever rank amongst the foremost ones of earlier European travellers. But on all of them Father Wessels has been able to shed considerable new light, and he has made scholars deeply indebted to him for presenting them with this result of solid, and at times even somewhat ponderous, scholarship.

Even earlier than Goes, a certain lay-brother of the Society, called Diogo d'Almeida, is said to have proceeded to what is told to have been Tibet, but was in reality almost certainly Ladakh.[1] Of his relation and of the wonders of that country a short abstract has been preserved by Gouvea in his rare work *Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa, D. Frey Aleixo de Menezes . . as Serras de Malabar*, etc. (1606). Unfortunately, further information concerning this interesting journey has not been forthcoming, and d'Almeida is not mentioned by Father Wessels.

The bibliography of the work is not always quite complete, and one is slightly astonished to notice that in dealing with the Jesuit Missions to Akbar, the learned Father has not even mentioned the standard work of the late Mr. Vincent Smith. There is a somewhat strong objection against denoting, as has been done on p. 4 sq., by the

[1] Cf. Charpentier, *Geografiska Annaler*, 1919, p. 279 sq.; Hedin, ibid., 1919, p. 304 sq.

"Mogul" empire that of Chingis Khān and his descendants, for the name of "Mogul" should rightly be reserved to the real or titular emperors ruling Hindūstān between 1526 and 1858. Nor does it seem quite apt—though this is, of course, sometimes met with—to style the great Akbar simply "the Khan" (p. 12).

Certain other minor objections would perhaps present themselves to the present writer, but they are altogether too unimportant to be put forward here, and do not in any way detract from the value of the certainly very good work of Father Wessels. We may hope soon again to meet him in the field of his favourite research.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

THE CALIPHATE. By Professor Sir T. W. ARNOLD. pp. 223. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 10*s.* 6*d.*

In little more than 200 pages Sir Thomas Arnold has succeeded in presenting a comprehensive and authoritative history of the institution of the Caliphate, from the appointment of Abu Bakr down to the deposition of 'Abdul Majīd last year. Moreover, he has presented it in such a form that the book will be of equal value to historical scholars and to statesmen and publicists whose interest is focused upon the contemporary world. Scholars will find each argument supported by a discussion of the sources—many of which are here brought to bear for the first time upon the problem in hand—while publicists will be delighted at the clearness with which the theory and the practice of the Caliphate are distinguished in each of the many metamorphoses through which both have passed. Sir Thomas Arnold's work is so compact that any attempt to give an adequate account of its contents would transform this review into a second-hand paraphrase of the original. It therefore seems best to dwell on two features, one of which will be of special interest to historians and the other to students of modern international politics. The first is the profound transformation of the institution in practice from about the year A.D. 875 (to take a round figure) and in theory from the fall of Baghdad in A.D. 1258—a transformation which exemplifies the completeness of the interregnum which the invasions of the Nomads made in Islamic history. The second is the formidably documented and powerfully reasoned refutation of the legend that the Ottoman Sultan Salīm I caused al-Mutawakkil, the last of the shadowy 'Abbāsid Caliphs at Cairo, to invest him formally with the Caliphate when he conquered Egypt in A.D. 1517—a legend which appears to

rest on no better foundation than the unattested statement of a Western writer published in A.D. 1787, and which nevertheless has governed the attitude not only of the West but of the Islamic world towards the Caliphate during the past century and a half, down to and including the dramatic developments of last year.

Anyone who grasps these two aspects of the subject will understand the paradox of the antithesis between Abu Bakr's status and that of 'Abdul Majīd. The authority with which Abu Bakr was invested as the Khalīfah or successor of Muhammad was purely political—*ex hypothesi*, indeed, since the community over which he was called to preside had accepted Muhammad's claim to be the last of the prophets, so that Muhammad could have a successor only in respect of his non-spiritual functions and activities. On the other hand, 'Abdul Majīd was elected in 1922, by the Turkish Great National Assembly, to a Caliphate which was expressly divested of all the attributes of political sovereignty (the Assembly having arrogated these to itself) and was confined to "spiritual" powers which no Muslim would ever have attributed to any Caliph except under the influence of a false analogy between the Caliph and the Pope. This analogy, which had been invented by Westerners in ignorance, was taken up, in the course of the nineteenth century, by certain Muslim sovereigns and political thinkers, because it promised to provide a rallying-point for Islamic society against the growing pressure of Western civilization. It was rejected, after little more than a year's trial, by the Turkish Nationalists, because they had committed themselves to an incompatible method of trying to solve the "Western Question". The exponents of the modern "Khilafat Movement" were proposing that Islam should confront the West in a single phalanx so solid that it would resist penetration, whereas the Turkish Nationalists had decided that an Islamic people could only hold its own in a Westernized world by reorganizing its life on a Western basis and entering the comity of nations on its own account, unhampered by Islamic solidarity or by the Islamic past.

First, then, let us examine, in the light of Sir Thomas Arnold's exposition, the change which came over the Caliphate at the time of the great Nomadic *Völkerwanderung*. In order to understand this, we must remember that the successors to Muhammad's temporal power became, within a single generation, the political sovereigns of the entire Middle Eastern World. The Empire which the Achæmenids had held, which Alexander had destroyed, and which the

Sasanids had only half succeeded in reconstituting, was once again united under the rule of the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids. Egypt and Syria, Arab 'Iraq and Iran, were all under the effective sovereignty of Harun ar Rashīd, as they had been under that of Darius; and the re-emergence of this great empire, towards which all the latent political forces of Oriental society had been working for nearly a thousand years, made such a profound impression on the Oriental imagination that the dynasty seated at Baghdad (who were really the Khalīfahs, not of Muhammad, but of Khosru Anushirwan and even more of Darius, son of Hystaspes) were recognized, throughout the Middle East, as the exclusive source of legitimate political authority for about four centuries after they had lost their effective power. Down to the catastrophe of A.D. 1258, the actual masters of the provinces sought recognition as Sultans or legitimate political authorities through obtaining an investiture of their territories from the Caliph's hand as the Caliph's viceroys; and thus, throughout this period, the theory and practice of the Caliphate were as far apart as the theory and practice of the Roman Empire were when Gothic or Frankish or Burgundian masters of the Western Provinces exercised their authority in the name of the sole legitimate emperor at Constantinople. Sir Thomas Arnold brings out very clearly, from an examination of the evidence, that this long-obsolete theory broke down completely after the fall of Baghdad in A.D. 1258. From that date the prestige of the 'Abbāsids as the fountain of legitimacy disappeared. No subsequent 'Abbāsid Caliph of the shadowy line in Cairo (with one momentary exception which proved the rule) was mentioned in the *Khutbah* at Mecca; and every barbarian ruler who conquered some fragment of Darul Islam, thereafter entitled himself *Khalīfah*—not of Muhammad but of Allah—and was so entitled by his peers, without any precise meaning or particular value being attached to the epithet. The more closely defined titles of *Imām* and *Amīrul Mu'minīn* appear now to have been avoided—possibly in deference to a theory, which gained currency at this period, that the genuine Caliphate had only lasted for 30 years from the Prophet's death—and Muslim society, outside the dominions of the Mamlūk Sultans of Egypt, does not appear to have had any esteem for the puppet 'Abbāsid Caliphs whom this line of rulers maintained in Cairo in order to give them investiture at their accession. This conception of the Caliphate was evidently felt elsewhere to be an anachronism; and if it survived in Egypt, it was because Egypt,

after A.D. 1258, had become a kind of fossilized relic of the pre-Mongol Islamic world, much as Byzantium had preserved the dry bones of Græco-Roman civilization after the rest of the Roman world had been overrun by the Teutons and the Arabs.

Against this background, Sir Thomas Arnold shows how unlikely it was, à priori, that Salīm I—glorying, as he did, in his descent from the "Turanian" 'Uthmān Ghāzi, in his *de facto* position as the ruler of a great empire newly built up by the military prowess of his ancestors and himself, and in his status of being Protector of the Holy Cities of the Hijāz, which he had acquired by right of conquest from the last Mamlūk Sultān—should desire to put on the soiled and somewhat ludicrous mantle of al-Mutawakkil. However, Sir Thomas Arnold does not leave it at that. He proves from the evidence, first that Salīm, and his predecessors during a full century and a half, had used the title of Caliph as cavalierly as all the other Muslim potentates of the age: and, secondly, that the employment of this particular one among his almost innumerable titles of honour is conspicuously absent from the most important contemporary documents relating to the conquest of Egypt—that is, from the very documents in which we should expect it to receive most prominence if M. d'Ohsson's legend had any basis in fact. The marshalling of this evidence is perhaps the most masterly thing in the book—particularly the inference drawn from the foundation inscription of Sulaymān Pāshā's Madrasa in Cairo, dating from A.D. 1543. This evidence, however, must be studied, in order to be appreciated, as Sir Thomas Arnold presents it at first-hand.

ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE.

THE BABYLONIAN EPIC OF CREATION. Restored from the recently recovered Tablets of Aššur. Transcription, Translation, and Commentary by S. LANGDON, M.A. 8vo, pp. 227. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1923.

There is no doubt that the story of the god Merodach's rise to the position of king of the gods (for that is what the Babylonian Legend of Creation deals with) is one of the most interesting and important of the legends which have been preserved to us in the literary débris of the old clay tablet-libraries of Mesopotamia. George Smith's early and unavoidably imperfect translations were published in 1876, and since that time numerous additions have been made to the series. Many of these latter came to hand whilst I was employed

at the British Museum, and it was during that time that the undoubted Babylonian origin of the legend became evident. Concerning this Professor Langdon points out that one of the Assyrian texts of the Creation-story seems to have been copied out at the old capital, Aššur, the city in whose ruins a considerable addition to the legend has been recovered and utilized. It was clearly taken, he adds, from the authentic Babylonian copy, the old Assyrian scribes having deliberately suppressed the name of the Babylonian national god, Merodach, and substituted that of the Assyrian Aššur instead. This substitution was not, fortunately, observed throughout, but ic shows a certain amount of racial prejudice and is valuable as an indication of the original source of the legend. The fragments from the collections excavated by Hormuzd Rassam naturally come from Sippar (Abu Habbah), but it is doubtful whether they prove anything with regard to the date, as they seem to be later than the Assyrian copies—they furnish, however, a strong presumption that the legend was really of Babylonian origin. References to Merodach are nevertheless far from being suppressed in the tablets of the Creation found at Nineveh.

Professor Langdon gives many details concerning the sites where the different tablets of the legend were found.

Dealing with the date of the composition of the legend, he argues for the period preceding that of Agum-kakrime, the seventh king of the Kassite dynasty (in the twentieth century B.C.). This is, undoubtedly, a very probable date, and would place the actual composition of the legend during the time when the Dynasty of Babylon (that to which Ḫammu-rabi belonged) reigned in Babylonia. Other circumstances point to this date as the most probable, and it is an opinion which I have myself held as long as I can remember.

It does not take long to realize the importance of the additions which have been obtained from this new material. Thus, in the continuation of the first tablet, which we now possess, we see the divine evolutionary idea—the constant growth in perfection—still further developed, for after Laḫmu and Laḫamu came into existence, "for ages they grew up and became lofty," and Anšar and Kišar were created more excellent even than they. Anu, their son, also became the rival of his fathers, and begat Nudimmud in his own likeness—wide-eared, wise, mighty in strength—he was made exceedingly strong (owing) to the begetting of his (grand)father Anšar. All these rebelled against Tiawath (the Greek form Tauthe

and the corrected Greek form *Thawath* support this transcription) and aided (?) their protector.

"They troubled the thoughts of Tiamat
With singing in the midst of Anduruna."

Anduruna, says the footnote No. 15 on p. 71, is "a title of *Arallû*", and is a Sumerian term meaning "the abode". As a personification of the "abode" of the Underworld, where Tiawath dwelt, I am rather in favour of the pronunciation *Duruna*, without the prefix *an*—in any case, *Duruna* was the first of seven *gud-dub*, probably "repelling bulls" of (the house of) Anu. This points rather to their filling the welkin with their melody (if this be the right rendering of *šu'aru*). We seem to learn from this the reason of the war in heaven—it was because the powers of darkness were disturbed by the singing of the heavenly host. Mummu, the offspring and minister of Tiawath and Apsû, counselled action, "even upon a gloomy way" (*alkata éšita*, var. *îšita*)—a doubtful phrase which reduces Mummu's counsel to naught. As in the case of the Flood-tablet, it is Êa, the god of unsearchable wisdom, who finds out the plan of the conspiring gods, and by the aid of his magic power he destroyed Apsû and Mummu, taking possession also of their divine abodes. Thus Apsû became simply "the nether sea", wherein Ašur (Aššur) was born—the Merodach, seemingly, of the Babylonians.

As Professor Langdon says, this substitution of the name of Ašur for that of Merodach is probably due to patriotic feeling on the part of the Assyrian scribe, Aššur being the national god of that renowned though somewhat small nationality. It must not be forgotten, however, that this identification may have been due partly to the fact, that one of Merodach's names, when expressed by the sign for "city" with the character for "eye" within, seems to have been pronounced *Asari*. Now this character is practically the same as that for Osiris *Wasiri*) in Egyptian, and the Cappadocian and early Assyrian vocalization of Aššur, namely, *Ašir*, is one step closer to the Egyptian still. That the chief god in Assyria should be identified with the chief deities in Babylonia and Egypt, in view of these likenesses in their names, is only natural, quite apart from the question of patriotism.

Strange to our ideas is the description of "Ašur's" upbringing and youth. His father and mother were not, as stated by Damascius, the son of Aus and Dauke, but of Laḫmu and Laḫamu, deities of the earlier period who came into existence after Anu, the god of the

heavens. A nurse tended him and filled him with awesomeness, and to the glory of his form his father Laḫmu added twofold godhood.

"Four were his eyes, four were his ears;
Divine fire was kindled by the moving of his lips;
Fourfold he increased in intelligence.
And (his) eyes like him (Laḫmu) behold all things."

"My son divine, my son divine."

This last line reads, in the original, *Mâri yaūtu, mâri yaūtu*, and is cautiously translated by the author "Son of . . ., son of . . ." I prefer at present, however, to regard the line as a (possibly interpolated) interjection of gratification on the part of Laḫmu, Ašur-Merodach's father, on account of the fourfold divinity of his son, in which case *yaūtu* would possibly be one of those abstract formations which included all the members of the class or order of persons indicated. If the word *yautu*, which is of the correct form, was used in this sense when speaking of deities, it might, as a collective, be regarded as taking the place of the plural of majesty, which is used in the Tel al-Amarna letters, and in the text which I have regarded as a patriotic and religious poem recording the (unrighteous) deeds of Chedorlaomer, king of Elam. Independently of this problem, however, the identification of Merodach with the other deities, including those who were in a special sense "the gods his fathers", is undoubted. In this case, it is probable that Babylonian theological questions were connected with the word.

Interesting, too, in the extreme, is the description of the great head of the Babylonian pantheon. In Professor Langdon's translation he is said to have had four eyes and four ears—*Irba ēna-šu îrba ûzna-šu*, and at the moving of his lips fire flamed forth—"the divine fire," as we may call it—  , *d. Bilgi*, the common name of the fire-god, which was sometimes pronounced in the reverse order, namely, *Gibil*. As none of the delineations of Merodach show him with four eyes and four ears, so is he also never shown with flames coming out of his mouth. It therefore seems probable that this description of his form was, for the initiated, symbolical. He was the all-seeing and the all-hearing, and his breath, like the fire, purified and renewed.

It is impossible, in the space of a comparatively short book-notice, to give a really satisfactory *précis* of the contents of this detailed volume, but one may say that it is the most perfect translation of

the story of Merodach, his fight with the Dragon of Chaos, the first creatress, and of his redemption of the rebellious gods, that has yet been published. In the matter of the creation of man, it would seem that he was first formed from the blood of Kingu, Tiawath's spouse. This is not in accordance with what it was supposed that the completion of the fragment of the 6th tablet, identified by the late L. W. King, would be. All scholars thought at once of Berosus, who stated that Merodach had created man out of his own blood, and for this reason men were rational, and had divine knowledge. This idea, however, seems to have been due to a misconception of the rather terse statements of Berosus, who must have known what the legends of the god whom he served were. For the creation of the being who was to have intelligence, and the object of whose existence it was to worship the gods, it was decided that, to obtain the divine spark, as it may be called, one of the gods must contribute his blood, and the choice fell upon Kingu, the spouse of Tiawath or Tiamat, the dragon of Chaos and the first creator, who had been the instigator of the rebellion against the heavenly powers. They therefore bound this divinity and brought him before Êa, and Kingu's (veins) having been severed, "with his blood he made mankind." This work, which was not capable of being understood, was due to the skill of Merodach and the wisdom of Êa, and thus they shared the creation of man between them. Then came the construction of the divine city, Babylon, "the Gate of God" (or "of the gods") and "the Abode of Life".

We see from this how the title of Creator, apart from the identification of Merodach with his father Êa, was allocated to the two gods, and whilst Merodach acquired it, Êa did not lose the honour, and his names Nudimmud, Nadimmud, and possibly Nin-dud-ur or Nin-tud-ura as well, the first two as creator of men and living things, and the last as "lord of reproduction", and therefore "father of the house", remained in the Babylonian lists of gods to the end.

Copies of two tablet-fragments, Addenda, and Indexes, close this important contribution to Assyro-Babylonian religious literature.

THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES.

GRAMMAR OF THE SHINA (ṢINA) LANGUAGE. Consisting of a full Grammar, with texts and vocabularies of the main or *Gilgiti* dialect and briefer grammars (with vocabularies and texts) of the *Kohistani*, *Guresi*, and *Drasi* dialects. By T. GRAHAME

BAILEY, M.A., B.D., D.Litt., M.R.A.S. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1924. (Prize Publication Fund, Vol. VIII.) 12*s.* 6*d.*

The Shina (Ṣiṇ'a) language has hitherto subsisted ingloriously, known of but by a few scholars and to them known imperfectly for want of reliable records. It is fortunate in having at last come under the attention of a scholar and a pioneer in linguistic research of Dr. Grahame Bailey's calibre and experience.

Ground was broken in the 70's and 80's of last century by Biddulph and Leitner, and later in the *Linguistic Survey of India* Sir George Grierson has co-ordinated their records with additional information supplied by Captain J. R. Roberts, I.M.S., and Khan Sahib Abdul Hakim Khan, but much concerning the language has remained unknown or in doubt.

The main features of the language are now presented in this book with considerable fullness and a high degree of accuracy, and it is likely to remain the standard authority on Shina for many years to come. Dr. Grahame Bailey has laid foundations wide and deep in a way that will facilitate the work of future students and provide a basis for further superstructure.

The subject is indeed not exhausted. In Gilgiti Shina there are still large additions to be made to the vocabulary, various points of grammar would bear further investigation and elucidation, and syntax and idiom are but partially worked fields. Then, beyond the Gilgiti dialect extends a vista of other dialects the number of which has not even been determined. Much work is required on morphology and vocabulary before the differentiation necessary for the recognition of separate dialects can be established. There are, for instance, substantial differences in the conjugation of the transitive verb in Gilgit, Punial, Kuh, Darel, Chilas (two or three), Astor, and Gurez. How many more distinctive forms of conjugation are to be found in the country to the south and west of Chilas, besides Dareli and Tangiri, no one, I fancy, knows.

Even in one small locality or community there is a noticeable degree of variation in the language as spoken by different individuals, both as regards forms and pronunciation; and one of the things that has surprised me most in reading through Dr. Grahame Bailey's book is the remarkable extent to which I have been able to agree, from personal experience, with his presentation of the language. I should have expected a much wider and more frequent divergence between two individuals who had not worked with the same Shina-speakers

and in consultation with each other. Complete agreement, especially in regard to phonetic minutiæ, would in any circumstances be almost out of the question. It could only be arrived at by collusion.

Having emphasized the extent and reality of this agreement, I may indulge myself in questions and criticism without, I hope, creating an impression of opposition or appearing to lay any claim to personal infallibility.

In the first place a few words are to be said about the book. The general get-up and printing are satisfactory, but Indian workmanship shows itself in an undue number of dropped letters, etc. There are also a certain number of errors, such as omission of diacritical marks, probably attributable to the printers, but I believe that in practice it is beyond human endeavour to produce a work of this sort letter-perfect.

More serious to my mind is a lack of variety of types. It is a little difficult, for instance, to see one's way through the intricacies of the section on the verb as it stands. The use of bold-faced type headings would assist the eye in grasping the scheme and in finding its way through it. It would be further aided by a system of paragraph and sub-paragraph numbers and letters. Relatively subordinate matter might be printed in smaller type.

Paradigms with the whole word only shown in one case or person are to be deprecated; they prevent one from learning each form unconsciously by eye, and there is no saving of space. In the vocabulary it is otherwise, but there pains should be taken to make it quite clear what the nominative sing. form of a noun is. The spacing of detached suffixes is often here congested or irregular, and they cannot be correctly separated at a glance. The entry, for example, under *dana*, "wise," is: *dan-á-ā'yi-ā'yĭi-ā'yo*, without a single interval. It is like Sanskrit, only, fortunately, without Sandhi. In other cases we have the nom. sing. desinence unduly separated, e.g. *õsh -i -e*, as if the nom. were *õsh*.

Phonetics are a speciality of Dr. Grahame Bailey's and he has devoted much attention in this work to the phonetics of Shina. We have 11 pages of detailed analysis of sounds under the heading "Pronunciation", and there are a further 14 pages of appendices giving lists of words displaying particular sounds and the Low Rising Tone which the author claims to have found in the language.

Two points on which he lays stress are: First the existence of two parallel series of sounds, one produced further forward, the other further back. The latter he calls "cerebrals". The correctness

of this term has been disputed by Sir George Grierson in recent notes in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. The author includes under it, I believe, any sound produced further back than the teeth-ridge, and this should be borne in mind.[1] The second point is the existence of two series of sounds, one non-aspirated and one aspirated. Partly from personal observation and partly as the result of consulting native opinion I am able to concur as to the existence and significance of these four categories of sounds.

The only other remarks I would make as regards sounds are that, in my experience,

1. *j* and *z̲h̲* are merely variants and not consistently differentiated sounds ;

2. English *w* is much nearer to the ordinary sound in Shina as I have heard it than *v*, except in a few special instances.

After this phonetic introduction the author deals with the accidence of the various parts of speech in the Gilgiti dialect. Then follow a consideration of the syntax, the appendices referred to above, a few short texts, a revision of Dr. Leitner's sentences, and a Shina-English and an English-Shina vocabulary. This concludes the section devoted to the Gilgiti dialect, which occupies 208 out of the 284 pages in the book. The remaining pages are consecrated to the Kohistani and Guresi dialects (64 pp.) and the Drasi dialect (13 pp.).

Pursuing my critical course, not from a spirit of contrariety, but because so may facts best be tested and knowledge advanced, I halt almost at once at the noun. In the declension of the noun, the author recognizes the following cases : nom., voc., 2 acc.s., gen., dat., 2 locatives (" in " and " upon "), and an agent case, and further a " prepositional " case, i.e. a form used with prepositions or, rather, postpositions. The suffix of the ablative (*-jo*, *-z̲h̲o*) he treats as a preposition, though its use is in no way different from that of the dative suffix, and it has a better claim to be recognized as a case-suffix than the *-ĕr* and *-ĕz̲h̲* of the two locatives. The latter are undoubtedly cut down forms of the adverbs *aru* and *aji*, while *-jo* has no separate existence.

The 2nd acc. used with verbs of " striking " I have not myself observed. Had my informants been in the habit of using it I think it is almost inconceivable that I should have failed to notice it.

[1] In the present article a spot under a letter only indicates that it represents a "retracted sound " in comparison with a more advanced one represented by the unmarked letter.

Personally, I regard the declension of the noun as follows :—

1. Nom., voc., and acc.
2. Agential.
3. Gen.
4. " Formative," or " general oblique " (Sir G. Grierson).

Optionally the following may be added :—

5. Dat.
6. Abl.
7. Loc. I.
8. Loc. II.

Use has so accustomed us to think in terms of the dat. and abl. that it is perhaps convenient to retain them as cases, and the same may be said in a less degree of the instrumental.

The general oblique is almost identical with the gen., the only difference being that the final vowel is reduced in length and often in definiteness. From it all the cases 5 to 8 can be obtained by adding the necessary endings, and it is the form used with some postpositions. Others take variously the nom./acc., gen. dat. and abl. The gen. obl. has, of course, no independent existence.

The dat. suffix, usually *-t*, appears also in the form **-ʈɛ** or **-tə**, which is presumably the original.

The two locative suffixes are occasionally found in their full forms, **-ʌru** and **-ʌji**, e.g. **mɛɕɪj, mɛɕʌji**, *on the table.* **mɛɕɪj ʌji** is a pleonasm, *up-on the table.* Similarly, **goʈər ʌru**, *in the house inside.*

Another locative suffix, or particle, **dər**, is occasionally heard,

Gilit **dər**, *in Gilgit.*

There is an occasional instrumental, not specifically mentioned by Dr. Grahame Bailey, in sing. **-'o**, pl. **-i.'a.**

thʊr'o ʂɪdo·ɪki, *to beat with a whip.*
thʊri.'a ʂɪdo·ɪki, *to beat with whips.*

The usual instrumental particle is **gi** (**ge**), or the p.pc. act. (?) of **gɪo·ɪki**, viz. **gini**. Both take the nom./acc. form of the noun. **-'o** also appears as an abl. termination in adverbs of place. It is sometimes preceded by an **-n-**, e.g. **ərno**, *from inside.*

There is an occasional pl. in **-kʊl**, e.g. **bəra.o**, *husband*, pl. **bərakʊl** (and **bərawɛ ?**).

The author's treatment of the declension of various types of noun is very full.

Pronouns

I do not know **ri** as the fem. sing. of **ro**, only **rɛ**. The section "Other Pronouns" would, I think, be capable of extension.

The **-n-** of the oblique terminations of the plurals of **ʌnu**, **ro**, etc., appears also in the plurals of **baiyə**, *both*, and sometimes of **buto**, *all*; also in the numerals used substantively (p. 25).

Numerals

I do not know the termination **-moŋo** for the ordinals. I have always **-mu·o**.

Verbs

The author's method of approaching the verbs is perhaps a little difficult for anyone not already acquainted with them. We have first two pages explaining the distinguishing features of the two conjugations into which he divides the verbs, which involves the quoting of forms and endings not yet given. We only eventually get the paradigm of the verb of the first conjugation on the fifth page.

I also cannot help feeling that the arrangement of the whole verb material is a little involved. No doubt the impression is partly produced by the want of sufficiently distinctive types for headings and any system of numbering to indicate the relationship of the paragraphs.

I agree very closely with the standard forms given. Of course, trifling phonetic differences have to be reckoned with here as elsewhere.

There are many points to which I might refer: I must content myself with a few.

p. 27 (7). The facts resulting from the different positions of the accent might be emphasized by illustration. The endings of the 2nd pl. fut. pres. and imperf. are, in the first conjugation: **-'a·t, -'a·nɛt, -'a·sɛt**; in the second conjugation: **-ɛt, -ɛnɛt, -ɛsɛt.**

p. 28. There seem to be in Gilgiti three principal forms of agent nouns:—

1. The infinitive form, e.g. **zʌmo·ɪki** or **zʌmo·ɪk**, to which the suffix **-k, -ɛk** may be added.
2. The forms of the future, plus **-k, -ɛk, zʌmɛ·ɛk** (I only knew it in the 3rd pers. sing. and pl.).
3. Verb root plus **-'ɛ·ɕo**, pl. **-'ɛ·ɕɛ, zʌmɛ·ɕo.**

To these may be added an occasional fourth, identical in form with the 3rd person of the preterite active, **zʌmɛ·go, zʌmɛ·gi**, pl. **zʌmɛ·gyɛ.**

With reference to No. 2, the 3rd pers. of the fut. can be used without the **-k** suffix adjectivally with a noun.

The regular forms for the 2nd and 3rd sing. fem. imperf. are, according to me :—

2nd **zʌmɛ·si.**

3rd **zʌmi·s(i)**, with the alternative, **zʌmi·š.**

Similarly the pluperfect.

p. 30. Contrary to the author's experience. I have found the **ʌsʊlʊs** forms more common in Gilgiti than the **ʌsʊs** forms. The accent I have also usually found **'ʌsʊlʊs** rather than **ăs'ĭlŭs.**

pp. 30 and 62. **nʊš**, as far as I know, is used only of the 3rd pers. and of present time : "(there) is not," "(there) are not." I question the meanings "I am not" and "there was not".

The double vowel **-ĕa** (or, **-ia, -ya**) in the 2nd pl. imperv. is not in my experience constant in many verbs of the first conjugation. I say : **zʌma·, zʌma·t,** but **de.a·, de.a·t,** and in some I find it optional.

p. 32. I do not think that I have myself met the particle **dăṣ.** One can say : **mʌs zʌmʌm bɛ.i, tʊs zʌmɛ bɛ.i,** etc., *It may be I shall hit, perhaps I shall hit*, etc.

p. 38. Not all verbs whose roots end in **-i** are of the second conjug. Thus, **pi.o ki,** *to seize*, impv. **pi.ɛ,** p.pc. **pi.'ɛ·,** pret. **pi.ɛ· gʌs,**

vi.o·ɪki, *to open*, „ **vi.ɛ,** „ **vi.'ɛ·,** „ **vi.ɛ· gʌs,**

as opposed to **pi.o·ɪki,** *to drink*, and **vi.o·ɪki,** *to throw*, etc.

Verbs of "the -ar class"

This should be *-ār-* (**-a·r-**), as distinguished from the causative *-ar-* (**-ʌr, -ər**).

p. 39. To the past endings of intrans. verbs add **-lʊs.**

In **-i·lʊs, -i·dʊs, -a·dʊs** the first vowel seems to be the remains of intrans. theme of the future tenses, **-i·j-, -aj-.**

Thus : **bila·do** from **bilajo·ɪki** (which I have for the author's **bĭlijóiki**) ; **fəri·lo** from **fərijo·ɪki** ; **ro·lʊs** from **ro·ɪki.**

There seems to be another intrans. theme besides **-ij-**, namely, **-c-**, e.g. trans. **ṣo·ɪki** intrans. **ṣaco·ɪki**

mʊjo·ɪki **mʊco·ɪki** (for **mʊjco·ɪki ?**)

ʊchayoiki (G.B.) **ʊchaco·ɪki**

and one or two others.

pp. 40 and 52. Irregular verbs, "a class."

rai.o·ɪki and **kho·ɪki** are probably second conjugation with contraction : **rɛ·gʌs** being for **r'a.i·gʌs** ; **ra·t** or **ra.ʌt** for **r'a.ɛt** ; **khɛ·gʌs** for **kh'a.igʌs.**

p. 46. I have always -i·l- not -ɪ·l- in the intrans. past terminations. There is some latitude in regard to the past bases of intrans. verbs ; many have alternative forms.

p. 50. **nɪkhʌlo·ɪki** is not the causal of **nɪkhai.o·ɪki**. The scheme is : **nɪkhai.o·ɪki**, *to emerge*, **nɪkhairo·ɪki**, *to cause to emerge*, **nɪkhʌlo·ɪki**, *to extract*, **nɪkhʌlərо·ɪki**, *to cause to be extracted*. **nilijo·ɪki**, *to sprout*, does not seem to be connected with **nilo·ɪki**, *to hide*, but with the adj. **ni·lo**, blue, green ; so, *to become green*, i.e. *to sprout*.

The author justly remarks on the uncertainty attaching to the concept of the passive voice, which in its conjugation coincides with the commonest form of intrans. verb, and I incline to agree with him in surmising that the underlying idea is rather " to get a beating " than " to be beaten ". The same question presents itself I think in Pashtu. For instance, it may be difficult to tell whether *mātēdul* means " to break " (intrans.), or " to be broken " (pass.).

The theme added to the root to obtain the passive and in many cases the intrans. base for the future-derived tenses is **-ij-**, **-iž-**, and for the pret.-derived tenses **-i·d-**. These resemble in use and force the Pashtu intrans. theme *-ēg-*, *ēž-*, and *-ēd-*. Is there any possibility of etymological identity ?

p. 48. An interesting phenomenon not noted is the occasional use of *double causatives*, e.g. trans. **thо·ɪki**, *to do*, caus. **thərо·ɪki**, double caus. **thərərо·ɪki** ; **dо·ɪki**, *to give*, etc., **dərо·ɪki**, **dərərо·ɪki**. I think they have only the simple causative force, " to cause to be done," not " to cause to be caused to be done ". The simple causatives **thərо·ɪki** and **dərо·ɪki** seem to me often to be used with the sense of the simple trans. verbs, e.g. **gоṭ dо·ɪki** or **dərо·ɪki**, *to build a house*.

Adverbs, Prepositions, and Conjunctions

These are dismissed in a little more than three pages, with a further two pages in the section on Syntax, a stringency which entails the omission of some common words and much potential elucidation of idiom.

Syntax

I cannot follow the author through the syntax in detail. I might comment on various points of interest, but I have no serious dissent to record. I shall restrict myself to the following :—

pp. 59 and 69. The locative in temporal expressions such as **ai.a·kər**, **ʌca·kər**, **thо·ɪkər**, **khо·ɪkər**, etc., and even the prepositional **ʌca·kəmʌja**, all apparent probability to the contrary, seem *ordinarily*

to mean, not " in the meantime " (Hind. *itne mẽ*), but, " at so much," " at this point," i.e. hereon, thereon, on (his) saying, eating (this), what follows being immediately subsequent in time.

p. 61. *Query.* Are nouns " frequently used as adjectives " ?

p. 62. **kʌca·k** here probably means, " a certain number " (not exactly known), " some."

p. 65. **bănaró·ĭkị** does surely mean " to cause clothes to be put on someone ". **rɛsɛṭ ċhilə bʌnʌrɛ,** *cause clothes to be put-on to-him.*

p. 72. **kē thĭgā′ to,** *because*, I always regarded as meaning literally " if you say ' Why ? ' ", the reason then following, but this would not fit the other similar phrases, **ăni thĭgā′ to,** etc., quoted, which I do not remember having met. It is now more than ever a problem how the meaning " because " came to be evolved.

p. 77. **kər'ɛ·ga—to** means rather, " if ever," " if at any time." " As soon as " is **kɛkhɛn—to.**

p. 79. *Necessity.*

The commonest of all idioms does not appear to be mentioned, viz. the use of a form approximating to the infinitive with reduced forms of the verb substantive, the sense being that either of the gerund or of the gerundive.

ʌnu kom thokun, *it is necessary to do this, this is to be done, he should, ought to, do this.*

tus ʌnu kom thokuso, *you should have done this*, etc.

Wish or *Desire.*

bɪcho·ɪki plus infinitive is usually used in this sense. It corresponds to English " want to ", " wish to ".

p. 82. *The -k suffix.*

This presents a large question requiring prolonged study which I have not yet given to it.

1. **-ɛk, -ʌk** seems to me to single out any individual, either indefinitely as one entity out of many, or definitely as one already isolated or specified, thus giving the sense of the English " a " and " the " respectively. As far as I recollect, the case is much the same with the **-ki** suffix in Modern Persian colloquial.

2. It is used as a nominal suffix to turn certain verbal forms into nouns.

3. It is used with adjectives of quantity as English " a " in " a little ", " a lot " used as nouns or adverbially.

With other adjectives it may be regarded as turning them into nouns.

It is thus essentially a noun-suffix denoting singleness or unity. I think it can be used with plurals, though I cannot at the moment lay my hand on an example. It is certainly used with numerals :—

dai.ɛk, *a decade*, **bi.ɛk**, *a score.*
du šʌlʌk, *a couple of hundred*, 200.

In Burushaski there is a suffix **-ik** which is added to plurals to indicate, in the same way, a unity or aggregation of individuals. It corresponds to a suffix **-ʌn** used with singulars, of individuals. It appears, however, improbable that the Burushaski and Shina *-k*'s are in any way connected.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the short texts which the author has supplied, as I have no criticism of a serious character to offer. We may similarly pass over his reconstruction and retranslation of Leitner's sentences—a useful piece of work. They show Leitner's limitations, but it remains clear, in my opinion, as in the author's, that Leitner did much solid work, which was very creditable to him in the circumstances in which he worked.

The section on Gilgit Shina is closed with a Shina-English vocabulary of something over 2,000 entries, and a reversed English-Shina vocabulary. These naturally tempt to much comment, but space must limit self-indulgence. It is very difficult to get the whole content of a word, very difficult often even to get its central or initial meaning. Then one is constantly faced by the problem of determining the best or standard pronunciation. The following are a few comments on the first half of the Shina-English vocabulary.

abo̤m, " topsy turvey," etc. A meaning not given is " inside out ", " wrong side " (of cloth). The **a-** is a prefix indicating apparently negation, or " badness ". The corresponding positive, or " good ", prefix is **su-**. **subom** is the " right side " of cloth. We have **ʌbʌš**, difficult, unpropitious, versus **subʌš** ; **aɕɛmo**, mischievous, of malignant nature, versus **suɕɛmo**. Semantically the Sanskrit prefixes **duṣ-** and **su-** are suggested.

p. 128. *a zēli̤* means " in that (not *this*) manner ". " A " is Chilasi or Puniali for Gilgiti **ɛ**.

p. 129. *ē dĭsh̲ĕr*, similarly " in that (not *this*) place ".
āmŭ, " uncooked." I have, **o·mo**, " raw."
aṛóĭk̇i̤, this is not a Gilgiti form. It is used in Darel and Chilas.

p. 130. *ashton*, "Jāṭṭ, Jāṭ." Why ? The straightforward meaning is "groom".

ăstakāli, "old." The singular is *ăstakāl*, "old, aged, person."

p. 131. *banī*, "holly," i.e. the holly-oak. The tree and word are known in Chilas, but not, at least directly, in Gilgit.

p. 132. *băskŭ*, "more (in addition to what one has got)." Also means "too much", "excessive". Corresponds to *ziyāda* as used in Urdu.

Add : **bʌsko·co**, "spare," "superfluous." Hind. *fāltū*.

p. 133. *bŏŗo*, "big." The ordinary pronunciation in Gilgit is, I think, **bʌro**.

p. 134. *bŭlēsh*. I have **bule·j**. It is the "Ram Chikor".

çalō is used for a "lamp".

p. 135. *cĕi*, pl. *cāĕ*, "woman." I have always simply **ce·yɛ** for the plural.

chămá, "brass brooch." Add : "any kind of buckle."

char, "mountain." The meaning is, I think, restricted to "cliff".

p. 136. *chĩṣ*, "mountain." I have *çhĩṣ*.

chŭp, "edge." Also "end" (of place), also **fʌt chupər**, "at last, in the end, finally."

p. 137. *dāṛi*, "boys." Usually "sons", acting as plural of **pu·ç**. "boys" is **šuda·rɛ**.

p. 138. *dāṣibóm*, "right hand." Cf. *khabóm* (*khabbom*) and *abǫm*, *bom* seems to mean "side".

p. 139. *dŭbi'*, "washerman." The correct form in Gilgiti is, I think, **dubu**. This seems to eliminate a direct borrowing from Hind. *dhōbi*.

ḍūñ or *ḍñ*, "just." The ordinary meaning is "a short space of time" ; **ɛk duŋɛk**, "a short time, a little" ; **dŭyɛkɛjo**, "after a little" ; **duŋ du·ŋɛt**, "at short intervals, constantly" ; and so on.

p. 140. *gabū'n*, "foot of mountain, tree trunk." The word is used of the "bottom" of anything. **gʌbu·n ʌji**, "bottom up, upside down" (of a box).

gaçhí, "twigs," only I think "willow-twigs, osiers".

p. 141. *gēn*, "wife." The form **gyɛn** for **grɛn** is quite common.

gŭcŭ, "without special reason." Add : "in vain, futilely ; simple."

gŭlko, "well." Rather "underground water-tank."

p. 142. *gŭsh pūr*, "king's son." Now "aristocrat", any male member of one of the many families which have at one time or another been in a ruling position, and so practically applicable to almost anyone of good family.

hărŏĭkį, "take away." Add: "to marry" (husband or wife).

p. 143. *hĕl*, given as "habit" on p. 81, is not shown in the vocabulary. I do not remember having heard it.

ĭfayóĭkį, *ikhayóĭkį*. In Gilgit proper I have only the forms with initial **n-**, **nɪfai.o·ɪki**, etc.

p. 144. *ĭrgālṭąk*, "on all sides." I know only **ɪrga·ṭak**.

jān, "where?" The correct form is *jā*. *Jān* is probably for **ja· hʌn** = where is?

And so on; every page tempts to remark. I will only further notice:—

lēl, "visible." This is the regular word for "known", corresponding in use to *ma'lūm* in Urdu. I think the sense "visible" is only subsidiary, as in the case of *ma'lūm*.

nalā', "prep. along with." Add: Adv. together, **butɛ nʌl'a·**, "all together."

Kohistani and Guresi

Under the heading Kohĭstānī, the author includes material obtained from Jālkōṭ and Chilās, and as he states that his Jalkoti informant "used the name Kohistan to mean the independent Ṣiṇa-speaking country", it seems to be implied that the "Kohistani" material derived from Jalkot and Chilas would be valid in the various regions occupied by the Independent Tribes. This is not, I think, the fact. There is some variation in the language within the limits of Chilas itself. While, though Darel is contiguous with Chilas, the conjugation of the Dareli verb, as I obtained it, differs markedly from the two or three forms I procured in Chilas. Tangiri is stated to differ again from Chilasi and to resemble Puniali, in which case it would be still less like Chilasi than Dareli is. Again, Kohistan is at best a vague term, its connotation varying I think according to the locality of the speaker. For these reasons I consider that the use of the title Kohistani is unsatisfactory. By saying Jalkoti or Chilasi, or Jalkoti and Chilasi, if by chance they are practically identical, all dubious implications would have been avoided.

Leaving this question of nomenclature, I may say that the forms here given as Kohistani agree with forms I have obtained in Chilas,

or, to put it more exactly, out of a large variety of forms I have collected in Chilasi material I think I could find parallels to most of the forms given here. The verbal forms are such as I have got from one source or another in Chilas, and show none of the distinctive features of the Dareli paradigm, with the exception of one tense—the pluperfect—given as *ăṭās asĭlos*. The Chilasi pluperf. appears to be always formed by adding a suffix *-a* to the preterite, e.g. **ʌṭa·sa**, *I had brought*, with a distinctive 2nd sing. in **-a·lo**, e.g. **ʌṭa·lo**. In Dareli, however, we find **ʌṭa·s ʌsulus**, etc.

My version of the Gurezi verb agrees essentially with the author's.

The existence in these dialects of two forms of the Agent case, used respectively with the future-derived and the preterite-derived tenses, is very interesting. It is also a characteristic of Dareli. In Chilasi, as far as I have observed, the pronouns of the 3rd sing. have only the *-s* forms, while in the plur. the alternative forms are used indifferently with any tense.

In Gurezi I found a form for the 1st pers. plur. of the author's "Agent I" not given in the paradigms on pp. 242 and 245. This form is **ʌsaīẓi**.

The formation of the causative by the addition to the root of a theme **-y-** (I have usually a vowel **-e-** or **-i-**) instead of the Gilgiti **-ʌr-** is also characteristic of Dareli and Astori. The forms are not always very easy to distinguish from those of the ordinary transitive. Gilgiti, Puniali and Kuhi have **-ʌr-**, and it is not unknown in Chilas.

An interesting philological point not remarked on is the occurrence of *z*, sometimes *ž* and *j*, where there is no trace of it in the Gilgiti dialect :—

Gilgiti		Chilasi
wai.o·ɪki	*to come.*	**wʌzo·ni**
rai.o·ɪki	*to say*	**rʌzo·ni**, 3rd sing. pret. m. **rʌjo.u**
		,, ,, f. **rʌzi·gi**
yaiyo·ɪki	*to proceed.*	**yʌzo·ni**
hai.o·ɪki	*to laugh*	**hʌzo·ni**

This *z*/*j* occurs also in Dareli, Astori, and Gurezi, and apparently in Drasi in the form of *ž*.

Before concluding I will point out a few errors other than obvious misprints or the omission of diacritical marks :—

p. xiv. For "Khōvār" read "Khōwār". For "Păkhtūn Ăli" read "Păkhtūn Wăli". This self-made king was assassinated in 1916 and his throne as ruler of Darel and Tangir has remained unoccupied.

p. 17 (middle). Read cĕi, *woman* ; mŭlāĭ, *girl*. cĕi presumes that a woman is married ; mŭlāi is a little girl or a young unmarried girl.

p. 21, l. 23. For " hard " read " heard ".

p. 25, l. 13. For " pronounced of " read " pronounced o ".

p. 31, l. 4. For " zamst.'tĕi " read " zamī'tĕi ".

p. 31, l. 6. For " zamō'sha " read " zamō'zha " (zʌmo·jə).

p. 39, l. 25. For " intrans." read " trans."

p. 40, l. 7 from bottom. For " nīkhayeīkį " read " nīkhayóīkį ".

p. 78, last line. kăzā not in vocab. Arabic qaẓā ?

p. 79, l. 12. For " kiǫm " read " krǫm ".

p. 86. Insert at top, " Appendix I."

p. 98. For " tăttāpăn " read " tăltāpăn ".

p. 250, last line. For " and, also g " read " and, also gĕ ".

I must not, however, end on a note of finical fault-finding, what the Persians call *nuqta bīni*—looking for spots—and duly resent. Dr. Grahame Bailey has done a signal service to all who are interested in this little-known language, and to those of future generations who will be. It is a service that must have demanded of him great labour and the unremitting exercise of the most painstaking discrimination, to which, indeed, the book bears ample testimony. All good men should be proportionately grateful to him.

As he justly says in his preface, " the difficulty of getting grammatical facts from illiterate speakers will be known to all who have attempted the task." It is to be hoped that even those who have not attempted the task will realize the measure and the merit of his achievement.

D. Lorimer.

The Poems of Po-Chü-i. Lieder eines chinesischen Dichters und Trinkers. (Po Chü-i.) Translated by L. Woitsch. Asia Major, Leipzig, 1925.

M. Leopold Woitsch, who is at the present moment lecturer in Chinese at the University of Vienna, published in 1908 a translation in prose of some poems of Po Chü-i. That he remained a faithful admirer of the poet during the following 17 years is seen by the greatly improved and better selected translations of the poems in this new book.

Po Chü-i in a great number of his poems appears as the most subjective of all Chinese poets. This quality makes a great appeal

to the subjectivity of his translators. The selection of pieces and a certain peculiarity of the title suggest what part of the poet's nature and what view of life appealed most to the translator, which gives us reason to think that it would be just to define it rather as a special selection than a representative anthology. The tendency to put the more formal poems of Po Chü-i in the background is apparently shared also by M. Woitsch.

In spite of the great faithfulness of the translation, occasional slips occur. Thus the two lines in the poem on "Buying Flowers"—

紅 花 百 灼 灼
素 束 五 叟 叟

which M. Woitsch translates by

Rot leuchten zahllose Blumenstrausse
Ärmlich weiss nur sind wenige Büschel.

in our opinion ought to be translated differently—

For a hundred brilliant red flowers
Five rolls of fine silk.

as there is no suggestion that 束 meant anything else but a numerative for silk rolls, and also because it is in strict parallel with the two closing lines of the poem. Of course it is not always easy to render exactly into an European language the simplicity and conciseness of Po Chü-i's language, who, according to tradition, used to read aloud each poem to an old woman and alter every expression she could not understand before he sent them to the press. To translate 山 下 望 山 上 by "Am Fuss des Berges anbelangt schaute ich zum Gipfel auf" cannot be regarded as any improvement on Po Chü-i. Yet M. Woitsch must be given great credit for the faithfulness to the original, the evident care bestowed on the work, and fine, clear syntax. An analogous attempt is made in this book by M. Richard Hadl to translate Chinese drawings into European. They are sometimes very close to the originals, and one might merely suggest that they should be kept closer to the Chinese method of book-illustration and if possible executed throughout with the same instruments so as to exclude the last traces of European chinoiserie.

The publishers of *Asia Major* must be complimented on this edition which is very well executed and bound.

M. KASANIN.

A Short Introductory Dictionary of the Kaonde Language, with English-Kaonde Appendix. By R. E. Broughall Woods, Native Commissioner in the Administration of Northern Rhodesia. London: Religious Tract Society.

The Kaonde people, it will be remembered, form the subject of Mr. F. H. Melland's *In Witch-bound Africa*, already reviewed in these pages (III, ii, p. 395). This, so far as we are aware, is the first publication dealing with their language. It evidently belongs to the same Bantu group as Lamba, Wemba, Ila, Luba, Wisa, etc. The collection appears to be a useful one, and contains much valuable material for the student of comparative linguistics. "The system of orthography used is, generally speaking, that used in many well-known books dealing with Bantu tongues . . . the vowels having the same values as in Italian, the few unusual values being specially noted." With this, on the whole, we have no ground of quarrel. But—if we may be permitted to borrow the author's words "while it is not desired to adopt a bigoted attitude towards the preferences of others or to provoke controversy in regard to the vexed question of spelling"—we cannot help thinking that the following requires a little further elucidation:

"CH has been used in preference to KY-, KI- *and* (*for the most part*) *TS-* to express the sound approximating to CH in 'church'.

"J is used for the sound it possesses in English 'jewel', *and also for the sound which, some think, approximates that written DZ in English 'adze'.*

"B is used for the *compound labial* B-V-W." (Italics ours.)

If it is meant, as a cursory examination of the *Dictionary* suggests, that the sounds *ts* and *dz* are dialectic variants of "*ch*" and "*j*", it is certainly desirable to have a fixed standard spelling. But, with regard to "*ch*", if the sounds *tf* and *c* exist side by side, as they certainly do in Nyanja, different symbols ought to be used in order to distinguish words otherwise similar. As the bilabial plosive and the bilabial fricative both exist in the language, it seems as if the latter ought to have a special symbol, though it might be argued that this is unnecessary since it only occurs between two vowels, and the plosive is never found in this position. The paragraph containing this information, by the by (p. 13), is extremely perplexing as it stands, and the erratum on the inserted slip should by no means be overlooked.

A. W.

BENEATH AFRICAN GLACIERS: THE HUMOURS, TRAGEDIES, AND DEMANDS OF AN EAST AFRICAN GOVERNMENT STATION AS EXPERIENCED BY AN OFFICIAL'S WIFE: WITH SOME PERSONAL VIEWS ON NATIVE LIFE AND CUSTOMS. By ANNE DUNDAS. London: H. F. and G. Witherby.

Mrs. Dundas has supplemented her husband's work on Kilimanjaro (reviewed in *Bulletin*, III, iii, 563) by a very readable book depicting the lighter side of official life in tropical Africa. Unfortunately not every official's wife has the vivid interest in her surroundings or the sympathy with the people among whom her lot is cast, which constitute the charm of this unpretending narrative. While no attempt is made to disguise the difficulties and discomforts of life in such remote settlements as Moshi and Arusha, the perusal of Mrs. Dundas's book cannot be other than encouraging to intending travellers possessed of the same cheerful determination to make the best of things. The writer had unusual opportunities of entering into the life of native women, and she rightly controverts the prevailing notion that their status is one of "servile drudgery" (p. 184), while placing in its true light (p. 189) the theory and practice of *lobola* or "bride-price". The remarks on the ethical bearing of Bantu initiation ceremonies (pp. 181–2) are worthy of serious consideration.

The attractiveness of the volume is enhanced by a number of interesting photographs, of which those facing pp. 94, 174, and 178 merit particular attention. In conclusion, one cannot refrain from asking what is the writer's authority for stating that "the name Mombasa is derived from Mombas, the first Portuguese governor" (the name occurs in the *Journal* of Vasco da Gama's voyage), and elsewhere that "Bagamoyo" means "peace of heart". *Moyo*, indeed, is Swahili for "heart", but *baga* occurs in no dictionary of that language known to us, and in Nyamwezi appears to signify "scatter", with secondary uses which would make it equivalent to "strike with dismay!"

A. W.

THE VANISHING TRIBES OF KENYA. By Major G. St. J. ORDE-BROWNE, F.R.G.S., etc. London: Seeley, Service and Co.

The tribes dealt with in this volume are those minor ones, to be found on the southern slopes of Mount Kenya, who hitherto—so far as they were known at all—have usually been counted as offshoots of the Kikuyu. These are the Chuka—the only ones who "claim to

have lived in the country from the beginning of things "—the Embu, the Mwimbe, the Emberre, the Igoji and the Theraka (Tharaka: already described by Mr. A. M. Champion, in *JRAI.* xlii, Jan.–June, 1912). All these tribes, as well as the Ndia Kikuyu who have pressed upon them from the west, and the Meru on the north, lie within the great bend of the Tana river, as it circles round the southern slopes of Mount Kenya. Beyond it, on the west, are the Kikuyu proper (of whom the Ndia Kikuyu are a long separated branch), and on the south the Kamba. A stretch of comparatively uninhabited country separates this region from that part of the Tana Valley inhabited by the Pokomo, who were formerly much harassed by Kamba raids.

Major Orde-Browne has produced, from conscientious observation extending over some seven years, a singularly interesting and readable account of these little-known people. Among the few points we have space to notice is the fact that their funeral customs approach those of the Kikuyu and Masai, who rarely—or only in exceptional cases—bury their dead, and contrast markedly with those of the Giryama and other Wanyika, who not only practise burial, but expend a certain amount of care and artistic decoration on grave-monuments. No doubt there is some connexion between this and the fact that "the whole circumstances of death serve to support the view that the Embu natives have very little idea of any future life; there is certainly no accepted theory of any activities beyond the grave, and any question on this point always produced a flat denial. Nevertheless, in conversation with intelligent and thoughtful people, I have known them admit that the complete cessation of all activity in the case of the death of an active man was curious and even unlikely; I never, however, obtained any surmise as to what the deceased might be likely to do in some new sphere".

This seems to represent, approximately, the outlook of the Masai, so far as known to us, while, on the other hand, it is clear that offerings to the dead and countless details of daily life which have reference to them, show that the "Nyika" tribes, the Taita, Chaga, and many others, believe, at any rate, in some sort of survival after death.

There are many interesting passages which might be quoted did space allow, but for these we must refer readers to the book itself. The chapter on "Tradition and Folk-lore" contains a tale noteworthy as combining the motives of Tselane ("Red Riding Hood" of the Basuto), of the "Swallow" myth, and of the widespread Bantu story in which the Hare professes to nurse the Leopard's cubs, and eats them

one by one. The next chapter contains a number of riddles, in connexion with which Mr. Orde-Browne has the following note :—

" . . . It is very remarkable that many of the questions and answers given in the [above] list are also to be found in the island of Mauritius . . . The preliminary question in this case is ' *Sirandane* ? ' to which the answer is ' *Sampèque* ', of which I have never been able to obtain any explanation."

The traditional opening for the propounder of a riddle is, in Lamu Swahili *Chondowi*, in Giryama *Chondoni*, and in Duruma *Chirondoni*, which is clearly the same as *Sirandane*. The answer is not so easy to identify ; the usual Swahili is *tega*,[1] " set (your trap)," but it might possibly be connected with *peeka*, Lamu Swahili for *peleka*, " hand over." These simple enigmas are of the familiar type exemplified by " I threw something and it went farther than an arrow ? " (Answer : " A glance of the eye ")—Cf. the Swahili *Popoo mbili zavuka mto*.

A. W.

CHINYANJA PROVERBS. Translated and annotated by the Ven. W. P. JOHNSON (Archdeacon of Nyasaland). Cardiff : Grangetown Printing Works.

African proverbs are well worth collecting, but not many attempts have hitherto been made to do this on a comprehensive scale. The Rev. W. E. Taylor's *African Aphorisms* (which should surely be reprinted), Mr. S. T. Plaatje's *Sechuana Proverbs*, A. Sekese's *Mekhoa le Maele* (Sesuto), Captain Rattray's *Ashanti Proverbs*, and some smaller collections, are of equal value to the anthropologist and the language-student, and now Archdeacon Johnson has given to the world—as a by-product of his forty years' stay in Africa—this hundred (101 to be exact) from the shores of Lake Nyasa. Each of these appears in the original, accompanied by a literal and a free translation, and a comment, usually, we gather, translated from the words of a native informant, showing how it is meant to be applied. To many of those it is easy to find familiar parallels, e.g. " Words you can't sample, food you can," " If you pronounce ' Lion ', get up a tree," " Do not buy the foot of an elephant " (cf. the Swahili *Kununua ng'ombe wayo*). Others embody interesting bits of folk-lore, e.g. Nos. 61, 73, 80, 88.

A. W.

[1] In Duruma *siteka* (?) and in Giryama *dekeha*, said to be an obsolete word.

KENYA. By NORMAN LEYS, M.B., D.P.H. With an Introduction by Professor GILBERT MURRAY. London: Hogarth Press.

Dr. Leys' book is especially valuable as a guide to those engaged in studying the thorny problems so intimately associated with the African colonies and mandated territories. It is only too true that there is, as Professor Murray says, "a real and dangerous opposition between average colonial opinion, based on knowledge of the facts and daily intercourse with black people, but exposed to perversion by prejudices of race and class, and very often by economic self-interest, and public opinion at home, sentimental, disinterested, and genuinely anxious for justice, but grievously crippled by ignorance and lack of understanding." Dr. Leys has given a fairly impartial and unprejudiced account of the conditions in Kenya Colony. While frankly pleading the cause of the native, he is by no means blind to his weak points, and fully recognizes the difficulties of the question.

Many of these difficulties arise from misunderstanding. Such misunderstanding is due to ignorance, both of the language (a point which is happily coming to be more and more fully recognized) and of native customs and modes of thought. A careful perusal of Dr. Leys' book, especially chapters iii, iv, and viii, will do much to correct misapprehensions on this score.

If many of the facts here revealed are far from pleasant, it is all the more imperative that they should be fairly presented and honestly faced. This is not the place to discuss controversial topics, but the book is heartily to be commended to all who have the solution of African problems at heart.

The chapter on "Islam in East Africa" is full of interest and explains a matter which would otherwise be perplexing—the hold which this religion maintains though mostly reduced, as shown here, to the barest possible minimum. "The home men have in tribalism falls in ruins when tribal isolation is broken in upon . . . The social ties provided by the tribe cannot be stretched over men's extra-tribal relations. They neither prescribe nor explain how men should think, feel and behave in relations with Europeans and with Africans of other tribes. So men feel about for guidance, not consciously, but instinctively . . . And they find Islam, not the Islam of Cairo or Damascus with its elaborate and final plan of life and thought, but a simple, unexacting scheme enough for their simple African needs . . . Few Africans consciously abandon tribal ideas. It is rather that these ideas fail them in new circumstances, that the services the tribe once gave are

no longer given. These services the East African variety of Islam exactly supplies. Of its standard ethic and polity there survives what just fits the homelessness of those who are emerging from tribalism."

A. WERNER.

A MANUAL OF NYANJA (AS SPOKEN ON THE SHORES OF LAKE NYASA), FOR THE USE OF BEGINNERS. By M. W. BULLEY. London: S.P.C.K., 1925.

The dialect on which this book is based is somewhat different from that spoken at Blantyre, as will be seen by comparison with Dr. Hetherwick's *Manual*. The chief variations—apart from numerous differences in the vocabulary—are the use of the prefix *vi-* (instead of *zi-*) in the plural of Class 4, and the sounds ʧ, ʤ (probably intended by *ch, j*), where at Blantyre *ts* and *dz* are heard, as in *tsamba* "a leaf", *dzuwa* "the sun". Some attempt has been made to describe the sounds in terms of exact phonetics: but surely *o* (or an approximation to cardinal vowel 8) exists side by side with ɔ (No. 7)? There is also a curious confusion with regard to the bilabial fricative (here indicated by *w*) which is said to be pronounced "with rounded lips". It is not east to understand why it is said (p. 36) that the locatives "are not to be classed as nouns"—the three classes (Bleek's 16, 17, 18) stand precisely on the same footing as the diminutive (*ka-*) in prefixing the locative particle to the class-prefix (cf. *ka-mwana, ka-nyumba* with *pa-muji, m-nyumba*, etc.). Otherwise the locative construction is very clearly explained, and, in general, the little book is excellent for practical purposes.

Two important grammatical peculiarities of the Likoma dialect are a future which is identical with the present negative used elsewhere (here the negative ends in *-a*, the future in *-e*) and the retention (as in Swahili) of the infinitive *ku-* with monosyllabic verbs, which, however, seems to be restricted to the present tense.

A. WERNER.

A LUGANDA-ENGLISH AND ENGLISH-LUGANDA DICTIONARY. Compiled by the Ven. A. L. KITCHING, M.A., Archdeacon of Buganda, and the Rev. G. R. BLACKLEDGE, Canon Missioner in the Diocese of Uganda. Kampala: the Uganda Book Shop. London: S.P.C.K., 1925.

This volume, long looked for, will meet with a warm welcome. The Luganda-French Dictionary of P. Le Veux, the only work of the kind

hitherto in existence, is both expensive and difficult to procure: moreover, its arrangement, though based on sound principles, is somewhat perplexing to the beginner. The Luganda Vocabulary of Canon Blackledge, which was for a long time practically the sole resource of English students, serves as a basis to the present work, but has been enriched by so many new words as almost to double its bulk, and the whole thoroughly revised. I think it may be safely said that no word used in ordinary conversation, or met with in *Bakabaka be Buganda*, or the little magazine *Ebifa*, will be looked for in vain here. The arrangement of words according to their prefix, but without the initial vowel (e.g., *(o)musaja*, *(o)muti*, under M, *(e)ki'bo*, *(e)kikomi* under K), after all, saves a great deal of trouble, as they are "inserted where the beginner would most naturally look for them, and not necessarily where their derivation would include them". All linguistic students will be sincerely grateful to the compilers for this help towards the acquisition of a peculiarly interesting Bantu idiom.

A. WERNER.

SWAHILI-ENGLISH DICTIONARY. Being Dr. Krapf's original Swahili-English Dictionary Revised and Re-arranged by the Rev. Canon BINNS, of the Church Missionary Society. London: S.P.C.K.

Krapf's original dictionary has long been out of print, though constantly in demand; for, with all the defects inevitable in a pioneer work, it holds its place as a classic. Indeed, the late A. C. Madan was of opinion that a revision which "might make it more practically useful by the removal of inaccuracies and repetitions and by modifying the spelling and arrangement . . . would be analogous to rewriting Schliemann's *Troy* or Livingstone's *Journals*". We cannot agree with this, and hold that Canon Binns has rendered an important service to the cause of Swahili studies. Many words have been added; such stumbling-blocks as *cheuzi*, *jetezo*, *fuja* and others (due to Krapf's inveterate inability to distinguish between voiced and voiceless consonants) have been removed, and the work has been thoroughly revised throughout. One regrets to find among the additions two which certainly seem erroneous: on the very first page "*ku-a*, *v.n.*, to grow," is printed as though *ku*, which is really part of the stem, were the infinitive prefix, whereas the infinitive is *ku kua*; and *abudu*

(عبد) "worship" cannot be derived from أبد, as seems to be implied by "the real meaning of these words (*abudu* and *ibada*) is that which goes on continually". It is gratifying to see that Canon Binns adheres to the use of *dh* for transliterating ظ, ض, ذ (practically the same sound in Swahili), reserving *th* for the voiceless sound represented by ث. This, perhaps, is a minor point, since these sounds are not indigenous to Swahili; but they occur in so many fully naturalized Arabic words that they have to be taken into account.

A. W.

PYGMIES AND BUSHMEN OF THE KALAHARI. By S. S. DORNAN, F.R.G.S., etc. 312 pp., $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. London: Seeley, Service and Co., Ltd.

This book contains a mass of information about a people who may be looked on as an interesting survival from the Stone Age. Mr. Dornan writes from intimate knowledge of the Bushmen, and his record is all the more valuable as (for reasons which he gives at length) it is becoming every year more difficult to follow in his steps. Even in the Kalahari, their last refuge, their numbers are dwindling, and though many of their descendants still remain elsewhere, they have lost their language and tribal identity. It is matter for congratulation that Dr. C. M. Doke, a former student of this School, has recently succeeded in getting into communication with a number of the [1] ǂhũ ("Kung" or "Qhung") Bushmen and collecting a large amount of linguistic and anthropological material. It appears that we can no longer speak of a "Bushman language": Mr. Dornan tabulates four distinct forms of speech (not counting that recorded by Bleek) which may claim to rank as distinct languages; these are: Hic. ǁAikwe (in Dr. Doke's spelling [1] ɔaikwe), Tsaukwe and ǀKun ([1] ǂhũ). Mr. Dornan considers these to be closely related to Nama and Kora (Korana)—more closely than to the speech of the Cape Bushmen. He rejects the Hamitic affinities of Nama postulated (and, as some think, demonstrated) by Meinhof.

All that the author reports at first-hand is worthy of the closest attention; but perhaps it is a pity that he has included a somewhat sketchy chapter on the Herero. Such statements as the following must, if compared with Irle's standard work, be taken as true only

[1] For these signs see *Bulletin*, II, iv, p. 709.

of the present broken and demoralized state of this once powerful tribe:

"They were much looser in their marital relations than others. The marriage bond could be easily dissolved, as *lobola* was not the custom (cf. Irle, *Die Herero*, p. 106!), so there was no stock to return. Men and women lived with each other as long as it suited them."

It is noticeable also that he calls the "Hill or Berg Damaras" a branch of the Herero; concerning these people we need only refer to Vedder's careful and scholarly monograph, reviewed in the *Bulletin* for 1924 (III, iii, 561). Vedder, by the bye, identifies the "Berg-Dama" with the much discussed "Vaalpens" or "Kattea". Mr. Dornan says that "the term Vaalpens is applied" by the Boers "to the wild people (Bushmen) of the Crocodile river, as well as the Kalahari Bushmen . . . and also . . . by both Europeans and Bechuanas to the Bakalahari who live in the desert and under somewhat similar conditions to the Bushmen". It might therefore seem as if the name had no ethnic significance—indeed, I was assured, many years ago, by an old Griqua, that it was a nickname given to the Transvaal Boers, from their habit of lying flat on the ground to shoot and so getting covered with yellowish-grey (*vaal*) dust. But Mr. Dornan asserts that the true Vaalpens "at present so-called live on the Transvaal and Rhodesian sides of the Crocodile or Limpopo river. They are the same people as the Masarwas and call themselves Kattea".

The chapter on "Mental Life and Folk-lore" is extremely interesting and may perhaps suggest a Bushman origin for some legends current among the Bantu.

A. W.

NOTES AND QUERIES

After the last number of the *Bulletin* was in type I received, through the kindness of Mr. G. Fuller Maitland, some further light on the *Shairi la Kuku na Kanu*. Simambali (stanza 4) "is Simambayi, an ancient town and still a village on the Bajune coast (not on the island), about fifteen miles south of Kiunga". Yemezi (Emezi) is "perhaps represented by some old ruins about a mile north of Kiunga".

It appears that I misunderstood Muhammad Kijuma's note on Goa, and that Goa in India is meant, as being the place from which the Portuguese came to Pate. As Goa was occupied by them in 1510, and as I can find no mention of Pate previous to this (except for the attack of some Pate dhows on Vasco da Gama's fleet, 1499), they might be described as coming thither from Goa.[1]

I seem to have misunderstood the text in stanza 3—or rather, was misled by an error in the MS. *Mungalizinga* should be *Hamngalizingazinga*, thus reversing the meaning. It should read, "Even if you were gentlefolk, you should not forbid us to speak, nor would you wander about at noon in the sight of all men."

In the fifth stanza it seems that *ikizinga* should be *tukizinga*, and Mr. Fuller Maitland (or his Lamu correspondent) translates: "When we wander about Simambali with guns and swords, we are the boys—we don't encounter the sun at all"—adding the note, "i.e. we are much too big men to go out at noon without slaves with umbrellas—at least, I think that is the meaning, and Muhammad Kijuma agrees."

This certainly yields a more satisfactory sense than I had got out of the passage. I may add that in foot-note 4 to p. 527, by an error overlooked in the proof, *ukumuwasa* has been allowed to stand instead of *ukimuwasa*.

A. W

The University of the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg) has conferred the degree of D.Litt. on Mr. C. M. Doke, Senior Lecturer in the Bantu Department of that University, for his Thesis on Zulu Phonetics.

[1] Stigand (*Land of Zinj*. p. 46) states, on native authority, that the Portuguese arrived in Pate during the reign of Sultan Fumomadi, A.H. 795–825 = A.D. 1392–1421. This, if the dates are given correctly, is clearly an error.

Dr. Doke (a former student of this School, who took the Diploma in Comparative Bantu in 1923) has recently returned from a vacation tour in the Kalahari Desert, where he succeeded in collecting some very valuable linguistic and anthropological material. He came in contact with over two hundred of the ʗhũ (Qhung) Bushmen, and has obtained a large number of photographs, besides taking head and other measurements. He finds that the members of this tribe are, on the whole, taller than "the old Cape Bushmen", the average height being 5 ft. 3 in. for the men and 4 ft. $10\frac{1}{4}$ in. for the women. He is bringing back dictaphone records and a fairly full vocabulary of the language, which he finds to differ to some extent from that recorded by Vedder (*Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen*, 1911–12). We shall look forward with great interest to the publication of his results. A preliminary account of his experiences, in a popular form, appears in the Johannesburg *Star* for 2nd May, and three following issues.

OBITUARY

Alfred Lacey Hough

After many years of Government service in Burma, Mr. A. L. Hough was engaged from 1907 to 1916 in teaching Burmese at University College, London. On the establishment of the School of Oriental Studies, he accepted a transfer to it, and from the time it opened its doors in January, 1917, he devoted all his energies to the further advancement of his subject in the new surroundings. He was not only a highly successful teacher, but also spent nearly all his spare time in research. He accumulated a very large amount of material for a new Burmese grammar and for additions to and corrections in the existing dictionaries, both Burmese-English and English-Burmese. By the kindness of his widow this material has now become the property of the School.

After an illness of some months' duration, he died on the 9th March, 1925, to the great regret of all his colleagues and friends, with whom his relations had always been of the most cordial nature.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

Professor Henri Cordier

It may be stated with confidence that no one has done more to foster scholarly knowledge of the Far East than Henri Cordier. Of his personality I am unfortunately ill qualified to write; for only once had I the advantage of speaking with him, and that was on his visit to London in July, 1923, for the centenary celebrations of the Royal Asiatic Society. He told me then that the grand total of his writings just exceeded one thousand items.

On the 16th of last March death cut short this stupendous record, but not before a bibliography of his works had been published to mark the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday. It is a satisfaction to know that the memorial of his services to sinology was compiled during his lifetime when the opportunity of personal supervision rendered completeness possible.

Cordier landed in China in 1869, and two years later became Honorary Librarian of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. While holding this post, he made the beginnings of what is perhaps his greatest work, the vast bibliographical dictionary, entitled *Bibliotheca Sinica*, of publications in European languages relating to

China. The first edition appeared between 1881 and 1885, and was awarded the Prix Stanislas Julien. Supplements came out in 1893 and 1895, and a second edition was published between 1904 and 1908. Since 1922 four supplementary parts to this edition have appeared, thus increasing the work to nearly 4,500 columns of closely printed matter—a true monument to the wide learning, painstaking enthusiasm, and genius for accuracy which signalized the author in all his undertakings. Unhappily the necessary index had not been finished at the time of his death, but every student of things Chinese will rejoice to know that it is now in the able hands of Madame Cordier.

Among the general public in this country Cordier is best known as editor of Yule's *Marco Polo* and *Cathay and the Way Thither*, both of which owe much of their value to his versatile contributions.

Few men have won wider recognition than the late Henri Cordier. Honours were showered upon him from many countries in addition to his own, and it is appropriate here to mention that the long list includes honorary membership of the Royal Asiatic Society and corresponding membership of the Royal Geographical Society and the British Academy.

W. Perceval Yetts.

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